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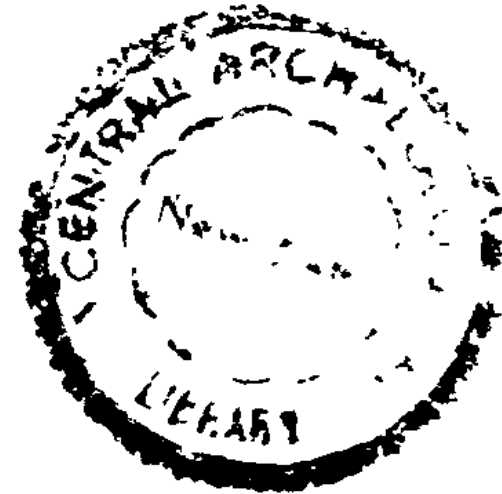
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- „ 8, f.n. 3.—*For* his son's *read* his grandson's
- „ 26, line 2.—*For* *sakak* *read* *sākak*
- „ 31, f.n. 1. (line 2). —*For* **Niśśāṅkamalla's** *read* **Niśśāṅkamalla's**
- „ 44, f.n. 1.—*For* *hough* *read* *though*
- „ 44, f.n. 7. —*For* *ine* *read* *line*
- „ 46, text line 6.—*For* *ārṇava* *read* *ārṇava*
- „ 49, line 27. —*For* **Gīullā** *read* **Gīullā**
- „ 50, line 8.—*For* **Fithly** *read* **Fifthly**
- „ 50, line 34.—*For* *that of* *read* *those of*
- „ 51, line 1 and text line 6.—*For* **Gīullā** *read* **Gīullā**
- „ 51, text line 2 —*For* **satyavatā(tō)** *read* **satyavatām**
- „ 53, line 36.—*For* *thurd* *read* *thirteenth*
- „ 70, line 33 —*For* *his may* *read* **This may**
- „ 72, f.n. 5.—*For* *viṭ-ānurrittiṃ* *read* *viṭ-ānurrittiṃ*
- „ 76, f.n. 3.—*For* **Nol.** *read* **Vol**
- „ 83, line 8.—*For* **Kumaradēvī** *read* **Kumāradēvī**
- „ 84, line 31.—*For* **Sattha-sōma** *read* **Saṭṭha-sōma**
- „ 90, text line 5.—*For* *dēvībhīr=* *read* *dēvībhīr=*
- „ 96, text line 7.—*For* *jivitam=* *read* *jīvitam=*
- „ 96, text line 13 —*For* *-yaśō(śō)-* *read* *-yaśō(śō)-*
- „ 106, text line 114.—*For* *kaiśhad=* *read* *kaiśhad(śchid)=*
- „ 106, text line 117.—*For* **kavimnuta** *read* **kavi-nuta**

Page 108, text line 164 —*For* °munisvaraya *read* °munīśvarāya

„ 112, f.n. 1 (line 3).—*For* °lakshanah *read* °lakshaṇah

„ 112, f.n. 2 (line 2).—*For* Vaikuṇṭhaperumāj *read* Vaikuṇṭhaperumāl

„ 112, f.n. 8 (line 1).—*For* inscription *read* inscription

„ 115, line 6.—*For* -Amiṛta- *read* -Amirda-

„ 115, f.n. 1. —*For* interpretation *read* interpretation

„ 116, line 9. — *After* the date of *add* some of the poems in

„ 117, 'A' text line 1.—*Read* -tritaya-vasu-śatair=vvatsarair=vvēda-

„ 118, line 36.—*For* 1099 *read* 1019

„ 119, line 33. —*For* Vijayāditya *read* Vijayāditya

„ 123, f.n. 1 (line 4) and f.n. 2.—*For* p. 172 *read* p. 122

„ 126, text line 5.—*For* °धिपति *read* °धिपति

„ 129, text line 23.—*Read* मुत्रासिनीभ्यः ॥ पूर्णा°

„ 129, text line 26. — *For* चूर्णी (र्णी) कृत्य *read* पूर्णा (र्णी) कृत्य

„ 132, f.n. 4 (line 1). —*For* north of the Upper Anicut *read* west of the Upper Anicut

„ 133, line 15. —*For* Kaupō laki *read* Kaupōdakī

„ 133, note 2, line 1.—*For* śaiyyā-grihē *read* śaiyyā-grīhē

„ 134, line 15.—*For* verse 138 *read* verse 158.

„ 134, f.n. 3 (line 3).—*For* A Jayavarman *read* A record of Jayavarman

„ 134, f.n. 3 (line 4).—*For* vv. 5 and 6 *read* v. 5

„ 135, line 32. —*For* 710-13 A.D. *read* 700-30 A.D.

„ 135, line 32. —*For* 730-65 A.D. *read* 730-68 A.D.

„ 136, line 1. —*For* 740-65 A.D. *read* 730-68 A.D.

„ 136, line 18.—*For* Kōchchhadaiyan *read* Kōchchadaiyan

„ 136, f.n. 1 (line 7).—*For* ancient *read* ancient

„ 137, f.n. 6.—*For* Metre, Āṅgā *read* Metre : Gīti

„ 137, f.n. 15 (line 1).—*For* donote *read* denote

„ 137, f.n. 15 (line 1).—*For* macc *read* mace

Page 137, f.n. 15 (line 2).—*For* discu *read* discus

„ 138, 'C' text line 2.—*For* =anvaya(ē)=sthitah *read* =anvaya(yē) sthitah

„ 138, note 3.—*For* *Anushtūbh* *read* *Anushtubh*

„ 142, line 6.—*For* -naḍu *read* -nāḍu

„ 145, line 5.—*For* boreworthy *read* noteworthy

„ 147, f.n. 3.—*For* p. 196 *read* p. 146

„ 148, f.n. 3 (line 3).—*For* Toṇḍamāṇ² *read* Toṇḍamāṇ¹

„ 149, last line.—*For* moveable *read* movable

„ 150, line 10.—*Read* anyān=adha[r*]nma-kṛityān=an cī a

„ 150, line 41.—*For* those *read* those

„ 152, text line 6.—*For* svām(mī) *read* svāmi(mī)

„ 152, text line 11.—*For* °chirantat² *read* °chirantan²

„ 152, text line 12.—*Read* dharmma-kṛity-artthan

„ 153, text line 13. —*Read* pratyatsha(ksha)-Bṛihas² + + + atshī(kshī)=svāmi-

„ 153, text line 22. —*For* paṅgira-ṇḍu *read* paṅg-iraṇḍu

„ 157, f.n. 2.—Delete the footnote.

„ 158, text line 135.—*Read* °shṭam gṛihṇantu pā[r*]thivā[h*] | ivai Nayadfra-

„ 161, column 3, line 9. —*For* Sāv[r]ṇi *read* Sāva[r]ṇi

„ 161, column 6, line 15.—*For* Kāṭhaka- *read* Kāṭaka-

„ 161, column 6, line 16. —*For* Maṇḍaśarman *read* °Māḍaśarman

„ 161, column 6, line 25. —*For* Bḥṭṭaṇ *read* Bhaṭṭaṇ

„ 162, column 6, line 5. —*For* Urdra² *read* Urudra²

„ 162, column 6, line 6.—*For* °sarann *read* °sarman

„ 162, column 6, line 11. — *Read* Kōyilān Nīlakaṇṭaṇ

„ 164, line 28. —*For* āvāsachhātra *read* āvāsichhātra

„ 170, line 14.—*For* resplendant *read* resplendent

„ 171, f.n. 6 (line 1).—*For* -ārāti-svajana- *read* -ārātiḥ svajana-

Page 171, f.n. 6 (line 2).—For *gāṁ praśāsātā*= read *gāṁ praśāsāt=ā°*

„ 172, line 37.—For Vol. III, pp. 103 ff. read Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.

„ 173, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For checked read checked

„ 174, Genealogical Table II (line 4).—For *Dodḍmā* read *Dodḍamā*

„ 177, line 14.—For munificent read munificent

„ 181, line 2.—For *-tōṁṭa* read *-tōṁṭa*

„ 187, text line 120.—For *sāubhāgya-* read *saubhāgya-*

„ 189, text line 178. —Read *paryatans(ṭans)=tan-*

„ 192, f.n. 2 (line 6).—For *Vasavīm* read *Vāsavīm*

„ 193, line 1.—For *Conjeevarmam* read *Conjeevaram*

„ 195, text line 2.—For *Kausikī* read *Kausikī*

„ 203, line 31.—For *tht* read *that*

„ 213, text line 8.—For *मगिनः* read *मगिनः*

„ 214, f.n. 3.—For *सरिन्नाथान* read *सरिन्नाथान्*

„ 215, text line 23.—For *यदगनाः* read *यदगनाः*

„ 216, Verse 12.—For *thrōns* (i.e. full of thrōns) read *thorns* (i.e. full of thorns)

„ 219, line 13.—For *ṣpūṁrakkam* and *ṣchamdr-āṁkkam* read *ṣpūṁrakkaṁ* and *ṣchamdr-āṁkka-*

„ 221, f.n. 5, line 2.—For *Sonth* read *South*

„ 221, f.n. 8. —For *Form* read *From*

„ 222, text line 26.—For *Sava(śva)* read *Sva-*

„ 223, line 5.—For *Pohnerkar* read *Phonerkar*

„ 226, f.n. 1.—For *Sangli* and *Cambay* read *Cambay* and *Sangli*

„ 239, line 16.—For *discovered* read *discovered*

„ 239, last line.—For *brokon* read *broken*

Page 244, line 23.—For °pañchāśhad- read °pañchāśad-

„ 250, line 36.—For glori read glory

„ 251, line 10.—For Śivaji read Śivājī

„ 251, last line.—For Mēshī-pāniya read Mēshī-pāniya

„ 252, line 1.—For Naramadāpura read Narmadāpura

„ 259, f.n. 3 (line 1).—For चत्वारिंशद् read चत्वारिंशद्

„ 260, under names of donees (No. 2).—For Vāvaṇa read Eḷḷaṇa

„ 266, f.n. 3.—For Jadhav o read Jadhav of

„ 268, text line 22.—For मुवत read मुक्त

„ 274, f.n. 1.—For fortnight of read fortnight (dark) of

„ 283, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For -rēśin read -rēśin

„ 286, f.n. 3 (line 2).—For 730 read 729.

„ 287, f.n. 4 (line 3).—For 724 read 732.

„ 288, line 2.—For case read cause.

„ 293, text line 39.—For °मानकान्राष्ट्रपति read °मानकान्राष्ट्रपति-

„ 299, text line 14 —Read °pa-tambha(mba)-

„ 300, f.n. 5.—For dattam vā read dattām vā

„ 301, lines 11 and 21.—For Paṇandhūru read Paṇandhūru

„ 302, text line 11.—For srī- read śrī-

„ 302, text line 13.—Read [Ā]pastambha(mba)-

„ 302, text line 20.—Read dattama(ttō)=sy=ōpari

„ 302, text line 20.—For a pa- read sa pa-

„ 306, text line 1.—Read Chandrah paksha-

„ 309, line 3.—For with the khēṭa-ghaṭṭa, nadīta-sthāna and gulmaka, read with the gulmaka.
at the khēṭa-ghaṭṭa and nadīta-sthāna

Page 309, line 4.—For *bhūmicchidra* read *bhūmicchhidra*—

„ 310, text line 7.—Read °dhaḥ(dha)-prītiḥ

„ 310, text line 11.—Delete (śru) after āsram

„ 312, text line 37.—For *Mihadhīchāya* read *Mihadhīchāya*

„ 312, text line 38.—Read =ēśh[ō]=smad-

„ 312, text line 39.—Delete (yā) after paripālaniyah

„ 313, line 1.—For *Amladi* read *Amladi*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—THREE COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS

(4 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.6.1961)

1. Dhārikātūra Grant of Achaṇḍavarman, Year 35¹

In June 1954, a set of copper plates was received for examination in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopaedia Office, University Buildings, Madras. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, as No. A 11.

This is a **set of four** plates held together by a circular ring passing through a hole about the centre of the left one-third part of the plates, .7 inch inside from their left margin. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each 7.5 inches in length, 2.1 inches in height and .1 inch in thickness. The diameter and thickness of the ring, which was intact when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, are respectively 3 inches and .125 inch. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of an oval **seal**. The counter-sunk surface of the seal bears traces of the obliterated figure of what looks like a couchant bull. The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and both the sides of the other three plates. Excepting the inner side of plate I, the six inscribed faces of plates II-IV bear the figures 2 to 7 consecutively in their left margin. The weight of the four plates together is 45 *tolas* while the set together with the ring and seal weighs 59 *tolas*.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Late stage of Southern Brāhmī resembling those of the Kanukollu plates² of the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I who was the son of Hastivarman I, a contemporary of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.), and ruled in the second half of the fourth century A. D. They may also be compared with the alphabet of the Eluru plates³ of another Śālaṅkāyana king named Devavarman and of the other records of the Śālaṅkāyana family. In **language** and **orthography**, the present record resembles the said Kanukollu and Eluru charters. But the characters are more cursively and carelessly engraved in the inscription under study than in the other epigraphs while its style is also slightly different from the known records of the family to which its issuer belonged. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory at some places. The letters on the reverse of the last plate are badly damaged.

The **cursive nature** of the characters of our inscription is indicated by the fact that very often the same letter exhibits variations of form and several letters are written by the same or

¹ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this section.

² Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

³ Ibid., Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff. and Plates.

a similar sign. For the first of these two characteristics, cf. *a* in *Achaṇḍa* in line 4 and *amhehi* in line 12 ; *k* in *bhaṭṭāraka* and *bhakta* in line 3 ; *kula* in line 7, *Kassapa* in line 9 ; *ch* in *chayana* in line 14, *cha* in lines 15 and 16, *pacha* in line 17 ; *t* in *bhagavato* in line 1, °*peti* in line 6, *tāraka* in line 11, *kātūṇa* in line 12 ; *d* in *Doṇṇampi* in line 9, *saṃpadattam* in line 12, *divasa* in line 18 ; *n* in *ppava-ddhan-attham* in line 7, *chandra* in line 11, *nātūṇa* in line 13 ; *bh* in *bhagavato* in line 1, *vibhav-i*° in line 7, *bhātukāṇam* in line 9, *Bhavaskanda*° in line 10 ; *m* in °*mahārāja* in line 4, *amha* in line 6 ; final *m* in °*ppāyaṇ-attham* in line 8, *bhātukāṇam* in line 9, *saṃpadattam* in line 12 ; etc. As an illustration of the second characteristic, it may be pointed out that the letters *t* and *n* have been written both in their looped and unlooped forms and the looped or unlooped form of one of them resembles the corresponding form of the other. The same letter can also be confused with the looped form of *bh* in *Bhavaskanda*° in line 10. The inscription employs the initial vowels *a* (lines 4, 6, 11, 12, 16), *ā* (line 11) and *e* (line 16) and the numerical symbols 2 to 7 and 30 (cf. the left margin of the inscribed faces of plates II-IV and lines 17-18). The symbols for 3, 5 and 6 occur each twice ; of them, 3 (cf. left margin of plate IIb and line 18) and 6 (cf. left margin of plate IVa and line 18) have been engraved in two different forms.

The **language** of the inscription is Prakrit considerably influenced by Sanskrit with the Sanskrit stanza *Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc., quoted at the end of the charter. The same linguistic peculiarity is also noticed in the two other Prakrit charters of the Śālaṅkāyana family, viz. the Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman I and the Eluru plates of Devavarman, both referred to above. Reduplicated consonants have been generally used while *śri* and *varmā* in line 4 have been used respectively instead of Prakrit *siri* and *vamṇo* (cf. also *samaggrā* in line 5). As in the Kanukollu and Eluru charters, *cha* has been represented by *ya* in a few cases only in lines 7 and 16 (cf. also *e* for *ye* in line 16). Interesting are also the words *vāda* for *pāda* (line 3 ; cf. *pāda* in line 2), *uvāṇa* for *upāyana* (line 13) and *ve* for *ye* (line 15).

The charter was issued by *Yuvamahārāja* (i.e. the crown-prince) **Achaṇḍavarman** of the **Śālaṅkāyana gōtra** in the **35th year** on the **3rd day** of the **sixth fortnight** of the **rainy season** probably corresponding to **Jyeshṭha sudi 3**. Since the donor of the charter was a crown-prince, the year of the date seems to refer to the reign of a Śālaṅkāyana king of Veṅgī, whose name is, however, not mentioned in the record. We know that the early charters of the Śālaṅkāyana kings flourishing about the latter half of the fourth century A. D. (i.e. the grants of Nandivarman I and Devavarman mentioned above) were written in Prakrit while the later records of the family issued by kings who flourished in the fifth century (i.e. the grants of Nandivarman II and Skandavarman to be mentioned below) were written in Sanskrit. Thus the present charter may be roughly assigned to the **latter half of the fourth century** to which the Kanukollu and Eluru charters also belong, all the three records being couched in the same language which is really an admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. No ruler of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty is, however, known to have enjoyed such a long reign of about 35 years or more ; but the king during whose rule our charter was issued is not difficult to identify.

The Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman I were issued in his 14th regnal year, while the Eluru plates are dated in the 13th year of the reign of Devavarman. Since both these charters as well as the one under study appear to be referable roughly to the second half of the fourth century A. D., it is tempting to suggest that the reign of about 35 years or more, referred to in our inscription, began earlier than the middle of that century and that this long reign was enjoyed by the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman I who came into conflict with the Gupta emperor Samudragupta about that time. But, as will be shown below, there is reason to believe that Achaṇḍavarman of our inscription was the son of Nandivarman I who was the son and successor of Hastivarman I, contemporary of Samudragupta. The **importance** of the present inscription lies in the fact that it

has helped in correcting a longstanding error in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas. This mistake is comparable to the wrong conception regarding the existence of a Śālaṅkāyana king named Buddhavarman, to which attention of scholars was drawn by me in 1933.¹

There is a Śālaṅkāyana king mentioned in the Kollair² and Pedda-Vegi³ copper-plate grants of Nandivarman II, grandson of Nandivarman I. He is represented in the above records as the son of Nandivarman I and the father of Nandivarman II and his name has been taken to be Chaṇḍavarman by all writers on Śālaṅkāyana genealogy including the author of these lines. But, as Mr. G. Bhattacharya, one of the Epigraphical Assistants of my office, has recently pointed out to me, the correct name of this Śālaṅkāyana ruler is not Chaṇḍavarman but Achaṇḍavarman. In lines 2-3 of the Kollair plates, Fleet read *Mahārājā(ja)-Chaṇḍavarmma*⁴ apparently because Chaṇḍavarman appeared to him a more suitable personal name than Achaṇḍavarman since Chaṇḍa is a well-known name of the god Śiva while the word *achaṇḍa* has no such suitable meaning in the name according to Sanskrit lexicons. After the discovery of the present inscription of Śālaṅkāyana Achaṇḍavarman, however, it can be said with confidence that the reading *Mahārāj-Āchaṇḍavarmma*⁵ of the original does not require any emendation. It is interesting in this connection to note that the same name of a king of Kalinga, who was wrongly identified with the said Śālaṅkāyana ruler, was read by Hultsch in line 2 of the Komarti plates⁶ as *Mahārājā(jaś)=Chaṇḍavarmma*, no doubt following Fleet's footsteps, even though the original correctly has *Mahārāj-Āchaṇḍavarmma*.⁵ While editing the Pedda-Vegi plates, R. Subba Rao wrongly read the passage containing the same name in lines 4-5 as *°sāmantasya Chaṇḍavarmma-mahārājasya*. But, as was shown by me, the reading is *°sāmantasyā* and not *°sāmantasya*, although I also followed the footsteps of Fleet and Hultsch in correcting *syā* to *sya*. Thus here, as in the Kollair plates, the name of the king is given clearly as Achaṇḍavarman. The above discussion will show that the name of the Śālaṅkāyana king, who was the son of Nandivarman I and the father of Nandivarman II and is known only from the Kollair and Pedda-Vegi plates, as well as of the Kalinga king of the Komarti plates is **not Chaṇḍavarman but Achaṇḍavarman**. In this name, the word *achaṇḍa* probably means the same thing as *śānta*, 'an ascetic', or a deity worshipped in the regions in question may have borne the name Achaṇḍa.

Achaṇḍavarman of the Kollair and Pedda-Vegi plates seems to be no other than the homonymous donor of the charter under study. It appears that the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I ruled for about 35 years or more and that, during the concluding part of his long reign when he was old and infirm, the reins of administration were in the hands of his son (probably, eldest son) *Yuvamahārāja* Achaṇḍavarman, who was the *de facto* king, and that the present charter was issued at that time. The title *Mahārāja* applied to Achaṇḍavarman in the records of his son Nandivarman II would suggest that the former ruled also for sometime as the *de jure* king after his father's death.

Another point that requires consideration in this connection is the position of Devavarman of the Eluru plates in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyanas. Many writers regard him as a successor of Hastivarman I, contemporary of Samudragupta, while we suggested that he 'may have been the immediate predecessor (father ?) of Hastivarman' and ruled in c. 320-45 A.D.⁶ Since the long reign of Nandivarman I (about 35 years or more) and that of his son Achaṇḍavarman (probably

¹ Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. IX, pp. 208 ff; *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 63 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff.

³ *JAHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.; *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 331 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.

⁵ Likewise, in the Bobbili plates of the same king, R. K. Ghosal reads *Mahārājā(ja)-Chaṇḍavarmma* instead of *Mahārāj-Āchaṇḍavarmma*; cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 35 (text line 2).

⁶ *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 69, note; cf. p. 392.

a shorter one) appear to cover the latter half of the fourth century A.D. and since Achaṇḍavarman's brother (probably, younger brother) Hastivarman II (father of Skandavarman) is also known to have ruled as a *Mahārāja*,¹ there does not appear to be enough scope to locate Devavarman's rule of about 13 years or more in the said period and it is probably better to assign him to a date immediately before Hastivarman I.² The genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana kings may thus be tabulated tentatively as follows :

1. Devavarman, Year 13 (c. 320-40 A.D.)
- ⋮
2. Hastivarman I (c. 340-50 A.D.)
- |
3. Nandivarman I, Years 14, 35 (c. 350-90 A.D.)
- ├──────────────────┤
- |
4. Achaṇḍavarman (c. 390-95 A.D.) 5. Hastivarman II, Year 2 (c. 395-400 A.D.)
- |
6. Nandivarman II, Years 7, 10 (c. 400-30 A.D.) 7. Skandavarman, Year 1 (c. 430-50 A.D.)

The charter begins with a reference to the place of its issue, viz. the victorious **Veṅgīpura** which was the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas, and introduces the donor in lines 1-4 as **Yuvamahārāja Achaṇḍavarman** who belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* and was devoted to the feet of the lord who was his father (*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka*), a devotee of gods (*parama-devata=parama-daivata*), and to the feet of the god Chitrarathasvāmin (*Chittarathassāmi-pād-aṇujjhāta=Chitrarathasvāmi-pād-ānudhyāta*). Such details are also available in other charters of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty and we know that Chitrarathasvāmin was the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers. But, unlike Achaṇḍavarman, the other Śālaṅkāyana rulers are sometimes represented as *parama-māhēśvara* or *parama-bhāgavata*.³

The order of the donor was addressed to the *grāmeyakas* or villagers of **Dhārikātūra** (lines 4-6). The grant of the village in question as an *agrahāra* or revenue-free holding was made for the increase of the donor's religious merit, longevity, army, animal corps, wealth and sovereignty (*amha-dhamm-āyu-bala-vāhana-vibhav-issariya-ppavpaddhaṇ-attham* in lines 6-7=*asmad-dharm-āyur-bala-vāhana-vibhav-aśvarya-pravaraddhaṇ-ārtham*) and for the prosperity, success and increasing welfare (or, the promotion of the prosperity and success) of the donor's family and clan (*kula-gottassa ya satthi-satthiyaṇ⁴-appāyaṇattham* in lines 7-8=*kula-gotrasya cha svasti-svastyaṇ-āpyāyaṇ-ārtham*). The donees were two Brāhmaṇa brothers hailing from a locality called **Doṇṇampi**, by name Bhavaskandaśarmārya and Bharṭṛiśarmārya, who belonged to the Bhemāṇa-Kāśyapa *gotra*.

The expression *Bhemāṇa-Kāśyapa-sagotra* probably suggests that the family in question belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and had a person called Bhemāṇa as its progenitor.⁵ We have understood the expression *Doṇṇampi-bhātukāṇam* (*Doṇṇampi-bhrātrikāṇām*), literally 'to the Doṇṇampi brothers', as 'to the brothers hailing from [a locality called] Doṇṇampi'. The expression may also mean 'to the brothers of [a person called] Doṇṇampi', though that is less likely since Doṇṇampi in the present context does not look like a personal name.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 8 and 9 (text line 5); cf. also Vol. XXXV, pp. 145 ff. Nandivarman I had two other sons, viz. (1) the *bālaka-Mahārāja-kumāra* Skandapotta, and (2) *Mahārājaputra* Kōṅgalla (ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 5, text lines 8-9; p. 6, note 9). But there is no evidence that either of them ever ascended the throne of Veṅgī.

² Devavarman's description as a Śālaṅkāyana and devotee of Chitraratha and the dating of his grant remind us of later records, but are of lesser importance.

³ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 2087-89.

⁴ The Kanukollu plates have *satti-satthiyaṇa* which we were formerly inclined to read as *santi-satthiyaṇa* (*śānti-svastyaṇa*), i.e. 'good fortune and progress or success' (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 5, note 2; p. 7, note 2).

⁵ The Bhemāṇa-Kāśyapa *gotra* reminds us of the Śrīrāma-Kāśyapa *gotra* to which Prithvī-mahārāja belonged (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 88 ff.).

THREE COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS—Plate I

1. Dhārikāṭūra Grant of Achaṇḍavarman, Year 35

i

2 2

ii, a

4 4

6 6

ii, b

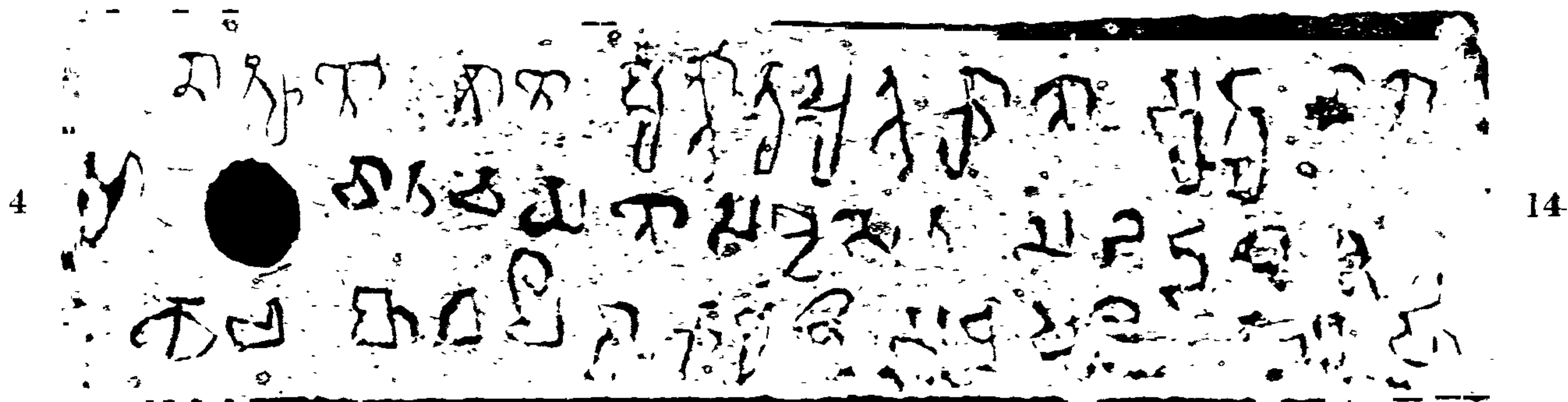
8 8

iii, a

10 10

12 12

iii, b



iv, a



iv, b



Scale : Four-fifths

The village was made a permanently rent-free holding (cf. *aggahāra ā-chanda-sūra-tāraka-tthāyī kātūṇa* in lines 11-12 = *agrahāram=ā-chandra-sūra-tāraka-sthāyinaṁ kṛtvā*). The governor of the district in which the gift village was situated was advised to order the collection of the multitude of tolls and customary offerings (*suṅg-uvāṇa-vāta-chayaṇa sadiseta* in lines 13-14 = *śulka-opāyana-vrāta-chayanaṁ sandīśet*) by the said donees and their descendants (*tāṇaṁ putt-ānuputtakāṇaṁ* in line 13 = *tayoḥ putr-ānuputrikayoḥ*). A sentence after the above reads *sambheṭṭa honti ve cha bādha-piḍā karamti* (lines 14-15) = *sambhṛishṭāḥ bhavanti ye cha bādha-piḍāḥ kurvanti*. In this *sambheṭṭa=sambhṛishṭa* means either 'fallen [from duty or right path]' or 'fried [by the fire of royal wrath]', more probably the latter. The stipulation was that the officers should not cause any obstruction and inconvenience to the donees in the latter's enjoyment of the gift land. The next sentence states that those officers who would exempt the *agrahāra* with all the customary exemptions would be made happy by the donor (*savva-parihārehi e ta pariharanti te amhehi ya nandaṁ detavvā tti* in line 16 = *sarva-parihāraiḥ ye taṁ pariharanti te asmābhiḥ cha nandaṁ dātavyāḥ iti*).

The **date** of the charter, discussed above, is quoted in lines 17-18 while the document ends with the verse *Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc., in lines 19-20.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are Veṅgīpura (modern Pedda-Vegi near Elūru in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) whence the grant was issued, Dhārikātūra which was the village granted by the charter and Doṇṇampi that was the native place of the donees. I am not sure about the location of Dhārikātūra and Doṇṇampi.

TEXT¹First Plate²

- 1 Vijasa(ya)-**Veṅgīpurā** bhagavato Chittaratha-
 2 asā[m]i-pā[d]-āṇu[j]hātō paramadevata-
 3 bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-vāda-bha[t]to [Sā]³laṅkāyana-sa-

Second Plate, First Side

2⁴

- 4 gotto yuvama[h]ā⁵rā[ja]-śrī(śrī)⁶-**Achaṇḍavarmma** [Dh]āri[k]ā-
 5 tūre gāmeyakā savva-sama[ggrā] savā⁷ [āna]-
 6 peti [*] atth=idāṇi⁸ amha-dhammo(mm-ā)yu-bala-vā-

Second Plate, Second Side

3⁹

- 7 hane(na)-vibhav-issariya-ppavaddhan-atthaṁ kula-gottassa ya
 8 satthi-[sa]t[th]iyaṇ-appāyaṇ-attham Bh[e]māṇa-
 9 Kassapa-sagottāṇa Doṇṇampi-bhātukāṇaṁ

¹ From impressions.

² This side has not been numbered as the inscribed faces of the other plates.

³ This *akshara* has been engraved on something else that was previously incised at the place.

⁴ This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 5.

⁵ The letter *r* was originally written in place of *h*.

⁶ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁷ Sanskrit *grāmeyakāṇ=sarva-samagrāṇ=sarvāṇ*.

⁸ Sanskrit *ast=īdānīm*, in which *asti* is a mere particle introducing the narration of the grant proper.

⁹ This figure is incised in the left margin against the beginning of line 8.

*Third Plate, First Side*4¹

- 10 Bhavaskandasammajja-Bhaṭṭisammajjāṇaṃ Bamhaṇaṇaṃ
 11 ag[g]ahāra ā-chanda-sūra-tāraka-[t]thāyī
 12 kātūṇa a[mhe]hi sampadattam [||*] tam=evaṃ

*Third Plate, Second Side*5²

- 13 nātūṇa tāṇaṃ putt-ānuputtakāṇaṃ suṅg-u[v]āṇa-
 14 vāta-chayaṇa sadiseta [||*] sambhetṭa [ho]nti
 15 ve cha bādha-pī[d]ā karaṃti [||*] sav[v]a-pa[r]i[hā]rehi

*Fourth Plate, First Side*6³

- 16 e⁴ ta cha parihara[m*]ti te amhehi ya naṃdaṃ deta[v]vā tti [||*]
 17 samvachchharāṇi pachatīsa 30 5 vāsa-
 18 pakkhaṃ chha[ṭha]m—6 divasa—tetiyyāṃ⁵ ti 3 [||*]

Fourth Plate, Second Side[7]⁶

- 19 Bahu ⁷ [nupāli]tā [||*]
 20 yasya yasya yadā [bhūmī] tasya [tasya] ⁸ [||*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) From the victorious **Veṅgīpura**,—the illustrious **Yuvamahārāja Achaṇḍava-rman**—who meditates on (or, is favoured by) the feet of Lord Chitrarathasvāmin, who is a devotee of the feet of the lord that was his father and was extremely devoted to the gods, (and) who belongs to the **Śālaṅkāyana gotra**—orders all the villagers of **Dhārikāṭūra en masse** :

(Lines 5-12) Now (*the said village*) has been granted by us as a rent-free holding, having made it to last as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, to the (*two*) brothers (*hailing*) from **Doṇṇampi**, (*namely*), Bhavaskandaśarmārya and Bharṭṛiśarmārya, who are Brāhmaṇas belonging to the Bhemāṇa-Kāśyapa *gotra*, for the increase of our religious merit, longevity, army, animal corps, wealth and sovereignty and for the prosperity, success and increasing welfare (or, for the promotion of the prosperity and success) of our family and clan.

(Lines 12-16) Having known this, (*you, the officer in charge of the district*), should order the collection of the multitude of tolls and (*customary*) offerings by those (*donees*) and their descendants. Those who cause obstruction and inconvenience (*to the donees should*) be fried (*by royal wrath*). Those who exempt it (i.e. the gift land) by all the customary exemptions will get pleasure through us.

¹ This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 11.

² This figure is incised in the left margin against the beginning of line 14.

³ This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 17.

⁴ A letter like *ch* was originally incised for *e*.

⁵ Better read *tetiyyam*.

⁶ This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 20.

The lost *aksharas* are °*bhir=vasudhā dattā bahubhiś=ch=ā*°.

The lost *aksharas* are *tadā phalam*.

(Lines 17-18) **Year thirtyfive—35, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season—6, the third day—3.**

(Lines 19-20) *Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc.

2. Tūṇḍigrāma Grant of Vikramēndra III, Year 14

The inscription under study was lent to us for a short time for examination by Dr. R. Subramanyam, Superintendent, Nagarjunikonda Excavation Project, Guntur, in January 1957. It was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. A 1. The exact findspot of the inscription is not known to us.

This is a **set** of **five** thin plates. The measurement of the different plates is not uniform as expected. Thus the length of the five plates is respectively 6·2, 6, 6·4, 6·4 and 5·95 inches while their height is likewise 1·725, 1·65, 1·725, 1·75 and 1·75 inches. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side, the other four plates having writing on both the sides. The first and second plates are consecutively numbered in the left margin on the reverse, though the other plates do not bear such numbers. A copper ring (about ·3 inch in thickness and 2·5 inches in diameter) runs through a hole (·45 inch in diameter) near the left margin of the plates in order to hold them together. The ends of this ring are soldered beneath a bronze **seal** with an oval surface measuring 1·05 inches in length and ·875" in breadth. It bears the emblem of a standing humped bull facing the proper left and not the lion generally believed to have been the crest of the Vishṇukunḍin family to which the charter belongs.¹ There is a crescent symbol above the bull and a damaged solar symbol above the crescent. The ring with the seal weighs 18 *tolas* while the weight of the five plates together is 38½ *tolas*.

There are altogether thirtyfive lines of writing on the nine inscribed faces of the five plates, the reverse of the fifth plate having three lines and the other inscribed faces of the plates four lines each. A passage omitted from line 28 on the reverse of the fourth plate is engraved in the lower margin of the face in question so that it looks like having five lines of writing.

The **characters** of the record belong to the early Telugu-Kannaḍa alphabet and resemble those of other Vishṇukunḍin charters including the Chikkulla plates² of Vikramēndra III who was also the donor of the present grant. The use of the symbol for 10 and the figures 1, 2 and 4 is noticed in the inscription, as also of the initial vowels *a* (line 17), *ā* (lines 26, 27 and 30), *i* (lines 21, 29 and 30) and *e* (lines 2, 5) and of final *m* (lines 1 and 34). *Visarga* is written in two different ways, the two vertically placed dots being joined in some cases by a slightly curved stroke (cf. *yājinaḥ* in line 4). The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit. In respect of **orthography** and style also the present record resembles the Chikkulla plates and other Vishṇukunḍin charters. The introductory section, however, is not couched exactly in the same language as the Chikkulla plates, though several passages are common to both the charters.

The grant was issued in the **14th regnal** year of the Vishṇukunḍin king **Vikramēndra III**, called Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman in the present record but Vikramēndravarmān in his Chikkulla plates. The exact date is quoted as *grī 2 di pratipadi*, i.e. *grī 2 di 1* or the first day or *tithi* of the second fortnight of the summer season. Originally, this season used to be counted as beginning on Chaitra-badi 1 and ending on Āshāḍha-sudi 15, so that the date of our record would be Chaitra-sudi 1. It is, however, difficult to say whether the old calculation was followed during the Vishṇukunḍin period in the South. We know that the Chikkulla plates were issued by the

¹ Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 132, 138, 139. The seal of the Chikkulla plates of the same king is stated to bear the figure of a well-executed lion (above, Vol. IV, p. 194).

² Above, Vol. IV, pp. 193ff.

same king in his 10th regnal year on the 5th day of the 8th fortnight of summer (Āshādha-sudi 5 according to the old calculation). Thus the present charter was issued nearly four years after the Chikkulla plates. The rule of the Vishṇukunḍin king Vikramēndra III was assigned by us elsewhere to c. 620-31 A.D.¹ It was also suggested that this king was extirpated by the Chālukya monarch Pulakēśin II of Badami sometime about 631 A. D. The length of the reign of Vikramēndra III as indicated by the present charter would, however, suggest that he probably ruled in c. 616-31 A.D. The dates of his immediate predecessors as previously suggested by us also require to be modified as follows : his father Indra, c. 587-616 A.D. (not c. 590-620 A.D.) ; his grandfather Vikramēndra II, c. 585-87 A.D. (not 585-90 A.D.).²

The inscription begins with the word *svasti* and introduces the donor **Vikramēndrabhaṭṭā-rakavarman III** of the **Vishṇukunḍin** family in lines 1-24 as the son of *Mahārāja* **Indrabhaṭṭā-rakavarman**, the grandson of *Mahārāja* **Vikramēndrabhaṭṭā-rakavarman II** and the great-grandson of *Mahārāja* **Mādhavavarman** (i.e. Mādhavavarman I, son of Vikramēndra I).³ It may be mentioned here that the father and grandfather of the donor of the present charter are mentioned as *Rājan* (not *Mahārāja*) in the Ramatirtham plates of his father,⁴ while his own Chikkulla plates⁵ mention Indrabhaṭṭā-rakavarman as *Mahārāja* but do not apply the title *Rājan* or *Mahārāja* to Vikramēndra II or Mādhavavarman I. Unlike the Chikkulla plates which are stated to have been issued from the victorious *vāsaka* (the king's camp or residence) at Lēndulūra, the present charter does not indicate the place whence it was issued. It is not impossible that Lēndulūra was specially mentioned as the place of issue in the Chikkulla plates because it was not the normal residence (i.e. the capital) of the Vishṇukunḍin king.

Unlike his predecessors, Vikramēndrabhaṭṭā-rakavarman III is not endowed with the title *Mahārāja*, but is described as *mahī-mahēndra* (king of the earth), etc. He is, however, called *Mahārāja* in the Chikkulla plates of his 10th regnal year. This does not appear to be of any special significance since, besides similar irregularities in the Vishṇukunḍin records already referred to, the epithet *Paramamāhēśvara* applied to the king in the Chikkulla plates is also wanting in the charter under study. Our inscription describes the donor as 'the dear son' of his father and as 'the crest-jewel on the crown of the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty'. As we know, the Chikkulla plates call him 'the dear eldest son' of king Indrabhaṭṭā-rakavarman.

In the description of *Paramamāhēśvara* *Mahārāja* **Indrabhaṭṭā-rakavarman**, the father of the donor, the epithets 'an ornament of the Vishṇukunḍin family', 'extremely devoted to the Brāhmaṇas' and 'a righteous conqueror' are not found in the Chikkulla plates. But the reference to his success in many *chāturdanta-samaras* and against certain *dāyādas*, i.e. relatives who may have opposed his accession, are found in both the epigraphs though not exactly in the same language. The epithet *anēka-chāturdanta-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-vijayin* is found in the Chikkulla plates as *anēka-chāturdanta-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-dvirada-gaṇa-vipula-vijaya*. Since Chaturdanta is the same as Indra's Airāvata, the elephant of the east, Kielhorn suggested that the epithet indicates the Vishṇukunḍin king's success against his eastern neighbours.⁶ It is, however, not impossible that the expression *chāturdanta-samara* or *chāturdanta-samara* means merely 'a war of elephants'.⁷

¹ *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar. p. 210.

² For another view on the genealogy and chronology of the Vishṇukunḍins, see *ibid.*, p. 206, note 1 ; pp. 233 ff.

³ His name is wrongly quoted in his son's Polamuru plates as *Vikramahēndra* (cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 335, text line 4).

⁴ Above, Vol. XII, p. 134 text lines 5 and 6.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 196.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 195 and note 2 ; cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 113.

⁷ Cf. *ghōṭaka-vigraha* in Bhandarkar's List, No. 1226. The war of elephants is mentioned also in such other records as the Kadalur grant of Mārasimha II (text line 7 : *anēka-chāturdanta-yuddh-āvāpta-chatur-uladhi-salil-āśvādita-yasāh*).

The epithet *yathāvidhi-viniryāpita-ghaṭik-āvāpta-puṇya-saṁchaya* in his description, also found in the Chikkulla plates, was translated by Kielhorn as 'who acquired a store of merit by emptying water-jars [at donations made] according to precept', though he admitted that the word *viniryāpita* does not have the sense of 'emptying'. It seems that *ghaṭikī* has to be understood here in the sense of a *brahmapurī* or Brāhmaṇa settlement. Thus *viniryāpita* would appear to be a mistake for *viniryātita* in the sense of 'donated' (cf. Prakrit *niyātita* = Sanskrit *niryātita*).¹ Then the passage in the Chikkulla plates would mean 'who acquired a store of merit by dedicating Brāhmaṇa settlements according to precept'.²

The donor's grandfather, *Mahārāja Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman* (Vikramēndra II), is described in our record as one who purified both the Vishṇukuṇḍin and Vākāṭaka families by his birth. The same epithet also occurs in the Chikkulla plates which, however, give the name *Vākāṭaka* as *Vākāṭa*. There is no doubt that the mother of Vishṇukuṇḍin Vikramēndra II was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family of Nāndīvardhana-Pravarapura or of Vatsagulma. But her father cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

In the description of *Mahārāja Mādhavavarman* (I), the great-grandfather of the donor, we are told that the said king was devoted to the god Śrīparvatasvāmin, the tutelary deity of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family, and that he performed eleven horse-sacrifices, one thousand *kratus* or minor sacrifices, the *sarvamēdha* sacrifice, eleven *bahusuvārṇas*, eleven *paṇḍarīkas*, the *rājasūya* and the *purushamēdha* and other *kratus*. Although the performance of eleven horse sacrifices and one thousand *agnishṭōmas* or *kratus* by king Mādhavavarman I is well known from the copper-plate grants of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family, some of the informations supplied by our record (e.g. the number of *bahusuvārṇa* and of *paṇḍarīka* quoted in both the cases as eleven) are not found elsewhere.³ It should, however, be noticed that the Chikkulla plates attribute the performance of such other sacrificial rites to Mādhavavarman I as *yūddhya* (*ukthya* ?), *shōḍaśin*, *prādhirājya* and *prājāpatya*, which are not mentioned in our record. But the most significant and unique epithet of Mādhavavarman I in our inscription is *dēvātīdēva*, 'supreme god', which shows that he was regarded as a god at least as early as the 14th regnal year of his great-grandson. That he was regarded as a *paramēshṭhin* or saintly being was, however, already known from the Chikkulla plates.⁴

The grant proper is recorded in lines 24-29. It is stated that the village called *Tūṇḍi-grāma*, which was situated in *Vaiyērakara* and in the *pārśva* of *Charmapura*, was granted by king Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārakavarman in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Svāmīśarman of *Āki-grāma*, who was the son of Rudraśarman and a student of the Āpastamba *sūtra* and belonged to the Kaṇḍīnya *gōtra*. The word *pārśva* used in this section may indicate a small territorial unit. It may also mean that Charmapura and Tūṇḍi-grāma were abutting on each other. If *pārśva* is the same as *pravēśa* known from some inscriptions,⁵ it may also be supposed that revenue was assessed for the two villages jointly.

Line 30 contains a statement to the effect that the order regarding the execution of the grant emanated from the king's mouth. A passage in prose followed by a verse in lines 30-32 states that the person responsible for the resumption of the gift land would be committing the same sin as the murderer of the mother, a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, an infant, a woman and an ascetic. This is followed by the well-known stanza, *Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā*, etc., in lines 33-34. The date of the grant, already discussed above, is quoted in line 35 with which the document ends.

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 157, text line 1.

² Cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 137.

³ The Khanapur plates (above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 312 ff.), ascribed to Mādhavavarman I, probably speak of his 'eleven *paṇḍarīkas* and *bahusuvārṇas*'.

⁴ Kielhorn understood the word *paramēshṭhitā*, used in the Chikkulla plates, as 'supremacy'.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 59, note 1.

The **importance** of the inscription lies in two facts. In the first place, it is dated in the 14th regnal year of Vikramēndravarmān III and shows that the said king ruled at least for about 14 years. As we have already seen, his other known record, viz. the Chikkulla plates referred to above, was issued in the 10th year of his reign. We have also discussed the effect of the date of the present record on the chronology of the Vishṇukunḍins previously suggested by us.

Secondly, it endows the Vishṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I, the donor's great-grandfather, with the epithet *dēv-ātidēva*, 'the supreme god'. This is not found in any of the known records of the family. The present epigraph which is the latest inscription of the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty so far discovered thus clearly shows that Mādhavavarman I was deified. Another epigraphic instance of a somewhat similar nature is found in the Bhuvaneswar inscription dated in the 34th regnal year of the Eastern Gaṅga monarch Anaṅgabhīma III (c. 1211-39 A. D.) who is mentioned in the record as *Bhagavat*.¹ A difference between the two cases, however, is that, while the Vishṇukunḍin king seems to have been deified after his death, the Eastern Gaṅga monarch was partially deified even during his life time.

As we have seen elsewhere,² some legends gradually developed around the glorious name of the Vishṇukunḍin king Mādhavavarman I. But that he was regarded as a god by his descendants is known for the first time from the present inscription. We had also occasion to notice elsewhere³ that new elements were introduced in the description of king Mādhavavarman I in the later epigraphs of the Vishṇukunḍin family. The point is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the claim regarding the performance of sacrifices by him in his own records with the sacrifices attributed to him in the inscriptions of his great-grandson. Thus the Ipur⁴ and Polamuru⁵ plates issued respectively in the 37th and the 40th or 48th regnal years of Mādhavavarman I himself have the following passages : (1) *agnishṭōma-sahasra-yājī-hi[ra*]nyagarbha-prasūtaḥ ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-vidhūta-jagat-kalmashaḥ*, and (2) *kratu-sahasra-yājī hiraṇyagarbha-prasūtaḥ ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-vigata-jagad-ēnaskaḥ*. In both these inscriptions, Mādhavavarman I claims to have celebrated one *hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna*, eleven horse-sacrifices and one thousand *agnishṭōmas* or *kratus* (minor sacrifices). We have as yet no copper-plate grant issued by Vikramēndra II, son of Mādhavavarman I. The Ramatirtham plates⁶ of king Mādhavavarman's grandson Indravarmān do not add to the said claims when they describe the donor's grandfather as *ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha(th)-vidhauta-jagat-kalmasha-kratu-sahasrayājīn*. As a matter of fact, the claim of Mādhavavarman I to have celebrated the *hiraṇyagarbha-mahādāna* is omitted in the Ramatirtham plates. Similar is the description of Mādhavavarman I in the Ipur plates⁷ of his other grandson Mādhavavarman II : *ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛith-āvadhūta-jagat-kalmashasy-agnishṭōma-sahasra-yājīnaḥ*. But, in the Chikkulla plates and the Tūṇḍigrāma grant of Indravarmān's son, Vikramēndravarmān III, we have respectively the following passages referring to the sacrifices performed by the donor's great-grandfather : (1) *ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛith-āvadhūta-jagadka(t-ka)lmashasya kratu-sahasra-yājīnaḥ sarvamēdh-āvāpta-sarvabhūta-svārājyasya bahusuvarṇa-paunḍarika-purushamēdha-vājapēya-yūddhya(ukthya?)-shōḍaśī-rājasūya-prādhirājya-prājūpaty-ādy-anēka-vividha-prithu-guru-vara-śata-sahasra-yājīna[h*] kratu-var-ānushṭhātā(n-ā)-dhishṭhā[na*]-pratishṭhita-paramēshṭhitasya*, and (2) *ēkādaś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛith-āvadhūta-jagat-kalmashasya kratu-sahasra-yājīnaḥ sarvamēdh-āvāpta-sarva-bhūta-svārājyasya bahusuvarṇa-aikādaśaka-yājīnaḥ ēkādaśa-paunḍarika - prāpta-sarv-ardhēḥ yathāvidhy-anushṭhita-rājasūy-ōpapādit-*

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 19.

² *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 124, note 1 ; *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 209. The Khanpur plates recording a grant of land in the Satara region would suggest that the king led a successful expedition against the western parts of the Deccan. But the inscription seems to be spurious.

³ *The Classical Age*, op. cit., p. 206, note 1.

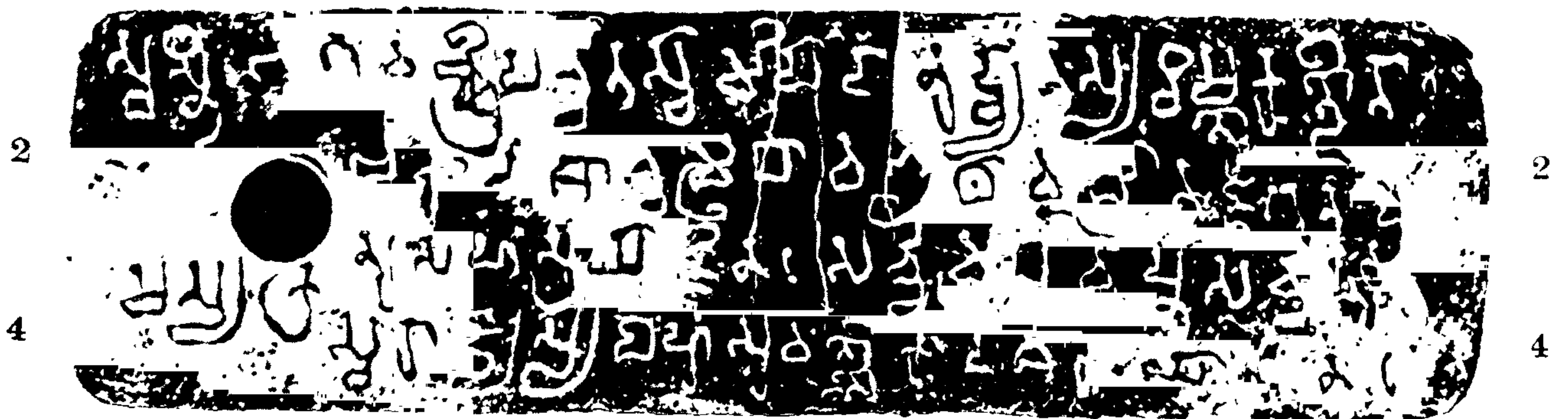
⁴ *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 335-36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 338.

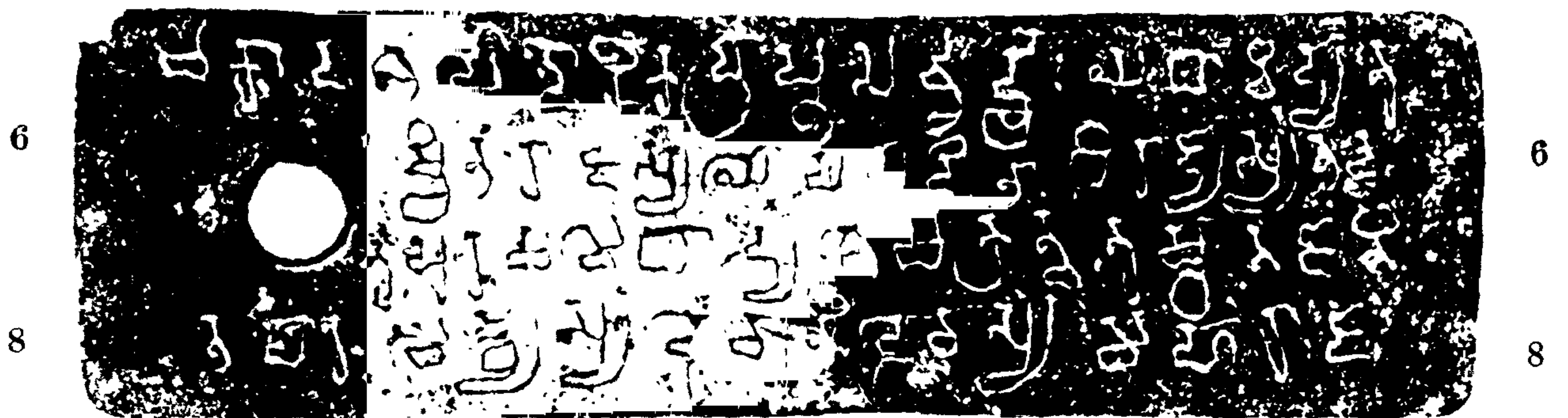
⁶ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 134, text lines 1-4.

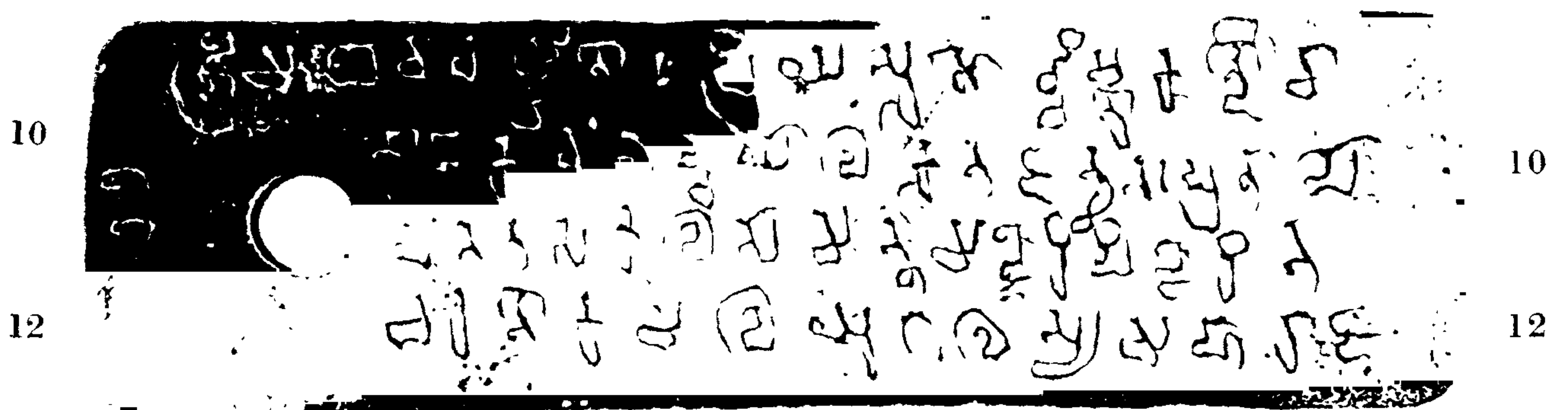
i



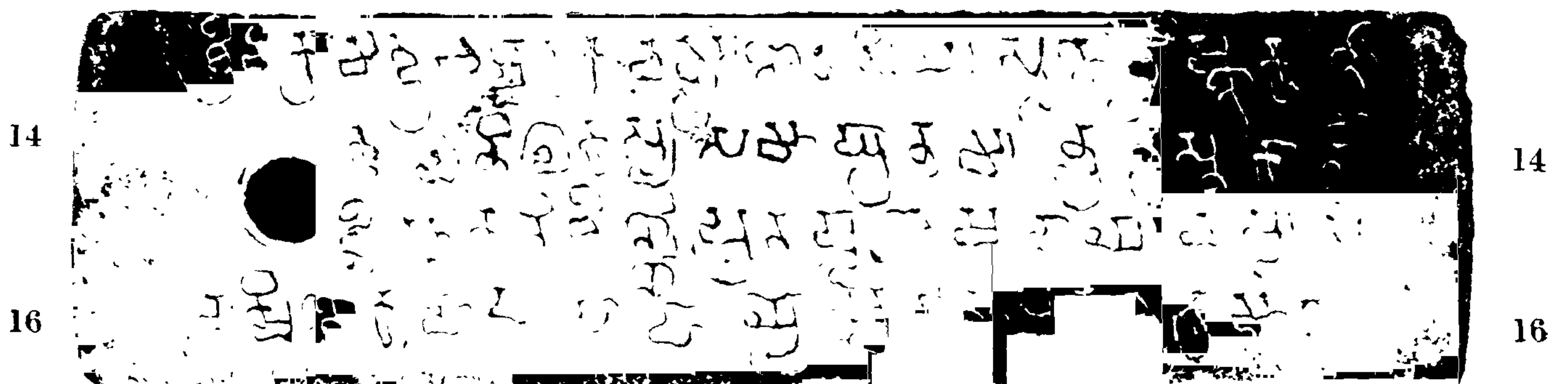
ii, a



ii, b



iii, a



8
 10
 18
 20

22
 24

26
 28

30
 32

ādhirājyasya tad-anu purushamēdh-ādy-aśēsha-kratv-anushṭhāna-janita-pāramēshṭhyasya dēvāti-dēvasya. These records add a number of details, though the *hiraṇyagarbha* is not mentioned in either of them. Both the epigraphs describe Mādhavavarman I for the first time as having obtained the status of a *paramēshṭhin* or saintly being. The later of the two epigraphs has a few more details than the earlier one. Thus, in the Tūṇḍi-grāma grant issued four years after the Chikkulla plates, Mādhavavarman I is not only called the supreme god additionally but the number of the *bahusuvārṇa* and *pauṇḍarīka* performed by him is specified as eleven in both the cases. This has to be regarded as a step towards the fuller development of the Mādhavavarman saga.

There are four **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription. They are the localities called Āki, Charmapura and Tūṇḍi-grāma and the district of Vaiyērakara in which Tūṇḍi-grāma is stated to have been situated. We are not sure about the location of these places.

TEXT¹*First Plate*1²

- 1 Svasti Bhagavach-Chhrīparvvatasvāmi-pād-ānuddhyātasya **Vishṇukunḍī(ṇḍi)nā[m]**
- 2 ēkā[da]ś-āśvamēdh-āvabhṛith-āvadhauta-jagat-kalma-
- 3 shasya kra³tu-sahasra-yājinaḥ sarvvamēdh-āvāpta-sarvvabhūta-
- 4 sva(svā)rājyasya bahusuvārṇa-aikādaśaka-yājinaḥ

*Second Plate, First Side*2²

- 5 ēkādaśa-pauṇḍarīka-prāpta-sarvv-ard[dhē]ḥ yathā-vidyā(dhy-a)nu-
- 6 shṭhitaṁ(ta)-rājasya(sū)y-ōpapādit-ādhirājyasya tad-a-
- 7 nu purushamēdh-ādy-aśēsha-kratv-anushṭhāna-jani-
- 8 ta-pāramēshṭhyasya dēvātidēvasya mahārāja-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 śrī-Mādhavava[r]mmaṇaḥ priya-sūnōr=**Vvishṇukunḍī-Vā-**
- 10 **kāṭaka-vamśa** -dvay-ālamkṛita-janmanah pratāp-ō-
- 11 panata-sakala-sūmanta-mañjari-piñjarita-
- 12 charaṇa-kamala-yugalasya mahārāja-

Third Plate, First Side

- 13 śrī-Vikramēndrabhaṭṭ[ā]rakavarmanṇaḥ priya-sūnōr=**Vvishṇukunḍī(ṇḍi)-**
- 14 **kula**-tilakasya samāghrāta-mātra-trasta-kāndi-
- 15 śībhūta-viśīrṇa-pranasṭ[ā]śēsha-dāyādasya su-
- 16 dakṣiṇ-aika-bāhu-sāhāyy-ō[ch]chair-nnīta-sva-va[m*]śa-kram-āga-

¹ From impressions.² This is engraved in the left margin.³ These three *aksharas* have been engraved beneath the ring-hole between lines 3 and 4.

Third Plate, Second Side

- 17 t-ādhirājyasya anēka-chāturddanta-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijayina[h*]
 18 paramamāhēśvarasya paramabrū(bra)hmaṇyasya yathā-vidhi-
 19 viniry[ā]pi(ti)ta-ghaṭik-āvāpta-punya-saṅchayasya
 20 dharmma-vijayika-mahārāj-**Ēndrabhaṭṭārakavarmmaṇa[h*]**

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 21 priya-putra[h] śrī-**Vishṇukunḍy-anvaya-makuṭa-chūlā(dā)maṇi[h]**
 22 Hara iv āpratihata-prabhāvaḥ sakala-bhuvana-rakshā-
 23 bhār-aik-āśīaya[h*] mahani(nī)ya-guṇō ma-
 24 hī-mahēndraḥ **Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārai(ra)kavarmma(rmmā) Vaiyērakarē**

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 25 **Tūṇḍi-nāmadhēya-grāmē** [grāmē*]yakā[n*] ēvam=ājñāpaya-
 26 ti yathā asmai **Aki-v[ā]stavyāya** Kaunḍinya-
 27 sagōtrāya Āpastamba-sūtra-pāragatāya
 28 Rudraśarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Svāmīśarmmaṇē [**Charmmapūrā(pura)-pārśvē**]¹ **Tūṇḍi-**
gr[ā]mō=

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 29 smābhir=ddattaḥ sarvva-bādha-parihārēṇa datta ity=ēsh=ājñā-
 30 panā [,*] ājñāptam² sva-mukham=ēvaḥ(va |) imāni cha pātakāni
 31 vilōpayatuḥ(taḥ) [,*] Vi(Ni)ghnatām mātṛi-gō-vipraḥ(pra)-bāla-yō-
 32 shi[t*]-tapasvinaḥ [,*] yā gatis=sā bhavēd=vṛitti[m*] harataś=sāsan-ā[m]kitah(tām) || [1*]³

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 33 [Bahubhi]r=vvasudhā dattā [bahubhi]ś=ch=ānupāli[tā] |
 34 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [2*]
 35 **Samva 10 4 grī [2] di pratipadi⁴ [,*]**

3. Ēkallahāra Grant of Trilōchanapāla, Śaka 972

This set of copper plates was secured by an Exploration Assistant of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Baroda, who was stationed at **Broach** (Bharuch), headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat. It was received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in July 1958 from Mr. S. R. Rao, formerly Superintendent of the Baroda Circle.

¹ These *akṣaras* are engraved in the lower margin of the plate below the central part of line 28.

² We have generally *ājñaptiḥ* in the same context elsewhere.

³ The metre of this stanza and the following one is *Anuṣṭubh*.

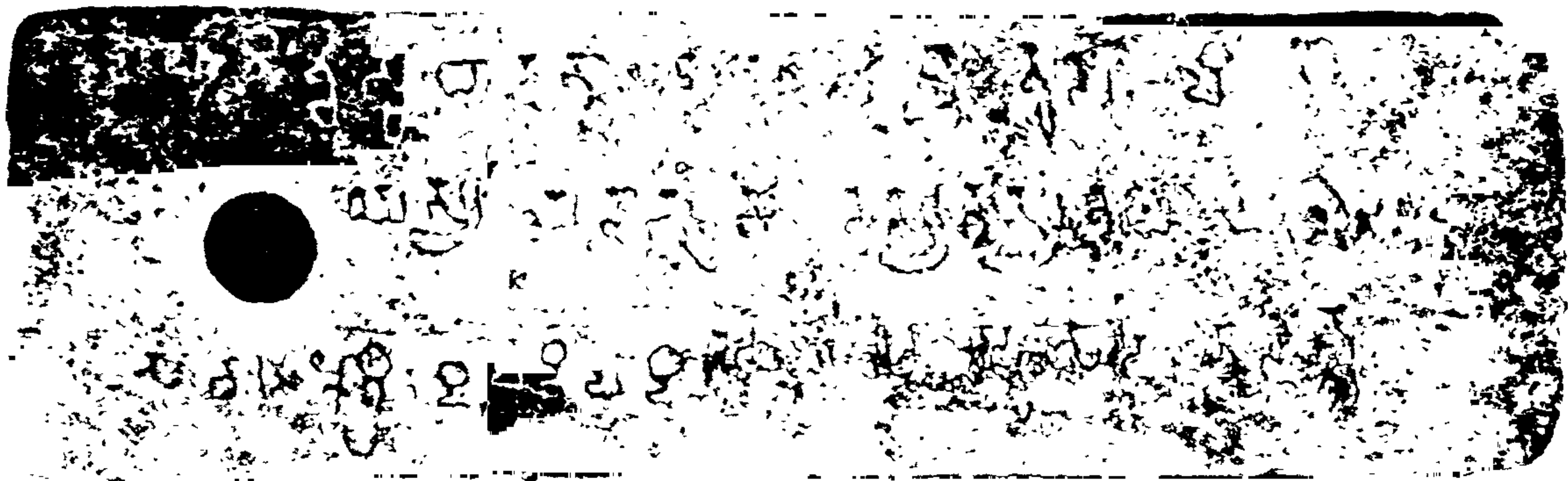
⁴ After this, some letters appear to have been rubbed off by the engraver.

THREE COPPER PLATE CHARTERS—Plate III

2. Tūṇḍigrāma Grant of Vikramēndra III, Year 14

v, b

34



Size : Actual

SEAL



(from Photograph)

There are **three plates** in the set, each measuring 9·7 inches in length and 7·2 inches in height. The plates are consecutively numbered, the first and third bearing the respective numbers in the left margin of the inscribed faces and the second in the corresponding place on its reverse. There is a hole (·6 inch in diameter) about the middle of the upper margin of the plates for the ring holding them together to pass through. The circular seal (about 3·1 inches in diameter) affixed to the ring bears the figure of Garuḍa in the centre facing front. Below this figure, there is the representation of a boar facing proper right. While the crescent, parasol, goad, sword and drum symbols are found to the left of the Garuḍa figure, the representation of the sun, two standards with a bird each on the top, a chowrie and a pair of cymbals are noticed to its right. The first and third plates contain writing only on the inner side, the second plate being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 56 lines of writing in the inscription distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates in the following order : I—12 lines ; IIa—13 lines ; IIb—15 lines ; III—16 lines. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory, a number of letters having suffered from corrosion especially on the first plate and the first side of the second.

In point of **palaeography, language, orthography** and style, the present copper-plate grant closely resembles another charter of its donor, the **Lāṭa Chaulukya chief Trilōchanapāla**, viz. the Surat plates¹ issued in **Śaka 972, Vikṛita**, Pauṣa-badi 15, solar eclipse, Tuesday, corresponding to the 15th January 1051 A.D. The only point of palaeographical interest worthy of notice is the use of the Bengali type of *anusvāra* in one case in line 52. This may suggest that the engraver was an East Indian employed under a West Indian government.

The record under study was issued by **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Trilōchanapāla**, son of Vatsa, grandson of Kīrti, great-grandson of Gōgi or Gōggi and great-great-grandson of Bārāpa or Bārappa, in the same year and month, but on **Pauṣa-sudi 9, Monday**, on the occasion of the sun's entry into the Makara-rāṣi. The date corresponds to the **24th December 1050 A.D.**, though the *tithi* in question ended the next day and the *saṅkrānti* took place on the previous day. It will be seen that the present grant was issued about three weeks before the Surat plates.

Like the Surat plates, the present record is also composed in verse with only a few small passages in prose. Some of the verses are common to both the charters although in a few cases there are variant readings ; cf. verses 1-8, 11-17, 21-23, 27-28, 36-37 of our record respectively with verses 1-7, 13-15, 17, 16, 19, 18, 20, 25-27, 32-33, 41-42 of the Surat plates. These 22 verses do not include the common stanzas in the imprecatory and benedictory section about the end of both the charters. Verse 8 in the description of Bārāpa is found in the Surat plates as verse 13 in the description of his grandson Kīrtirāja. Verses 9, 12 and 26 of the Surat plates referring to Lāṭa in association of Bārāpa, Kīrti and Trilōchana respectively are not found in our record. Considering the variation in the reading of some of the stanzas, it is interesting to note that the writer of both the documents was the same officer of the Chaulukya chief, viz. **Mahāsāndhivigrahika Śaṅkara** whose name is given as Saṅkara in the Surat plates and as Sa[m*]karaiya in the present record. As pointed out by the editor of the Surat plates, the meaning of some of the stanzas is rather obscure. There are altogether 43 stanzas, of which verses 1-42 are numbered consecutively.

The inscription begins with the symbol for the *praṇava* and the *māṅgalika* passage *jayaś=ch=ābhyaudayaś=cha*. Then follow 37 stanzas in various metres, which may be grouped into such sections as *namaskāra*, genealogy of the donor, description of the donor and particulars of the grant together with date, etc.

Verses 1-3 contain adoration respectively to the gods Dēvadēva (Śiva), Hari (Viṣṇu) and Aja (Brahman), while verses 4-7 describe the mythical origin of the **Chaulukya family**. We are told how the progenitor of the family was born out of the *chuluka* (a small vessel or the palm of the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201-02 and Plates ; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1092.

hand hollowed to hold water) of the god Viriñchi (verse 4), how he, the *Mahārāja Chaulukya*, was advised by the creator to marry a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler of Kanyākubja (verse 6) and how a Kshātra dynasty emanated from the said Chaulukya (verse 7). Verses 8-10 respectively introduce the following three rulers of the Chaulukya family, viz. **Bārāpa** (called **Bārappa** in the Surat plates), his son **Gōggirāja** (or **Gōgirāja**), his son **Kīrtirāja**. Verses 11-19 contain vague praises of the last named ruler, viz. Chaulukya Kīrtirāja, while verse 20 introduces his son **Vatsarāja**. Verses 21-23 are in praise of the chief Vatsarāja, the last of the stanzas referring to the umbrella made by him in gold and jewels for the god Sōmanātha and to a *sattra* (free feeding institution) that he built at the border of his territory. Sōmanātha may be the celebrated deity of the same name worshipped at Prabhāsa-pattana in Kathiawar. This stanza also occurs in the Surat plates with slight modification of the language in the latter half of it.

Verse 24 introduces the donor of the grant, **Trilōchana**, as the son of Vatsarāja and verses 25-26 are in his praise. Verses 27-37 record the grant made by Trilōchana. The date is given in verses 28-29 as the **Śaka year 972, Vikṛita, Pausa-sudi 9, Monday, saṅkrama** of the sun meaning his entry into the Makara-rāśi. Verse 30 states that the donee was the Brāhmaṇa Tārāditya who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* and was the *sthānika* of the *mahāsthāna* called **Rōhiḍā**. *Mahāsthāna* means both a holy place and a great temple while *sthānika* in the same context would mean a temple priest. Thus the donee Tārāditya was the priest of a temple at Rōhiḍā. We know from verse 31 that the Brāhmaṇa had three *pravaras*, viz. Āṅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja.

The gift village was **Ēkallahāra** situated in the **Karmāntapura-116** (verse 32) and it was granted with the exclusion of the right involving the following five items of income, viz. *nīdhāna*, *ālīpaka*, *kumārī-sāhasa*, *mahā-dōsha* and land previously given to Brāhmaṇas and gods (verse 33). Of these, *nīdhāna* often occurs in the passage *nīdhi-nīdhāna* apparently in the sense of *nīdhi-nīkshēpa* of other records and would therefore mean 'deposits on the surface of the ground'. The word *ālīpaka* may correctly be *ālīpaka* derived from *alīpaka*, 'a bee', probably in the sense of 'income from bees (i.e. wax, honey, etc.)'. The expression *kumārī-sāhasa* no doubt refers to the power to deal with cases of violation of the modesty of an unmarried girl and *mahā-dōsha* the five great crimes related to the *pañcha-mahāpātaka* (murder of a Brāhmaṇa, etc.). The donee of our grant was not entitled to the privileges involving the items enumerated in the verse.

Verses 34-35 describe the boundaries of the gift village. It was bounded in the east by the localities called **Nikusāḍhi** and **Vihāṇaka**; in the south by the **Kurunālā** (*nālā* in the name probably meaning 'a canal'); in the north-west by **Kuṇḍalikā**; and in the north by **Dadhīsthāna**. This enumeration of the boundaries is followed by two stanzas (verses 36-37) containing the donor's prayer to people for the maintenance of his gift and a statement regarding the merit to be derived from the protection of the grant and the sin resulting from its resumption. Verses 38-43 are some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas introduced by the passage *tathā ch=ōktam* (line 47). The name of the donor **Trilōchana** has been inserted by the author in verse 43 of this section.

At the end of the document we have, "This is the signature of the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Trilōchanapāladēvarāja*" (lines 54-55) and a statement to the effect that it was written by *Mahāsāndhivīgrahika Śaṅkaraiya* in the presence of *Mahāmātya Ākalaiya* and other officers of the *Śrīkaraṇa* or record department (lines 55-56).

The Chaulukya family represented by Trilōchanapāla of the Surat plates and Ēkallahāra grant is also known from other epigraphic and literary sources. The Surat plates¹ of Śaka 940 (1018 A.D.), issued by his grandfather *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kīrtirāja* of Lāṭa-dēśa, give the name of Bārappa's father as Nimbārka and mention Kīrti's Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory Śambhu, son of

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No 1088.

Amṛita and grandson of Kunda. The Rewa inscription¹ of the Kalachuri year 812 (1060-61 A.D.) refers to the defeat of Trilōchana, probably the Lāṭa Chaulukya chief of that name, by Vapula or Vapullaka, a general of Kalachuri Karna of Tripurī. Among literary references, the *Ras̥ Mālā*, mentions Bārappa as a general of 'Telip, the sovereign of Telingana', who is no doubt the Later Chālukya king Tailapa or Taila II (973-97 A.D.) of Karnaṭa,² from whom the former apparently received the governorship of Lāṭa. According to Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*,³ the Sōlaṅkī king Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.) was defeated jointly by Bārappa and the [Chāhamāna] king of Śākambharī and fled to the Kanthā-durga. Hēmachandra's *Dvyāśrayakāvya* describes how the Sōlaṅkī army entered Lāṭa after crossing the Śvabhṛavatī (modern Sabarmati) at the southern boundary of the Sōlaṅkī kingdom and advanced as far as Bhṛigukachchha (Broach) and how Mūlarāja's son Chāmuṇḍa killed Bārappa.⁴ But Bārappa's son Gōggi appears to have succeeded in retrieving the fallen fortunes of his house. The Nausari plates⁵ (Vikrama 1131=1074 A.D.) of Sōlaṅkī Karnaṛāja (c. 1064-94 A.D.), descendant of Mūlarāja, however, show that his feudatory Durlabharāja was ruling in that year from Nāgasārikā, probably the same as Navasārikā or Nausari. Thus the Chaulukya house of Lāṭa, owing allegiance to the Chālukyas of Karnaṭa, appears to have been ousted by the Sōlaṅkīs before 1074 A.D.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, Kanyākubja is the well-known Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District of U.P. We are not sure about the location of the *mahūsthāna* of Rōhidā, the village of Ēkallahāra and the places mentioned in the description of the boundaries of the latter. The territorial unit called Karmāntapura-116, in which the gift village was situated was probably a tract in the present Broach District. It is mentioned in the Surat plates (Śaka 789)⁶ of the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Dhruva III as a tract in which the gift village called Pārāhaṇaka was situated.

TEXT⁷

[Metres : verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verses 2-3 *Vaṁśasthavila* ; verses 4-11, 14, 22-23, 27-33, 35-41 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 12-13, 15-16, 19 *Upajāti* ; verses 17-18, 20, 42 *Indracarā* ; verse 21 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 24 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 25-26 *Āryāgīti* ; verse 34 *Upagīti* ; verse 43 *Upajāti* (*Śālinī-Upēndravajrā*).]

First Plate

1⁸

- 1 [Ō] || jayaś=ch=ābhyudayaś=cha || Vā(Bā)ṇaṁ vīṇ-ākshamālē kamalam=ahim=athō bījapūraṁ trisū(śū)laṁ khaṭvāṅgaṁ dāna-
- 2 hastāṁ(st-ā)bhaya-kara-sahitāḥ pāṇayō dhārayamtaḥ⁹ [*] rakshamtu vyaṁjayamtaḥ sakala-rasa-mayaṁ Dēvadēvasya chi-
- 3 ttaṁ nō chēd=ēvaṁ kathaṁ nyā(vā) tribhuvanam=akhilam pālitaṁ dānavēbhyaḥ || 1 || Dadhāti mālām=atha chakra-

¹ Ibid., No. 1226 ; cf. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

² Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 937.

³ Tawney's trans., p. 23.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 111 ; Ray, op. cit., p. 939.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, No. 141.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 185, text lines 8-9 on Plate IIb.

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ This is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 6.

⁹ The ten-armed Śiva described here is rarely met with in sculpture.

- 4 kaustubhau [gadām] dhanuḥ saṁ(śam)kham=ih=aiva paṁkajam(jam |) Hariḥ sa pātu tridasā(ś-ā)dhipō bhūba(vam) rasapu¹ sa-
- 5 rvvēshu nishanna(ṇṇa)-mānasah || 2 || Kamaṁdalum daṁdam=atha [srucham] bi(vi)-bhur=bbibhartti mālām bhuvan-ābhaya-
- 6 pradaḥ || (|) pāyād=Ajō lōkam=asē(śē)sham=[ūrjji]tam samē=pi ś[ēshai ra]sitō rasais=tu yaḥ || 3 || Kadāchid=dai-
- 7 tya-khēd-ō[t*]tha-chimta-mam[da]ra-mam[tha]nādvī(t | Vi)[r]imchēs=chuluk-āmbhōdhē rāja-ratnam pumān=abhṛit(bhūt) || 4 || Dēva
- 8 kim karavāṇ=īti natvā prāha tam=ē[va] saḥ | samādisht-ārttha-samsiddhau tushṭaḥ śrashvā(Srasht=ā)bravīch=[cha*] tam(tam) ||²
- 9 || 5 || Kanyākubjē mahārāja [Rāshṭra]kūṭasya kanyakān(kām) || (|) lavdhā(bdhvā) sukhāya tasyā[m*] tvaṁ **Chauluky**=ā-
- 10 pnuhi samtatin(tim) || [6 ||] I[ttham=a]tra bhavē[t*] kshātra-samtatir=vvisritā kila | Chaulukyād=vitatā nadyāḥ
- 11 srōtāms=īva mahīdharāt || [7 ||] Samtāna-tamtushu prōtām(tā)ś=Chaulukyā maṇayō nṛipāḥ | tasyām tu ma-
- 12 ṇi-mālāyā[m*] nāyakō **Bāba(ra)pō**=bhavatu(vat) || 8 || Tasy=āpi su(śu)ddha-vaṁsa(śa)sya **Gōg[gi]³rājah**

Second Plate, First Side

- 13 sutō='bhavajji(t | ji)tvā vairi-bala[m*] yēna prajānām=abhayaṁ kṛitam(tam) || 9 || Tasmād=abhūd=guṇi rājā **Ki**-
- 14 **rttirājō** [ma]hābalaḥ | kīrttyā yēna jagat=kṛishṇam dhavalīkṛitam=āsu(śu) tat || 10 || Gōḥ piṇḍē pā[r]tthivē
- 15 bhūri padā[rth-ā*]yata[n]jē gurau | sūtē kshīra[m*] si(śi)rā k=āpi mātya(tā) strīshu tath=aiva cha || 11 || Ā-janma dṛishṭā(shty=ā)timanō-
- 16 harasya mu[dā tath=ā]pūryata sarvva-lōkah || (|) yath=āmṛit-āpūrṇa-ghaṭi samānam n=ārībya(rihya)t=āpi stuti-bim[du-pā]-
- 17 [taiḥ] || 12 || La[gnam] tathā kshmāpati-pāṇi-pādē yathā sthitam vakshasi ratna-sāraiḥ || (|) gōṇa[m*] tyajadbhi[h] śruti]-
- 18 [kumḍa]lābhyām kṛitvā padaṁ mukhyam=ath=āsu(śu) tam [ta*]t || 13 || Samē=pi sprihaṇīyathē(tvē) pakvām(kv-ā)nnasy=ēva yōshitām(tām) | bhō-
- 19 [gas=tē]na para-strīṇām(ṇā)m=uchchhishtasy=ēva varjjitah || 14 || Sa y[au]van-ōnma[t*]ta-gajēndra-pārsvō(rsvā)d=dhāva[n*]-manō=mā-
- 20 na(ra)yad=ēvam=ētat | tasmād=ritō h=īndriya-khēṭakēna vilamghitā vaishayikī na sīmā || 15 || Ālam[b]i-
- 21 [nībhū]ta-mahīdharāms=tān=ullaṁghya jushṭam patanam guṇō(ṇ-au)ghaiḥ | kutō='nyathā tē sahajā babbhūvu[h*] katham cha [tē*] ta[t*]-sa-
- 22 ha vṛiddhi[m]=āp[uh] || 16 || Kāya(yē)na gōh-ādi-nibhēna jīvō vyōm=ēva jamtōr=vyavadhīyatē sma | tasmāt=parasmi-

¹ Read *rasīshu*.

² The mark of punctuation is here unnecessary.

³ The reading may also be *Gōgi*.

THREE COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS—Plate IV

i

4

6

8

10

12

2

4

6

8

10

12

 \ddot{ii}, \dot{a}

16

18

20

22

24

14

16

18

20

22

24

ii, b

26	विद्यमानाद... विद्यमानाद... विद्यमानाद...	26
28	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	28
30	दिक... विद्यमानाद... विद्यमानाद...	30
32	दिक... विद्यमानाद... विद्यमानाद...	32
34	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	34
36	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	36
38	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	38
40	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	40

iii

42	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	42
44	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	44
46	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	46
48	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	48
50	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	50
52	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	52
54	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	54
56	मनेवृत्तिरिवनमदःमनपीष्टिनावीडाणववृत्तिव्यविषयसत्तादयनीयतीतामेव	56

Scale : One-third

- 23 na(nn=a)hama(m=e)va ma[tvā] lakshmī[m] samā[m*] sō=rthi-[ja]nair=a[bhu]mk[t]a || 17 |
Yā(Ya)tr=ātma-pīḍā tapasi pradānē stō-
- 24 kē=pi satvā(ttvā)d=bhavataḥ phala(lā)ya | rājyē=pi chintā-vikadō(ṭ-ō)[r]ja-bhāvau pi(pī)
ḍākarau yachchhata ēva dharmmam |
- 25 | 18 [||] Chittē na kasy=āpi trisham(shā) na dātā parasya ḍhim(chhim)dyād=amitām mitām
mitēna [||] ataḥ sa gṛihṇā-

Second Plate, Second Side

2^a

- 26 ti parasya duḥ[kham] datta[m] cha vitta[m] va(ba)humanyatē=rtthī || 19 || Tasmād
abhūd=**Vatsa**-nṛipaḥ kshitīsō(śō) rājy-ōpadē[śā]d=gu-
- 27 rutām=avāpa | yaḥ kalpa-sā(śā)khī guṇa-vala(la)rīṇām yō Viṣṇur=āsīt=**Kamal**-āva(ba)
lāyāḥ || 20 || Ā ba(bā)lyād=i-
- 28 yamē(m=a)tra mūrtti-bhavanē bhadreḥ(draiḥ) samam śrī sthitā |¹ vṛḍ=āpy=atra vadhūr=
iva sva-vishayam samchhādayantī satī | tām=ēv=ā-
- 29 dhikatām nayaty=aviratā[m*] bharttur=mmanō jānatī Viṣṇor=ākṛiti-sa(sā)myam=asya
dadhatō Vatsēśa-nāmnas=chiram(ram) || 21 || Sa-
- 30 h-aik-āmva(ba)ra-dusthatvē kāschi[t*]=kōṇa-śritā disaḥ(śaḥ) | it=iv=āchchhādaya[t*]=
tyāgī Vatsēśaḥ(śaḥ) kīrtti-ka[r*]ppatai[h*] || 22 ||
- 31 Hēma-ratna-mayam chchha(chha)tram Sō[ma*]na(nā)thasya bhūshana[m*] | dēsa(śa)-
prā[m*]tē tathā satra(ttra)m=avāritam=akāri saḥ || 23 || Tasmā-
- 32 d=abhūd=visa(śa)da-kī[r*]ti-yasō(śō)-bhar[ē]ṇa namraśtri(s=**Tri**)**lōchana**-patir=bhuvamā-
(n-ā)bhīrāmāḥ | yō vairi-damti-dalan-āhṛita-
- 33 kīrtti-bhāram vōḍhum=āsakta⁴ iva dikshu dadhāti vīraḥ || 24 || Dōr-ddan[d*]a-
kṛishṭa-lakshmī-vilasana-subha-
- 34 gō vairi-vidhvamsa-dakshaḥ | lōkānām pālanēna spu(sphu)ṭam=iha janat-ānamda-pātra[m*]
mahīpaḥ || 25 || Rāj=ābhūd=dha-
- 35 rmma-dharttā cha(chi)ram=avanitalē dīrgham=āyuh sa dadhyāt | yēn=ēdānī[m*] dhar=
ēya[m*] sthiratara-vapushā dhāritā Mē-
- 36 ruṇ=ēva || 26 || Dharmma-sī(śī)lēna tēn=ēdam va(cha)lam vīksh[y*]a jagat-trayam-
(yam) | gō-bhū-hiraṇya-dānāni dattāny=andha⁵ dvija-
- 37 nmanā(nē) || 27 || **Sā(Śā)kē nava-satē⁶ yuktē dvisaptaty-adhikē** tathā [||*]
Vikṛita-savatsasyāntē⁷ Paushasya [śu]-
- 38 **ddha-pakshajā** || 28 || **Navamī** tu tithis=tasyā[m*] **vārē Sōmasya** parvvaṇi |
Sūryasya samk[r*]amē jātē rāsau(śau)
- 39 lā⁸ bhapatih || 29 || Sa vipra-Tārādityāya Bhāradvāja-[sa*]gōtrīṇē | **Rōhid-ēti**
mahā-sthāna-sthānikāya guṇ-ā-

¹ This word is redundant.² This is incised in the left margin near the beginning of line 33.³ The *danḍa* is redundant.⁴ Read *vōḍhum na śakta*^o for the sake of the metre.⁵ The intended reading may be *attha*.⁶ Read *śatair*^o.⁷ Read *vatsarasy=āntē*.⁸ The reading expected here is *Makarē*. The word *lābha* of course means the Pūrva-Phalguni *nakshatra*.

40 tmanē || 30 || Ā[m*]girasa-Vā(Bā)rhaspatya-Dvā(Bhā)radvājaścha(j-ēti)-samjñakāḥ |
yasyē(sy=ai)tē pravarās=trīṇi¹ tasmai grāmam=a-

Third Plate

3²

- 41 dā[n*]=nṛipah || 31 || **Karmmāntapura**-nāmiya-śatē tu shōḍasō(ś-ō)[ttarē] pra-
dattaś=ch=ōdakēn=ā-
- 42 yam=**Ēkallahāra**-sa[m*]jñakāḥ || 32 || Nidhān-ālīpakē vā(bā)hyē kumārī-sāhasa[m*]
tathā []*
- 43 mahā-dōya(shō)=tra pañch=ēdam(yam) dattīś=cha dvija-dēvayōḥ || 33 || Yasya tu
pūrvvasyā[m*] diśi [grāmau*] **Nikusāḍhi**- Vi-
- 44 **hāṇakau** | dakṣiṇataḥ **Kurunālā** paśchim-ōttarataḥ **Kumḍal[i]kā** []* 34 ||
U[t*]taratō **Dadhisthā**-
- 45 **nam**=[i]ty=āghāṭa-chatusṭayam || [35 ||*]³ Tasmā[d*]-dvija-varasy=āsyā bhu[m*]jatō
na vikalpanā | karttavyā kaiścha
- 46 na nata(raiḥ) sādhu-asādhu-sām-ākhyakaiḥ || 36 || Ath=aivam yadi lōpt=āsyā(sya)
sē(sa) tadā pāpā(pa)-bhājana[m](nam) | pā-
- 47 lanō(nē) hi parō dharmmō haraṇē pātaka[m*] mahat || 37 || tathā ch=ōktaṁ(ktam) |
Kanyāmakam(m=ēkāṁ) gavāmakam(m=ēkāṁ) bhūmē=
- 48 r=arddh-ārddham=a[m*]gula[m*] | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=ābhūta-samplavam(vam)
|| 38 || Sva-dattām para=dattām vā yō [harē]-
- 49 ta vasumḍharā[m*] | shasṭi-varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi viśṭhāyā[m*] jāyatē kṛimiḥ || 39 ||
Yas=tu pālayatē bhūmi[m*] [bhū]-
- 50 mipālas=tath=ētarah | sa dātuḥ phalam=āpnōti samam dīrgham cha jīvati || 40 ||
Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhu-
- 51 ktā rājahiḥ(bhiḥ) Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m*]
|| 41 || Agnēr=apa-
- 52 tyam prathamā[m*] suvarṇnam bhūr=vvaishṇavī sūrya-sutās=cha gāvaḥ | lōkās=trayas=
tēna bhavanṁti dattā yaḥ kāmchanam⁴ gām
- 53 cha mahīm cha dadyāt || 42 || Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sa(sē)tu[r*]=nṛipāṇām kālē
kālē pālanīyō bhava-
- 54 dbhiḥ | sva-vaṁsa(śa)jā vā para-vaṁsa(śa)jā vā **Trilōchanah** prārthayātē
mahīsah(śān) || [43 ||*] svahastō=yam mahāmam[ḍa]lē-
- 55 sva(śva)ra-śrī-**Trilōchanapālādēvarājasya** cha⁵ || chha || likhitam sū(śā)sanam=
idaṁ mahāmātya-śrī-⁶Ākalaiya-
- 56 prabhṛiti-śrīkaraṇa-samakṣam mahāsā[m*]dhivigrahika-śrī-Sakaraiyaṇa⁷ || maṁgalaṁ
mahā-śrīḥ ||⁸

¹ Read *trayas*°.

² This is engraved in the left margin about the beginning of line 46.

³ This is really half of a stanza in *Anushṭubh*.

⁴ This *anuvāra* is of the Bengali type.

⁵ This word is redundant.

⁶ *Sondhi* has not been observed here.

⁷ The intended reading is *Śamkaraiyēna*=*Śaṅkarāryēna*.

⁸ There is a symbol here looking like the upper right half of a trident.

No. 2—PRAKASA INSCRIPTION OF SIMHANA'S TIME, SAKA 1156

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.5.1961)

The **slab** of stone bearing the inscription published here was discovered in the house of Shri Prabhakar Master of **Prakāśā** which is a prosperous village in the Shahada Taluk of the West Khandesh District, about 9 miles from Shahada and 62 miles from Dhulia. The stone slab is found embedded in the flooring near a well in the compound of Shri Master's house so that people have to stand on it while drawing water from the well. It is therefore quite natural that the writing on the slab is considerably rubbed off.

A photograph of the inscription was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1954 and the record was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, No. B 89. Since the epigraph could not be fully deciphered from the photograph, the findspot was later visited by the officers of the Epigraphical Branch for copying it.

The inscription is written in 24 lines covering an area about 1 foot 8 inches in breadth and 2 feet in height. The **characters** of the record are Southern Nāgarī and its **language** is Sanskrit. No peculiarity of its **orthography** is worthy of mention. The record is a eulogy written in fifteen stanzas with a few passages in prose. The date of the inscription is quoted in lines 20-21 as the **Śaka year 1156, Vijaya, falling in the reign of the illustrious Siṅghaṇa-mahārāja**, i.e. the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, c. 1210-47 A.D. The year Vijaya of Jupiter's sixty year cycle as calculated in South India corresponded to Śaka 1155 expired and Śaka 1156 current, i.e. **1233-34 A.D.** No other details of the date are quoted in the inscription.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the Sun-god called Vikramārka by two brothers named Haradēva and Mahādēva who belonged to a family of Brāhmaṇas of the Ātrēya gōtra.

The inscription begins with the *maṅgla* : *Om svasti*, followed by a passage in prose introducing the sage Atri. Next follows verse 1 (lines 2-3) which introduces Tējasvin or the Sun-god as the dispeller of the darkness that was the demons at the instance of the said sage. It is difficult to say what particular story of our mythology is referred to here since it is not readily traceable in the epic and Puranic literature besides the vague association of Atri, the Sun-god and the Asuras in the *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana-parvan, chapter 146. Prakāśā being a holy place at the junction of the Tāpī and the Gōmī, there was probably a *sthala-purāṇa* recording the mythological traditions of the place and the story referred to in our inscription may have found a place therein.

Verses 2-6 in lines 4-9 introduce the family sprung from the sage Atri and describe the many qualities of its members. Verse 7 (lines 9-11) mentions a ruling chief of the family, by name **Pra-bhuvara**, as well as **Abhraśyāma** who was the son of Prabhuvara. **Jagadēvaprabhu**, son of Abhraśyāma, is introduced in verse 8 (lines 11-12) while the following stanza (verse 9 in lines 12-15) apparently mentions **Siddhiprabhu** and **Vaidyanātha** respectively as the son and grandson of Jagadēva. Verse 10 (lines 15-16) speaks of **Dēvala** who was the son of Vaidyanātha and the next two stanzas (verses 11-12 in lines 16-20) mention the two sons of Dēvala, viz. **Haradēva** and **Mahādēva**, who are stated to have built the temple of Vikramārka that became an ornament of

(19)

Prakāśā. The heroes of the eulogy were thus Haradēva and Mahādēva who were Brāhmaṇas of Ātrēya-gōtra and belonged to a family of ruling chiefs. Whether this family had its headquarters at Prakāśā, the findspot of the inscription under study, although that is quite possible, cannot be satisfactorily determined since Prakāśā is a holy place and it is equally possible to think that the two brothers visited it on pilgrimage and caused the temple to be built on the holy spot.

The following passage in prose in lines 20-22 quotes the date discussed above as falling not only in the reign of **Simhāṇa-mahārāja** but also in the *vyāpāra* or administration of **Sahasraliṅga Vaijū-nāyaka** who was no doubt Simhāṇa's viceroy ruling over the district including Prakāśā. The name of this Yādava subordinate is not known from any other record. The use of the word *vyāpāra* in the sense of administration in the passage in question reminds us of such passages as *amukē mudrā-vyāpāraṁ paripanthayati* used in introducing viceroys in certain early medieval inscriptions.¹ The word *vyāpāra* used in the present context obviously means *mudrā-vyāpāra* of the other records.

Verse 14 (lines 22-23) following the above section in prose again refers to the construction of the temple of Vikramārka by Haradēva and Mahādēva while the last stanza of the record (verse 15 in lines 23-24) contains a prayer to the effect that the god Vikramārka may grant prosperity to the two brothers who built his temple and their fame may spread on account of the temple. The record ends with the *maṅgala : svasti*.

There is no **geographical name** in the inscription except Prakāśā where the temple of the Sun-god called Vikramārka was built.

TEXT²

[Metres : verses 1-6, 8, 10, 12-15 *Anushtubh*; verses 7, 9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* verses 11, 12 *Vasantatilakā*.]

1 ओं स्वस्ति समस्त[मुनिमनुज]वृंदवृंदारकवंचपदारविंदद्वंद्वः परा(र)-

2 मेष्टि(ष्टि)सम[:*] समस्तसद्गुला(णो)पे[तोत्रिनामा] महर्षिरासीत् ॥ वित[ते]
सप्ततंतौ तु³

3 [स्व]:सदस्यासुरं तमः । द्वं(ध्वं)सयामास [तेजस्वी] महर्षिवचनात्पुरा ॥[१*]⁴

4 आ(अ)स्ति स्वस्तिमती तस्य संततिर्विश्रुता भुवि । यत्प्रोत्पन्ना(न्ना): सुसंपन्ना
न-³

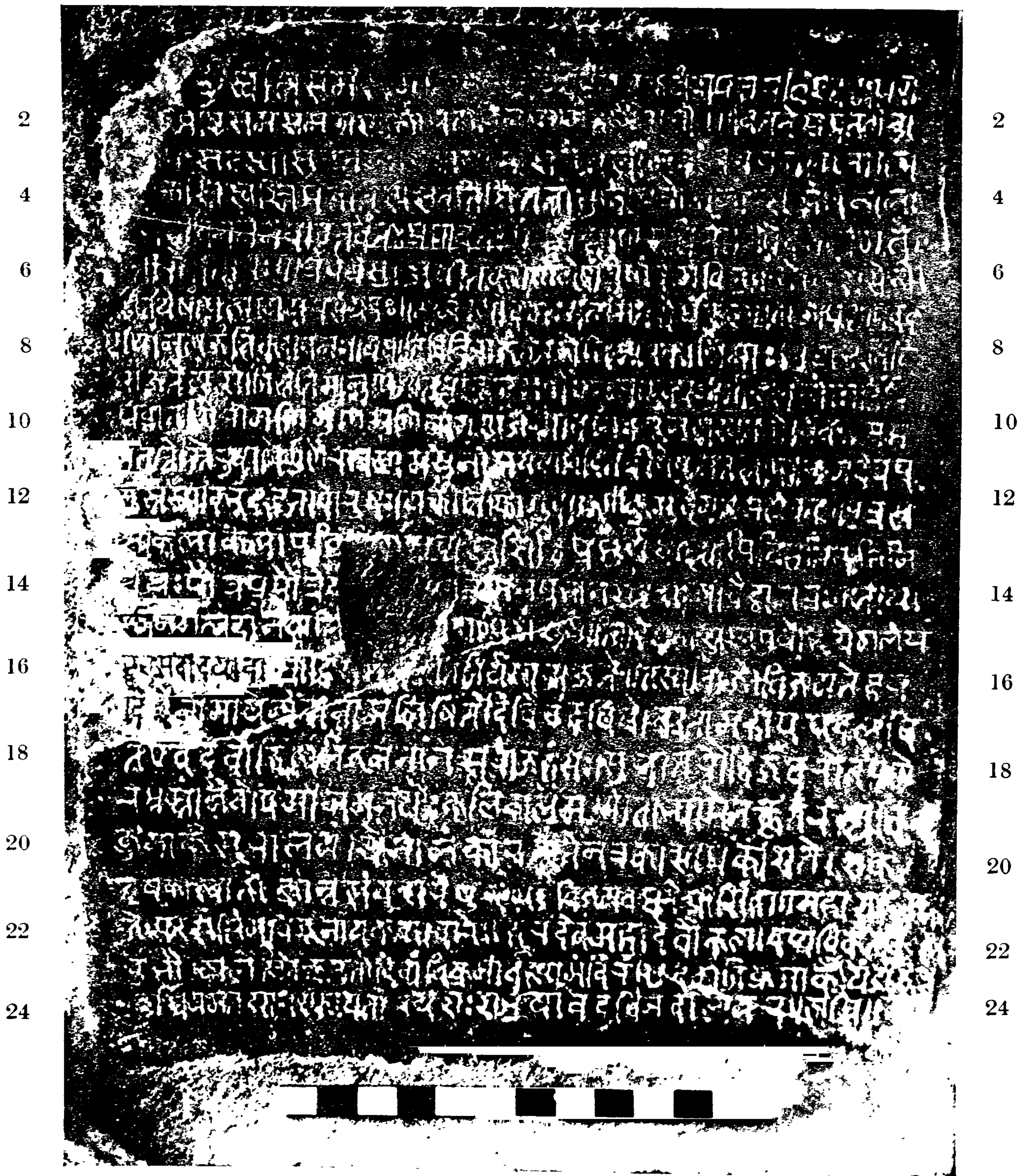
5 येन विनयेन च ॥[१२*] वृत्तवंतः प्रभावंतः सर्व्वे सन्मणिसन्निभाः ।
वेदवेदांगवे-³

¹ See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 164.

² From impressions.

³ There is a *danḍa* at the end of the line to cover a little empty space.

⁴ There appear to be traces of an unnecessary *akshara* at the end of the line.



(from Photograph)

- 6 त्तारो दातारः पात्रपर्वसु ।।[१३*] अधीतं कर्मणे ये[षां] स्त(त)था कर्म विमुक्तये ।
यशसे जी-¹
- 7 वितं येषां प्रजायै दारसंग्रहः ।।[१४*]² दानं दया दमः [सत्य]मेतद्येष[ि]
कुलव्रतं(तम्) । आपद्यपि च क-
- 8 ष्टायां न त्यजन्ति कदाचनः(न) ॥ [५*] यथा दिवि विराजंते तेजोभि-
स्तारका[स्त्व]माः । तथा भुवि वि-
- 9 राजते यशोभिस्तेतिमानुषैः ।।[१६*] तत्राभूज्जगतीधरः प्रभुवरः³ कर्ता कुलस्योन्नतेर्वि-
- 10 प्रव्रातशिरोमणिर्गुणमणिग्रामस्य जन्मा[वनिः] । सूनुस्तस्य ततोधिकः सम-
- 11 भवतैस्तैरुदारैर्गुणैरभ्रश्यामसुनाम यस्य विदितं द्वीपेषु सप्तस्वपि ॥[७*] जगदेवप्र-
- 12 भुस्तस्मादभूदद्भुतपौरुषः । यत्कीर्तिकौमुदी कर्णकुमुदेमृतमस्रवत् ।।[१८*] पुत्रस्त-
- 13 स्य कलाकलाप[ति] ७ — — द्यस्तु सिद्धिप्रभुर्यस्याद्यापि विभूतिभूतिनि-
- 14 चयः पौत्रप्रपौत्रे ७ — । — — ७ मरप्रभावसदृशः श्रीवैद्यनाथः कृती य-
- 15 स्य(स्या)नर्गलदानवारि ७ ७ — [ना]द्यापि संशुष्यति ॥[१९*] दे[व]लस्तस्य पुत्रो-
भूतपेशलं य-
- 16 द्वच[ः] सदा । दयादानादि[सं] . . ⁴ संततिर्यस्य राजते ।।[१०*] तस्यात्मजो
विजयते हर-
- 17 देवनामा येनात्मनाम लिषि(खितं) दिवि चंद्रबिंबे । भ्राता महोपपदलषि(क्षि)-
- 18 त एव देवो [देव*]द्विजातिजननां(मा)नसराजहंसः ।।[११*] सुभ्रातरौ द्विजवरौ
त[र]णे-

¹ There is a *danḍa* at the end of the line to cover a little empty space.

² This verse reminds us of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, I, 7 : *Yasasē vijigīṣhūṇām prajāyai grihamēdhinām* |

³ We have taken *Prabhuvara* as the personal name and *Jagatīdhara* as his epithet because the word *prabhu* occurs in the names of Jagadēvaprabhu and Siddhiprabhu who were respectively his grandson and great-grandson.

⁴ The intended word is no doubt *sampannā*.

- 19 रघस्तान्नैवोऽमानमनयोः कलिकालमध्ये ॥[१२*]¹ ताभ्यामेतत्कृतं रम्यं वि-
- 20 क्रमार्कसुरालयं(यम्) । येनालंकारभूतेन प्रकाशा[सौ*] प्रकाशते ॥[१३*] शक-
- 21 नृपकालाती(ति)क्रान्तसंवत्सरेषु ११५६ विजयवत्सरे श्रीसिंघणमहाराजरा-
- 22 ज्ये सहस्र(स्र)लिंगवैजूनायकव्यापारे ॥ हरदेवमहादेवौ कलावप्यविकला-²
- 23 बुभौ । कालेस्मिन् कुरुतो दिव्यं विक्रमार्कस्य मंदिरं(रम्) ॥[१४*] [नं]दको
विक्रमार्कोयं य[च्छ]-
- 24 तु श्रियमेतयोः । स्फायतां च यशः शुभ्रं यावदुर्व्व तदालयम् ॥[१५*]
स्वस्ति ॥

¹ The latter half of this stanza is omitted through oversight.

² Read *kalav=avi*°.

No. 3—RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA

(1 Plate)

S. PARANAVITANA, PERADENIYA, CEYLON

(Received on 27.5. 1961)

This inscription is engraved on the surface (3 feet 10 inches square) of a stone *āsana*, now used as a *bali-pīṭha* and placed close to the *dhvaja-stambha* of the Rāmanāthasvāmin temple at Rāmēśvaram in the Ramanathapuram District, Madras. It was copied in 1905 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, who queried whether it is written in the Vaṭṭeḷuttu script.¹ I learnt of this inscription from Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar when I was attached to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, from 1923 to 1925, as a scholar of the Ceylon Government. Shri Subrahmanya Ayyar remarked on the peculiar manner in which the writing had been executed and said that the script appeared to him to be Sinhalese. Though I was anxious at that time to have a look at the inscription, I could not get an estampage to be examined before I left India to join the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Some time after, when I was Epigraphical Assitant to the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, Shri C. R. Krishnamacharlu, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly sent me, at my request, an estampage of the record. An examination of this revealed that the inscription is in the **Sinhalese language and script** and that it is of **Niśsaṅkamalla**. A brief notice of this record has been included in the 'Epigraphical Summary' of the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 105-06. The estampage sent by the Superintendent for Epigraphy is preserved in the collection of the Archaeological Commissioner in Colombo. In January 1960, Shri K. G. Krishnan, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, who kindly supplied me with a second estampage, requested me to furnish him with the text and translation of the inscription to be included in the *South Indian Inscriptions*. I supplied him with a Romanised transcript and an English translation. The full decipherment of what is still preserved of this record revealed that, in spite of its fragmentary character, it is not without interest to the student of Ceylon history and archaeology, and I wrote to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, for his permission to make it the subject of an article to a learned journal in Ceylon. While very kindly acceding to my request, Dr. Sircar invited me to contribute an article on this record to the *Epigraphia Indica*, and it is as a result of this kind invitation that the present paper has been written.

The letters are inscribed between ruled lines, 1 inch to 1½ inches apart, and range in size between 1 inch and 1½ inch. The writing, commencing at the upper right hand corner, is continued rightwards on all four sides before a second line is begun below and about an inch to the right of the point at which the first began, the result being that the lines progressively decrease in length. The writing is continued in this manner towards the centre of the surface until a space of 5 inches square is left. This space is occupied by the engraving of a lotus, in each of the eight petals of which there had been a Tamil letter. Only one of these is now legible, and their significance is therefore lost to us.² In numbering the lines, in the text, each one of them is taken as running through all the four sides of the stone. This peculiar method of arranging the writing is seen on a number of stone *āsanas* of Niśsaṅkamalla found at Polonnaruva and other places in the Island.³

¹ A. R. Ep., 1905, No. 90; see p. 34.

² [They appear to be mason's marks.—Ed.]

³ See, e.g. Ep. Zey., Vol. II, Plates 26 and 38.

The use to which the *āsana* has been put for some time has been detrimental to the writing and, even when estampages of the record were prepared over half a century ago, about half of it had become almost totally illegible. I understand that the writing on this *āsana* is completely effaced now.

The script is Sinhalese of the **second half of the twelfth century** and conforms to the type with which we are familiar from numerous epigraphs of that period. The individual letters in this record, however, are somewhat smaller in size than those in other records of the time. The **language** is Sinhalese of the same period and, as is usual, contains a fair admixture of Sanskrit *tatsamas*. In style, there is a definite striving after literary effect.

The inscription bears **no date**; but, as will be shown later, its date can be fixed within the limits of four or five years by internal evidence. It contains an eulogy of a king styled **Kāliṅga-chakravarti**, who is referred to in the *Chūlavamsa* by the name of **Kitti Nissaṅka**¹ and, in the epigraphical records, by the name of **Niśsaṅkamalla** with additions of various magniloquent epithets.² He was a scion of the **Kāliṅga-varṇsa**, with which a number of Sinhalese rulers, including Mahinda IV and Vijayabāhu I, had contracted matrimonial alliances.³ The Kāliṅga from which this royal stock hailed, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,⁴ was not the well-known Kāliṅga in India, but a region in the Malay Peninsula, referred to in Sinhalese historical writings by the name of Jāvaka and Tambaliṅga (Tamaliṅgamu) also.⁵ But this Malayan royal family had been founded by immigrants from Kāliṅga in India and was probably related to the Eastern Gaṅgas.

Niśsaṅkamalla, son of Śrī-Jayagōpa and Pārvatī-mahādēvī of Siṃhapura (Singora), was invited to Ceylon by Parākramabāhu and trained in royal accomplishments. He is referred to as the *bāna* of Parākramabāhu, a term which may mean sister's son (Sanskrit *bhāginēya*) or son-in-law. Most probably, he was related to Parākramabāhu as son-in-law, having espoused a princess named Subhadrā who was actually a daughter of that monarch, or else bore a relationship to him enabling her to be called a daughter of his.⁶ Parākramabāhu, when he died in 1186 A.D. after a reign of thirty-three years, was succeeded by Vijayabāhu II. But this monarch was murdered at the end of one year, and Niśsaṅkamalla, assuming control of the Sinhalese kingdom in **1187 A.D.** reigned for nine years.⁷

Niśsaṅkamalla was no favourite of the chronicler and his reign has been dealt with perfunctorily in only nine verses. But, as if he had a premonition of the treatment he would receive from the author of the *Chūlavamsa*, Niśsaṅkamalla makes up for this neglect by the numerous and lengthy epigraphs he has left behind, not only in the capital city of Polonnaruva, but also at other places throughout the length and breadth of the Island.⁸ These epigraphs extol, in hyperbolic language, the greatness of the family of Niśsaṅkamalla, his own accomplishments and virtues, his extraordinary liberality, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, the administrative reforms that he effected, his religious benefactions and the magnificent buildings that he erected for the glory

¹ See *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 80, verse 18.

² See *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., pp. 89, 95, 115, 148, 174 and 288.

³ *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 54, verses 9-10; Chapter 59, verses 29-30, 46-50.

⁴ See S. Paranavitana, 'Ceylon and Malayasia in Medieval Times' in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S., N. S.*, Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 1-42.

⁵ *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., p. 115.

⁶ For the relationship between Niśsaṅkamalla and Parākramabāhu, see H.C.P. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. V, pp. 24-30, and *The Concise History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), p. 238.

⁷ *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 508 ff.

⁸ *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 80, verses 18-26. For inscriptions of Niśsaṅkamalla, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, No. 9; Vol. II, Nos. 13-30 and 42; Vol. III, Nos. 11 and 35.

of Buddhism, and his military exploits. The present document is but a brief sample of the magniloquent claims of this monarch. All these effusions of Niśsaṅkamalla's panegyrists were due not solely to a desire to satisfy the megalomania of the ruler, but were to a great extent meant to be propaganda designed to secure the Island dominion to the Kāliṅga dynasty. At least with regard to most of the buildings, for the construction of which Niśsaṅkamalla claims credit, the veracity of the statements in the epigraphs is established by monuments yet extant.¹

In his earlier inscriptions, Niśsaṅkamalla refers to Parākramabāhu with respect as his senior kinsman.² In many of the later epigraphs, however, he charges Parākramabāhu with oppressive rule, claims to have relieved the people of the burdens of taxation imposed on them by his predecessor, and casts sneers at him. In many matters such as architectural undertakings and religious reforms, he has tried to excel the achievements of Parākramabāhu.³ Like Parākramabāhu, he claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country, to commemorate which achievement he constructed a tank named Paṇḍu-vijaya.⁴ Though the loudness with which Niśsaṅkamalla has blown his own trumpet has made him suspect with historians, there is no doubt that he was a man of tireless energy and achieved much within his brief reign of nine years.

Among the achievements for which Niśsaṅkamalla claims credit in the present epigraph, the tours of inspection within his realm, the *tulābhāra* gifts, the unification of the Saṅgha, the restoration of the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura, the standardisation of the grain-tax, the introduction of copper-plate grants, the expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country and the building of a shrine at Rāmēśvaram are referred to in numerous inscriptions of his, published as well as unpublished.⁵ But this repetition in the contents of his inscriptions does not allow one to fill the portions illegible in one inscription from corresponding passages in other better preserved records. For his scribes, as if intently to avoid dullness, have introduced variations in vocabulary and phraseology in stating one and the same fact. Thus, in most published records referring to the Pāṇḍya expeditions, the word *de-varekā* is used in the sense of 'on two occasions';⁶ but the present record has the synonymous *de-idekā* in its place. What is stated succinctly in one document is given with greater elaboration in another.

Thus the paragraph referring to the restoration of the Ruvanvāli Dāgāba (Mahāthūpa) at Anurādhapura opens by quoting the words which the king is said to have uttered, viz. 'Do you see how a certain king has caused it to be re-built'. This is clearly a sneer at his predecessor, Parākramabāhu, who is credited in the chronicle with the restoration of this monument.⁷ The *stūpa* is likened to 'a lotus to the Pihiti kingdom'. The king is said to have ensured the success of this architectural undertaking of his by pleasing the workmen, evidently by paying them handsome wages. He is also said to have established a monastery encompassing the Dāgāba. These details are probably also given in the Vānduruppe-vihāra inscription in Muller's *Anc. Ins. Ceyl.*, pp. 102 f.

In the passage referring to the regulation of the grain-tax, this record has the phrase *maḍaran satara-aka* in place of *maḍaran sataraka* in other documents,⁸ establishing beyond doubt that *sataraka* has to be broken up as *satara-aka* and that the whole phrase has to be translated as 'four

¹ For the monuments of Niśsaṅkamalla, see S. Paranavitana, *Art and Architecture of the Polonnaruwa period*, pp. 23 and 29 ff.; *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 594 ff.

² *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 115 and 189.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 81, 95, 116 and 175.

⁴ *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, p. 187.

⁵ Cf. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 120, 178 and 290.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 and 154.

⁷ *Chūlavamsa*, Chapter 78, verse 97.

⁸ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 110 and 286.

aka coins of *maḍaran*' and not as four *maḍaran*, as Wickremasinghe has understood it.¹ Similarly, *sakak* and *tunaka* have to be analysed as *sa-akak* and *tun-aka* and translated as six *akas* and three *akas* respectively, as Codrington has done.² As these are shown to be compounds of a numeral with the designation of a coin or weight, *maḍaran*, which precedes them, cannot mean a coin, as Wickremasinghe's translation leads one to assume.³ *Maḍaran* should therefore be of the same connotation as the modern 'mud-money', 'a due paid in cash to a landlord by a tenant on being assigned a field for cultivation',⁴ or is equivalent to the term *māḍharatran*, 'gold equal in fineness to the *māḍha* coin', occurring in a Sinhalese literary work of the fourteenth century.⁵

In line 5, we are told that the subjects of Niśsaṅkamalla, far from taking part in any traitorous activities, were overjoyed on the reflection that he was a scion of the dynasty to which belonged **Sulu-Kaliṅgu, Veli and Kaḷava**. 'Sulu-Kaliṅgu' is the Sinhalese form of the Pali *Chulla-Kāliṅga*, the hero of the *Kāliṅgabōdhi-jātaka*, who, after a romantic youth, became a *chakravarti* monarch at Dantapura in Kāliṅga.⁶ In numerous inscriptions, Niśsaṅkamalla boasts that he was descended from the Kāliṅga-chakravarti who had the power of transporting himself by air, by means of the *chakra-ratna*, as it has to be understood. This Jātaka has received elaborate poetic treatment in Sinhalese prose and has been inserted with little justification in the *Dharmapradīpikā*, a commentary on the Pali *Mahā-bōdhivamsa*, in explaining the phrase *Dantapurē rājā hutvā*.⁷ It is possible that this was a piece of political propaganda by the author who probably appropriated for the purpose a literary work already existing in his time. This fact may not be without significance in deciding the date of the *Dharmapradīpikā* which, on other grounds, has been assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century.⁸ *Veli* and *Kaḷava* may be names of other kings of the Kāliṅga dynasty well-known at that time; but I cannot find these names, or their Sanskrit or Pali equivalents, in literary or epigraphical sources. This reference to Sulu-Kaliṅgu and others among his forebears has not been met with in any other inscription of Niśsaṅkamalla.

The reference to Niśsaṅkamalla's introduction of the practice of issuing **copper-plate charters** contains nothing new. The account of the king's two expeditions to the **Pāṇḍya country** is introduced with familiar phraseology;⁹ but the boast 'who indeed are those over the whole earth that can stand in front of the Kāliṅga-chakravarti', and the statement that the tribute sent by the princes of South India was preceded by an oath undertaking to pay tribute are not found in other records. It is also interesting to note that the word *vela*, found in several other records of Niśsaṅkamalla,¹⁰ is used here in a context clearly indicating its meaning to be 'oath'. It is no doubt akin to Tamil *vēlai* in *vēlaikkāra*, and may be the same as Sanskrit *vēlā*, 'limit', 'boundary', with the secondary meaning of 'agreement', 'covenant', just as Sanskrit *maryādā*, originally meaning 'limit', 'boundary', etc., developed these secondary meanings. The *Vēlaikkāras*, thus, would be the counterparts of the warriors called *Samśaptakas* in the *Mahābhārata*.¹¹

The present record gives the information that Niśsaṅkamalla remained in the Pāṇḍya country for three months, presumably on two expeditions, and repaired a dilapidated shrine. In the

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 117 and 289.

² H. W. Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1938, p. 32.

³ *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, p. 548.

⁴ H. W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

⁵ *Pansiya-panas-jātaka*, Colombo ed., 1929, p. 1662.

⁶ Jātaka, No. 479, Jātaka Translation, Vol. IV by W. H. D. Rouse, pp. 142-148.

⁷ *Dharmapradīpikā*, ed. Ven. Sri Dharmarama Nayaka Thera, 6th ed., 1951, pp. 296 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. ii; C. E. Godakumbure, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, pp. 46-51.

⁹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 142, 148 and 155.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112 and 133.

¹¹ S. Sorensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, London, 1904, p. 611; s.v. *Samśaptaka*.

corresponding statements in other records,¹ the impression given is that the *dēvālaya* was built anew by him. The reference to an alms-hall built at Rāmēśvaram is also found in other records;² the present epigraph states that he acquired a village and dedicated it to the alms-hall. The missing portions of the relevant paragraph probably contained a reference to his going through the *tulābhāra* ceremony which, we are told by the Adam's Peak inscription, was conducted at a place named Dēvakūḷam,³ evidently in the vicinity of Rāmēśvaram.⁴ The statement that Niśśaṅkamalla, during these expeditions, visited the islands of **Puvagu** (modern Puṅguḍutivu), **Mininak** (Maṇināga), **Kappa** and **Kāra** (Karai-tivu) occurs only in this epigraph. The *āsana* itself, we are told, was the one on which the king sat, and was named Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-vinōda, obviously after a *viruda* of the king. It is specifically called *vīr-āsana*, 'a hero's throne'.

The interest of the inscription lies, not so much in what it states, but in its mere presence at the place where it has been found. The contents indicate that it has been found more or less in its original setting. The people of Rāmēśvaram who were then, as now, no doubt Tamils, would not have been able to read and understand the inscription. Even if it was read and explained to them, only those references to Niśśaṅkamalla's visits to the Pāṇḍya country, the repair of the temple by him and his charitable activities there would have interested them. What Niśśaṅkamalla claims to have achieved in Ceylon would have left them cold. The inscription therefore must have been addressed to Sinhalese who, at Rāmēśvaram, could only have been soldiers in an army of occupation. For, it is difficult to think of Sinhalese who had gone to arid Rāmēśvaram as colonists; nor is there any clear evidence for the presence of a Sinhalese community of traders, or even of pilgrims. And, the presence of a Sinhalese army of occupation at Rāmēśvaram at this time can be explained from the events during the two or three decades preceding the date of this inscription.

We have seen above that Niśśaṅkamalla came to the throne in 1187 A.D. and reigned for nine years. This record mentioning, as it does, many of Niśśaṅkamalla's activities after he ascended the throne, must have been set up towards the close of his reign, at least during its second half, i.e. in or after 1192 A.D. It is well-known to students of South Indian history that, in or about 1169 A.D., Parākramabāhu the Great, the uncle or father-in-law of Niśśaṅkamalla, despatched a powerful expeditionary force to the Pāṇḍya country to fight on behalf of a Pāṇḍya ruler who had solicited his assistance. This army, under the command of Laṅkāpura, landed at a place called Talabilla (modern Dhanushkōṭi), captured Rāmēśvaram and entrenched itself in a stronghold at Kundukal, a few miles beyond Rāmēśvaram. From this base, the Sinhalese army advanced, crushed all opposition and captured Madhurā. Parākramabāhu's nominee was installed on the Madhurā throne, and the Sinhalese general advanced beyond the Pāṇḍya borders to the realm of the Chōḷas. After a series of brilliant victories, as we are informed by the Chōḷa records, the Sinhalese army was defeated by a Chōḷa general and forced to retreat. But the Pāṇḍya prince Kulaśēkhara, on whose behalf the Chōḷas intervened, eventually came to Parākramabāhu's side. And when he was ousted and his rival, the original protégé of the Sinhalese king, was placed on the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, he too, after a short while, allied himself with Parākramabāhu against the Chōḷas.⁵ This alliance with Parākramabāhu, one after the other, of the Pāṇḍya princes who gained the throne with Chōḷa support, risking the consequences of Chōḷa enmity not to speak of being reproached for ingratitude, seems to be inexplicable unless it is believed that the Sinhalese king

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134; Vol. II, pp. 120 and 156.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 120, 178 and 290.

³ [The word *dēvakūḷa* means a temple.—Ed.]

⁴ *The Concise History of Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 20.

⁵ For this war, see Nilakanta Sastri. *The Chōḷas*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1955, pp. 366-72.

was able to convince them, by a show of military strength, that coming over to his side was to their advantage. And this could not probably have been done if Parākramabāhu had no military forces in South India itself.

It may be true that, as the Chōḷa inscriptions assert, Laṅkāpura suffered a crushing blow from the Chōḷas, he himself losing his life; but the remnants of the Sinhalese army could have retreated to the strong fortress of Kundukal which they could have defended until reinforcements arrived from Ceylon. It therefore appears that the Sinhalese hold on Rāmēśvaram continued throughout the reign of Parākramabāhu up to that of Niśsaṅkamalla. At any rate, Niśsaṅkamalla himself does not claim to have captured Rāmēśvaram; if he did so, his panegyrists would not have failed to make much out of such an achievement. As his numerous inscriptions are silent on this, the inevitable conclusion is that he retained control of this strategic point as a result of the military campaign of his predecessor. Thus the two visits of Niśsaṅkamalla to South India would have been undertaken to inspect the Sinhalese garrison already stationed there. Prudence would have dictated that, in order to face any possible hostile reception from the Pāṇḍya or an attack by the Chōḷa, he was accompanied by an adequate force.

Some of Niśsaṅkamalla's records picturesquely describe how, when he arrived in South India, the mother of the Pāṇḍya ruler sent messengers requesting him to take over the whole of the realm, leaving just one village for the maintenance of her family.¹ This may be rhetoric; but the Pāṇḍyas at this time were yet in a weak condition after nearly two centuries of conflict with, and subjection to, the Chōḷas. They had to wait for another two decades for their remarkable resurgence under Sundara-pāṇḍya. In need at any time of Sinhalese assistance against Chōḷa aggression, the Pāṇḍyas would have received Niśsaṅkamalla with a show of friendship, if not subservience as claimed by him, when he visited Rāmēśvaram.

On both these visits, Niśsaṅkamalla spent only three months in the Pāṇḍya country. The restoration of the *dēvālaya* cannot therefore have been carried out while he was sojourning in the Pāṇḍya country. At the time when the present inscription was indited on a throne at Rāmēśvaram, which Niśsaṅkamalla made use of, the restoration was an accomplished fact. He may therefore have issued orders for this undertaking during his first visit; before his second visit, it had been brought to completion. The interval between the two visits must therefore have been considerable, at least two years.

The shrine at Rāmēśvaram figures also in the Chōḷa account of the campaign of the generals of Parākramabāhu I in the Pāṇḍya country. The Ārpākkam inscription mentions that the Sinhalese troops under Parākramabāhu's general looted the treasures of the temple, and put a stop to the worship.² The act of Niśsaṅkamalla in renovating the temple and making liberal donations to the Brāhmanas was no doubt meant to reconcile the local inhabitants. In this also, we see another instance of his adopting a policy diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor.

In his inscriptions, Niśsaṅkamalla also claims to have received presents from the Chōḷa country on the occasion of his visit to South India.³ The Chōḷa inscriptions, on the other hand, claim victories over the Sinhalese about this period. In an inscription⁴ of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1216 A.D.), it is claimed that the Sinhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea. A record⁵ of the same monarch's twentyfirst year states that he 'adorned with his feet the crown

¹ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

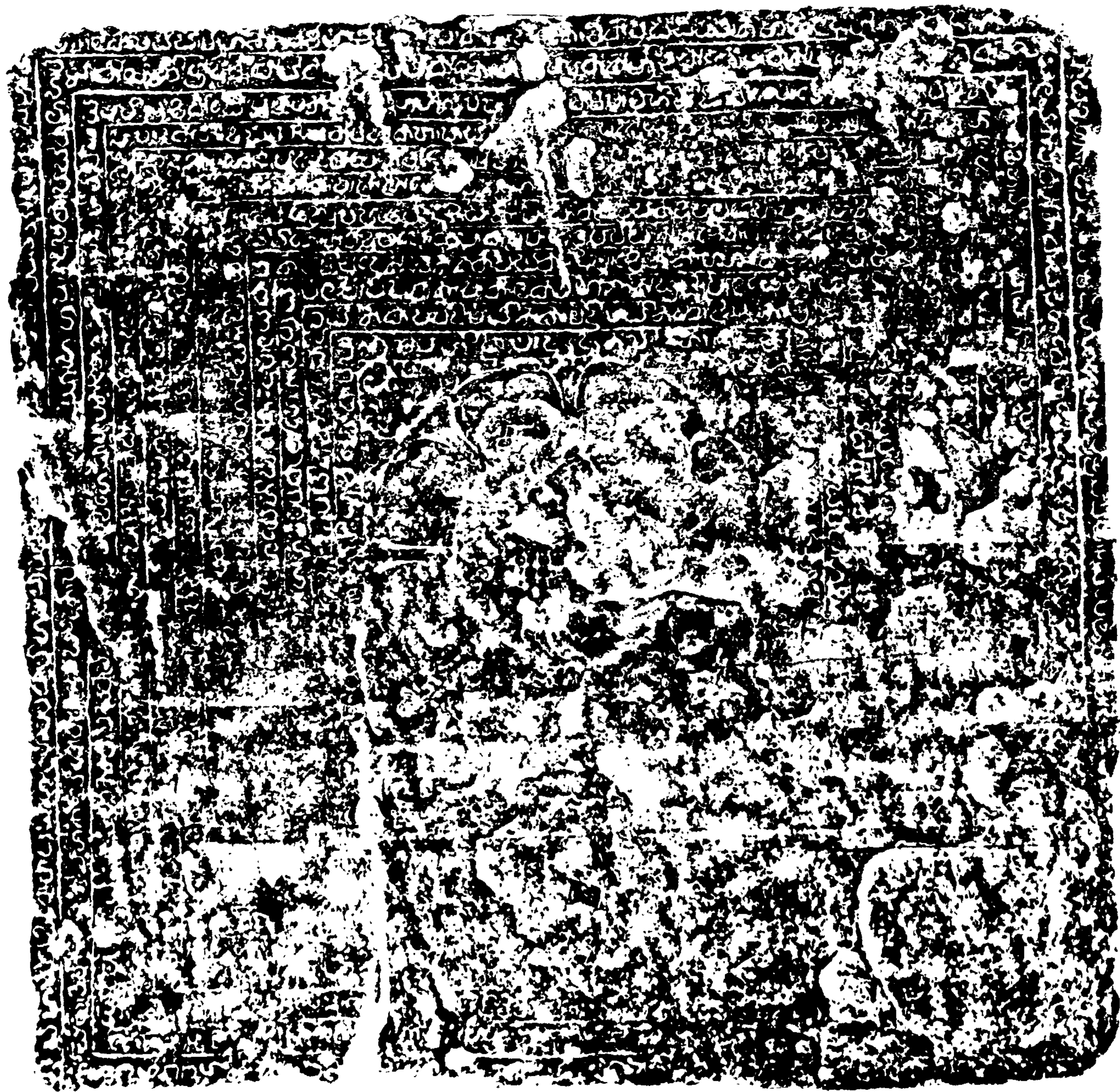
² *A. R. Ep.*, 1899, pp. 8-9.

³ *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

⁴ *SIH.* Vol. III, p. 212.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1902, No. 170.

RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA



(from Photograph)

of the Ceylonese king in order that it may prosper'. A record of the sixteenth year states that the warriors of Kulōttuṅga began to guard all places in response to the order: 'Capture Īlam in the South, so that the *teṇṇavar* may come and prostrate themselves and the head of the Siṅga-lavan may be cut off.'¹ To what extent this order was carried out we are not told in the later inscriptions. These vague claims, without details as to time and place, do not help us in pursuing the course of hostilities between the Sinhalese and Chōlas towards the close of the reign of Parā-kramabāhu I and during the reigns of Vijayabāhu II and Niśsaṅkamalla. At any rate, the first of these claims refers to a time before Niśsaṅkamalla himself came to the throne, and the military operations on which the other statements are based need not have affected the Sinhalese garrison at Rāmēśvaram.

The internal troubles which followed the end of Niśsaṅkamalla's reign in 1196 A.D. sapped the military strength of the Sinhalese, and the Chōlas seem to have taken advantage of that position. It is recorded that General Kitti, who maintained Queen Līlāvati on the throne from 1197 to 1200 A.D., repulsed the Chōlas on three different occasions when they landed in the Island and advanced for some distance into the interior.² The Sinhalese after this were no longer in a position to maintain the garrison at Rāmēśvaram. We do not know when and how the Sinhalese troops stationed there relinquished their hold on the fortress. The place must have been occupied, within a decade of the date of this record, either by the Chōlas or by the rapidly recovering Pāṇḍya power.

TEXT³

- 1 Śrī simha-vikrama āti **Tri-Simhaleśvara Kāliṅga-chakravartti**-[svāmīn-vahanse ra]-jaya patān paṭan avu[rudu]ven **Lamkāva** sisārā gam niyam-gam rājadhāni ādi-vū no-ek prasiddhā-sthāna hā jala-durgga paṁka-durgga [vānā-durgga] **Samanōla** ādi-vū giri-durgga at-ambulū-pakak se balā vadārā[bi]so-varūn-vahan-
- 2 se hā maha[pā]ṇan vahanse ātu[lu-vū pa]s-denā vaha[nse ek yā tulābhā]ra nāṅgī havurudu patā pas-tulābhārayak bāgin dī dukpatū[n su]vapat koṭā suvapatun śrīmat koṭā tun rā[jayehi no]-ek buddhālaya nānvā tun-nakā samāṅga koṭā lo-[sasun] sāmurdha (mṛiddha) koṭārajadarū-kenakun karāvū-
- 3 ye pe[n]e dā yi vadārā ananta-vastu vi[yadam karavā] mehekaruvan ānanda karavā Pihiti-rajayata piyumak se vū Ruvan[vāli-maha]-dahagab-vaha[nse] karavā ehi sisārā boho [saṅgun pi]rivan ganvā mahā-vihāra yā yi nam tabbā ge[nā].....
- 4 [utte] amuṇe aya ek=amuṇu-tun-pālak hā maḍa-ran sākak hā mānde amuṇakata ek=amuṇu de-pālak hā maḍaran sātara-aka hā pas[se amu]ṇakata aya ek=amuṇu pāla hā maḍaran tun=aka bāgin aya gannā niyā[ye]n vyava[sthā koṭā].....
- 5 [kiritiyen] patala **Sulu-kaliṅgu Veli-Kalavan**-udu mevun kulā raja-daruvo namā yi param=āna[ndaa]lālā [ya]m [kena]kun karana pereḷiyak tabā to[si]n ālālī siṭi [prajāvan].....
- 6 hira [-sanda-pamuṇu vēyan] miyan ādin visin sopadra[va] vū talpatā liyā diyehi hāndi hiri se no koṭā un-un-ge [vaṁ]ś-ānugata vā [e] kalavun [nama] da dun raja-daruvan nama da boho kalak pa⁴[vatnā niyāyen tāmbra(mra)-śāsana pavat karavā].....

¹ A. R. Ep., 1907, No. 288. For a discussion of these references to Ceylon in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, see Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., pp. 384 f.

² Journal of the Ceylon Branch of R.A.S., Vol. XXI, pp. 384-387.

³ From impressions. Macron over e and o has not been used in the transcript and the foot-notes hereon.

⁴ The letters missing on the stone from this point have been restored up to *karavā*, according to the passage as it appears in the Dambulla rock inscription. See Ep. Zey., Vol. 1, p. 131.

- 7[gam-val] nishkaṇṭaka koṭṭa semehi tabā [dva]ndva-[yuddhā]śā[ye]n **Jambu-dvīpayāṭa** de-idekā vāḍā tun-masak muḷullehi vāḍā hindā Apratimalla yana viruduva....
- 8 **Kāliṅga-cakravarttīn**-vahanse idiriyehi siṭṭino nam muḷu poḷovā kavuru da apa visin kaḷamanā nam paṇḍuru dena veḷa pera vā evū paṇḍuru genā ni.....
- 9 [de]śayehi jirṇṇa devālaya karana paridden ananta vastu devā mehi **Niśśamkeśvara** nam yut devālayak naṁvā.....
- 10 ye ayāṭa nagā gam-varak=ut genā satrayāṭa lavā vadārā nāvātā laksha-gaṇan suru vālayehi aturuvā maṇḍapaya sarahā ama.....
- 11 **Puvagu**-divayina **Minṇak**-divayina **Kappa**-divayina **Kāra**-divayina ādi-vū no-ek divayin balā vadāra ma.....
- 12 va[dan supip]-piyum se karavā nra(nṇi)tya-gīta-dāna-vinoda nam vīra-sim-[hāsanaye]hi.....

TRANSLATION¹

(Line 1) Hail ! The Sovereign Lord **Kāliṅga-chakravartī**, who possesses the prowess of a lion and who is the Lord of the **Three Siṁhalas**,² in one year from his accession to the sovereignty toured round **Lamkā** and inspected thoroughly, as if they were an *āmalaka* fruit on (*the palm of his*) hand, many well-known places such as villages, market-towns, seats of royalty as well as places difficult of access on account of water, places difficult of access on account of marshes, places difficult of access on account of forests and places difficult of access on account of mountains such as **Samanola** (Sumana-kūṭa, i.e. Adam's Peak)³.....

(Lines 1-2) He gave annually five *tulābhāras*, the five personages including..... Their Majesties the Queens and His Highness the Heir-apparent (*maha-pāṇan*)⁴ having ascended the scale pans ; thus he made the poor affluent and the affluent illustrious. He caused to be erected shrines of the Buddha in the **Three Kingdoms**⁵ ; he unified the sects (*of the Saṅgha*)⁶ and thus he made the State and the Church prosper.....

¹ In the translation, some of the clauses ending with absolutes have been treated as sentences ending in finite verbs so as to make the style less cumbersome in English.

² Piṇṇī (Pali *Paṇṇīthā*), Māyā and Ruhunū (Pali *Rohana*) were the three kingdoms into which Ceylon was divided in ancient times.

³ The tours undertaken by Niśśankamalla in his kingdom are referred to in a number of his inscriptions. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 141 and 148.

⁴ The *tulābhāra* gifts of this king are referred to in several of his inscriptions in very much the same phraseology as in this document ; see, e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 18 and 175. According to these references, the five personages who ascended the scale-pans were the king, his principal queen Subhadrā, the second queen Kalyāṇavatī, his son Vīrabāhu, the heir-apparent, and his daughter Sarvāṅgasundarī.

⁵ The same as 'the Three Siṁhalas'.

⁶ The three Nikāyas were the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and the Jetavana. The credit of unifying these three sects is given in the chronicle to Parākramabāhu I ; but, in several of his inscriptions, Niśśankamalla too claims to have done this. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.

(Lines 2-3). Having uttered 'Do you see how¹ a certain king has caused it to be restored' he caused vast treasures to be spent, made the workmen to rejoice and effected the restoration of the great *dāgāba*, the sacred Ruvanvāli,² which is like unto a lotus for the **Pihiti** kingdom. Around that *dāgāba* he made the members of the Saṅgha take up residence in *pirivasas*, and gave the name of Mahāvihāra (*to that monastery*)

(Line 4). He enacted a law that the (*grain*)-tax on an *amuṇa* (sowing extent) of the best grade (*of fields*) should be (*not in excess of*) one *amuṇa* and three *pāḷas* and six *akas* as *maḍaran* (levy), on an *amuṇa* of middle grade (*of fields*), one *amuṇa* and two *pāḷas* and four *akas* as *maḍaran*, and on an *amuṇa* of the lowest grade (*of fields*) the tax to be one *amuṇa* and two *pāḷas* and three *akas* as *maḍaran*

(Line 5). He caused supreme joy (*to the people*) by their reflection : **King Suḷu-Kaliṅgu, Veli and Kaḷava** of widespread fame are indeed kings of the lineage of this (*king*) ; and, far from there being any sort of disturbance caused by any one, the subjects being stirred with emotion³

(Line 6). He introduced the practice of granting charters written on copper-plates so that heritable lands, granted to last as long as the sun and the moon endure, may not become like lines drawn on water, on account of the grant being written on palm-leaves which are in danger from termites and rats, but ensured that, associated with the lineages of those (*concerned*) the names of those who have done deeds (*to merit such grants*), and the names of the kings who granted such gifts do last for a long time⁴

(Line 7). Having eradicated thorns⁵ in the villages as well as in the forests, and having placed the country in tranquility, he being desirous of single combats, proceeded to Jambudvīpa (India) on two occasions, and tarried there for the full duration of three months his *viruda* of Apratimalla⁶

(Line 8). 'Who indeed are those over the whole of the earth that can stand in front of Kāliṅga-chakravartī ? What remains to be done by us therefore is to accept the tribute sent (to us) with an oath of paying tribute (in the future)'⁷

¹ This is obviously a sarcastic reference to his predecessor Parākramabāhu I who is recorded in the *Chūḷavaṃsa* (Chapter 78, verse 97) to have repaired this *dāgāba*. Niśśankamalla's inscription at Ruvanvālisāya (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 70 ff.) gives a detailed account of his work there.

² This is the shrine originally built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī in the second century B. C., and is referred to in the *Mahāvamsa* as Mahāthūpa.

³ This paragraph does not appear in any of the king's known inscriptions. What it conveys is that the people were so impressed by the fact that Niśśankamalla was a scion of the Kāliṅga dynasty, to which belonged a *Chakravartī* king of old, that none thought of stirring up trouble in his kingdom. *Suḷu-Kaliṅgu-Veli-Kaḷavan* has been taken as a copulative (*dvandva*) compound with the case-termination *an*, attached to the last name *Kaḷava*. It is also possible to take the stem form of the last name as *Kaḷavan* with the case-termination *u* attached to it. In that case, the indeclinable which follows the compound has to be taken as *du* and not *udu*, as has been analysed in the above interpretation. *Kaḷava* may be etymologically the same as *Kaḷabhra*.

⁴ For Niśśankamalla's claim to have introduced the practice of granting charters on copper, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 133 ; Vol. II, pp. 133 and 289.

⁵ For similar claims by the king in other inscriptions, see *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 118, 133 and 136. For the expression 'having eradicated thorns' (*niṣkaṇṭaka koṭā*) see, *Arthaśāstra*, Shamashastry's trans., second ed., pp. 245 ff.

⁶ What is stated is that as none accepted the king's challenge to a single combat, he justified his title of *Apratimalla*, which is given in a number of inscriptions, e.g. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 148.

⁷ This passage does not occur in any other inscription, though similar boasts are found in many records, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 120.

(Line 9). He gave incalculable treasure to repair a dilapidated shrine (*devālaya*) in the country, and erected here the shrine named Niśśamkeśvara.¹

(Line 10). Having raised it to the revenue of he acquired a gift-village, and assigned it to the alms-hall (*satra*) ; again, having spread hundreds of thousands of *suru*. on the *vāla*, and having decorated the pavilion.²

(Line 11). He was also pleased to inspect numerous islands including Puvagu Island, Miṇinak Island, Kappa Island and Kāra Island.³

(Line 12). Having made the faces of appear like full-blown lotuses. on this throne of heroes named Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-vinoda (literally one who rejoices in dance, singing and gifts).

¹ Cf. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 120 and 289.

² The words *suru* and *vāla* occur nowhere else, and the significance of the phrase is not clear.

³ These are the Sinhalese names of islets between North Ceylon and South India. Puvagu-divayina is most probably the modern Puṅguḍu-tivu. Miṇinak is Maṇināga in Pali and appears to have been used at times for Nāga-dīpa, the ancient name of the Jaffna Peninsula. Kappa-divayina is referred to in old Sinhalese writings ; but there does not appear to be a modern name corresponding to it. Kāra-divayina is the Kāra-dīpa of Jātaka No. 480 ; it is now known as Karai-tivu.

No. 4—TWO SONGIRA CHAUHAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARLUT

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND K. V. RAMESH, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.4.1961)

The two inscriptions forming the subject of the paper are engraved, the second in continuation of the first, on a stone slab broken into three pieces. The inscribed slab now lies in the compound of the Śāntinātha temple at **Barlūt** in the Sirohi District of Rajasthan, about 13 miles to the north-west of Sirōhī. Shri Achalmal Modi of Sirōhī drew our attention to the inscription.

The two inscriptions together consist of nine lines of writing which cover an area about 4' 4" in length and between 5.5" and 6" in height. The letters, somewhat indifferently engraved, are not uniform in size. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory, some letters here and there being damaged and a few completely lost at some places, especially along the two vertical breaks in the stone.

The **characters** of the inscriptions belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and are regular for the period and area in question. The two records are engraved on the stone in the form of a single epigraph by the same person at the same time. The **language** of both the records is Sanskrit. The second inscription, in which a number of abbreviations have been used, consists of two parts. The first record is written in prose and verse, the second being composed in prose only. The composition is rather poor and the language not free from errors. Often two *daṇḍas* have been placed at the end of the first half of a verse and three *daṇḍas* at the end of its second half. The stanzas are consecutively numbered. The **orthography** of the inscriptions is characterised by the use of *anuvāra* in place of class nasals as well as in that of final *m* at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas. Reduplication of *m* after *r* occurs in some cases. The text exhibits some orthographical errors.

The **first record** is dated in **Vikrama 1283**, Jyēsthā-śudī 8, Thursday (apparently the 7th May 1226 A. D.), falling in the reign of the Sōngirā Chauhān ruler **Udayasimha** of Jālōr. This ruler, who was the son of Samarasimha, grandson of Kīrtipāla (Kītu) and great-grandson of king Ālhaṇa (Vikrama 1209-18) of Nāḍōl, is known from records of his time with dates ranging from Vikrama 1262 to Vikrama 1306.¹ The **second inscription**, which commences after the end of the first in line 5 is dated **Vikrama 1330**, Phālgunā-śudī 11, Sunday (18th February 1274 A.D.), falling in the reign of Udayasimha's son Chāchigadēva whose known dates range between Vikrama 1319 and 1334.² The first part of this record ends about the close of line 6, its second part beginning there and ending in line 9. The two inscriptions were apparently engraved together on the stone slab on or shortly after the latter date. Both of them record some pious deeds of a Chauhān chief named **Ābhata** and certain other persons with reference to a Jain establishment, the modern representative of which is the Śāntinātha temple at Barlūt.

1. Inscription of the time of Udayasimha, Vikrama 1283

This record consists of nine stanzas and some passages in prose. The last of the stanzas is the well-known verse *Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā*, etc.

The first three stanzas describe the rulers of the Chauhān dynasty from king Āsarāja of Nāḍōl down to his great-grandson Manasimha. Verse 1 introduces **Āsarāja**, the lord of **Nāḍōla**, who is described as the moon in the growth of the ocean that was the **Chōhāna** family. Āsarāja's ancestors, who are usually mentioned in the genealogical accounts of the Nāḍōl and Sōngirā Chauhāns, are not referred to in this epigraph.

¹ Bhandarkar's List, p. 382.

² Ibid., p. 383.

The first half of verse 2 speaks of king **Ālhaṇa** who was **Āsarāja**'s son, its second half stating that **Gajasimha**, the son of **Ālhaṇa**, was the 'lord of **Maṇḍōrapura**'. We know from the **Jhāmvrā** inscription,¹ dated Vikrama 1219, that **Mahārājaputra** **Gajasimha** was in charge of the administration of **Māṇḍavyapura** (**Māṇḍōr**).

Verse 3 mentions **Bachchhalā** (**Vatsalā**) as the wife of **Gajasimha** and states that **Manasimha** was **Gajasimha**'s son. It appears that **Manasimha** was born of the said queen. This inscription, for the first time, gives the names of the wife and son of **Gajasimha**, son of the **Nāḍōl** **Chauhān** king **Ālhaṇa**.

Verse 4 states that, in the *paṭṭa* of **Manasimha**, there was the noble-minded **Āsaṭa** who had a well dug in a village, the name of which is uncertain. The relationship between **Manasimha** and **Āsaṭa** cannot be determined. The term *paṭṭa* seems to be used here in the usual sense of 'throne'. It therefore appears that **Manasimha**, son of **Chāhamāna** **Gajasimha** of **Māṇḍōr**, was ruling over the district around **Barlūt** near **Sīrōhī** under the **Sōngirā** (**Jālōr**) branch of the family and that, on his death probably without an heir, the area passed on to another chief named **Āsaṭa**. That **Manasimha** was dead when the present inscription was incised seems to be supported by the internal evidence of the record as will be seen below. **Āsaṭa** was also a member of the **Chauhān** family as his son **Ābhaṭa** is described as belonging to the **Chāhumāna-varṃśa** in line 4. Both **Manasimha** and **Ābhaṭa** are called **Rāja**, an abbreviation of **Rājaputra** or **Rāwat**, in the prose part of the epigraph, though the full title **Rājaputra** is applied to **Ābhaṭa** in verse 7.

Verse 5 is in praise of **Āsaṭa** described as the most valorous among the **Kshatriyas**, while the next stanza (verse 6) introduces **Āsaṭa**'s son in whom **Ābhaṭa**'s good qualities, which had become destitute [on **Ābhaṭa**'s death], are stated to have found their abode. The reference seems to be to **Āsaṭa**'s deceased father **Ābhaṭa**, after whom **Āsaṭa** probably named his son. **Āsaṭa**'s son **Ābhaṭa** is referred to in the verse as *ēka-durga* probably meaning 'one having a unique fort under him'.

Verse 7, which is imperfectly preserved, expresses the desire that **Rājaputra** (i.e. **Rāwat**) **Ābhaṭa**, who was like a father to his subjects, may flourish for a long time. Verse 8 speaks of **Ābhaṭa**'s minister and treasurer **Yaśōdhara** who probably belonged to the family of a goldsmith named **Nāna**.

The eight introductory stanzas discussed above are followed by a section in prose. It commences with the date which, as we have seen, is given as **Vikrama Samvat 1283, Jyēshṭha-śudi 8, Thursday**. The date corresponds to the **7th May 1226 A. D.**, the *tithi* quoted being a mistake for śudi 9. The reigning king then was **Mahārāṇaka Udayasimha** and his minister was **Yaśōvīra**. **Udayasimha**'s other known inscriptions endow him with the title **Mahārājā-dhīrāja**. **Yaśōvīra**, the minister of the **Sōngirā** **Chauhān** ruler,² is known to have been a son of **Dusāja Udaya** and a minister apparently of the **Sōngirās** of **Jālōr** as early as Vikrama 1245.³

The following section of the inscription records three different gifts made by **Rāja** (i.e. **Rājaputra**=**Rāwat**) **Ābhaṭa**. The details of the gifts are as follows : (1) gift of land, for the merit of **Rāja** (**Rāwat**) **Manasimha**, in favour of the god **Śāntinātha** and of the **Manasimha-vihāra** for a temple (*dēvagriha*) belonging to the **Bṛihad-gachchha** ; (2) gift of a *pīṭha* (probably a raised platform) in favour of the god **Śāntinātha** in the village of **Valadaūṭha**, i.e. modern **Barlūt**, the findspot of our inscription ; (3) gift of [the income of] an *araghaṭṭa* for the expenses of offering worship to the god **Śāntinātha** for the merit of the donor's forefathers. **Ābhaṭa** was joined by his sons and grandsons, including **Harisarā** (**Harsharāja**) and **Rāja** (**Rāwat**) **Prithimarāja** (**Prithivī-rāja**), in making the last of the gifts mentioned above. The facts that the gift was made for the merit

¹ *JPASB*, Vol. XII, pp. 102 ff. ; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 314.

² Cf. *Sharma, Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 154.

³ Cf. *Jayanta Vijaya, Arbuda-prāchīnajaīnalēkhasandōha*, Part II, Nos. 150-51.

of Manāṣasimha and that the *vihāra*, one of the beneficiaries of the gift, was named after him suggest that he was not alive on the date given in the inscription and thus seems to support our interpretation of verse 4. It appears that Ābhaṭa and his father had some reasons to be especially grateful to Manāṣasimha who seems to be called Ābhaṭa's *pūrvaja* (ancestor) in line 5.

The discovery of the inscription at Barlūt near Sīrōhī is of considerable interest. Kīrtipāla, the grandfather of Udayasimha, established himself at Jābālipura (Jālōr) 38 miles to the north-west of Sīrōhī.¹ The successors of Kīrtipāla naturally set their eyes on the possessions of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati and Ābū, who were the feudatories of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. During the greater part of Paramāra Dhāravarsha's rule, however, the Chauhāns of Jālōr did not succeed in encroaching conspicuously upon the territories of the Paramāras.² That the Chauhāns had at last penetrated into the Sīrōhī region of the Paramāra territories was so far known only from the Sundhā hill inscription³ of Chāchigadēva, dated Vikrama 1319, which includes Rāmasainya (Rāmsēn in the Sirohi District, about 23 miles north-west of Sīrōhī) in the territories under the sway of his father Udayasimha. Since Barlūt is situated about 12 miles to the south-east of Rāmsēn, our inscription corroborates the evidence of the Sundhā inscription regarding Udayasimha's hold over the area. The **importance** of the epigraph under study is that it furnishes the earliest date for the rule of the Sōngirā Chauhāns over the Sīrōhī region.

The circumstances which led to the inclusion of this territory in the Chauhān kingdom are not clear. Udayasimha may have appropriated the Sīrōhī area from the Paramāras sometime before Vikrama 1283. The region around Mount Ābū and Chandrāvati, however, did not fall into the hands of the Chauhāns until the time of the Dēvdā king Luṇṭigadēva⁴ whose known dates range between Vikrama 1372 and 1377.⁵

We do not know when exactly the Dēvdā Chauhāns established themselves in the Sīrōhī region. Kīrtipāla, younger brother of Gajasimha and grandfather of Udayasimha, had a grandson named Mānavasimha or Mahānasimha.⁶ D. Sharma says⁷ that 'the founder of Dēvdā line was Mānavasimha' and that 'Mānavasimha's descendants were the founders of the Chauhān kingdom of Chandrāvati and Mount Ābū'. D. C. Ganguly says⁸ that Mānavasimha's successors constituted the Dēvdā branch and that the branch was 'founded by Vijāḍa, also known as Dēvarāja, the son of Pratāpa and grandson of Mānavasimha'. The inscriptions of the Dēvdā Chauhāns trace their descent to Mānavasimha while the bardic chronicles of Sīrōhī state that the family name Dēvdā was derived from Dēvarāja, another name of Vijāḍa.⁹ Ojha regards the Sīrōhī bardic chronicles as unreliable and states that the dynastic name Dēvdā was prevalent even before the time of Vijāḍa *alias* Dēvarāja.¹⁰

It appears that the Dēvdās were originally governing the Rāmasainya area under the Sōngirā Chauhāns of Jālōr. The inscription under study, however, suggests that the branches of the Chauhān family represented by Manāṣasimha and Ābhaṭa were ruling over the area before the appearance of the Dēvdās in the same region as late as Vikrama 1330. It is therefore possible that Vijāḍa *alias* Dēvarāja became a ruler of Rāmasainya sometime after Vikrama 1330 and that

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 77, verse 36.

² L. B. Desai, *Chauhānkulpadrum*, p. 201.

³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.; Bhandarkar's List, No. 561.

⁴ Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 919 and 1127; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX pp. 79 ff.

⁵ Bhandarkar's List, p. 383.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p. 156, text line 10.

⁷ Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 and 147.

⁸ *The Struggle for Empire (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. V)*, ed. Majumdar, p. 88.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁰ Ojha, *Sīrōhīrājyakā Itihās*, pp. 162-63.

the power of the Dēvdās was firmly established in the region and their territory expanded at the time of Vijāḍa's son Luṇṭiga.¹

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Valadaūṭha, as stated above, is modern Barlūt, the findspot of our record. The other places are Naḍūlapura and Maṇḍōrapura which are the well-known towns of Nāḍōl and Māṇḍōr respectively.

2. Inscription of the time of Chāchiga, Vikrama 1330

This record consists of two parts, the first of them being a short passage in prose. It commences with the word *svasti* followed by the date which is given as **Vikrama Samvat 1330, Phālguna śudi 11, Sunday**, corresponding, as already indicated, to the **18th February 1274 A. D.** The reigning king *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chāchigadēva* is described as having crushed the forces of his enemies with his strong arms and as having obtained a boon from Umāpati (i.e. Śiva).

The inscription then states that, when *Maha°* (i.e. *Mahattama*) Jāpāka was holding the post of *Śrīkaraṇa*, i.e. was in charge of the department of records under Chāchiga, *Rāja (Rāwat) Ābhata* in association with his sons and grandsons including Harisarā (Harsharāja), *Rā° (Rāja=Rāwat)* Pṛithimarā (Pṛithivīrāja), *Rā°* Ajayasimha, *Rā°* Siṅghala, *Rā°* Anagharā, Sūmarā and *Rāja°* Bānṭharā, built the Maṇasimha-vihāra for the merit of *Rā°* Maṇasimha. This Maṇasimha-vihāra, if it was really 'built' in Vikrama 1330, could not have been the institution of the same name to which Ābhata made a gift of land in Vikrama 1283. But the fact that the two inscriptions, the first recording gifts in favour of the Maṇasimha-vihāra and the second recording the construction of a *vihāra* of the same name, were engraved on the same stone, which could be fixed for display only at one place, appears to suggest that the second epigraph may really refer to the construction of some additional buildings of the same religious institution.

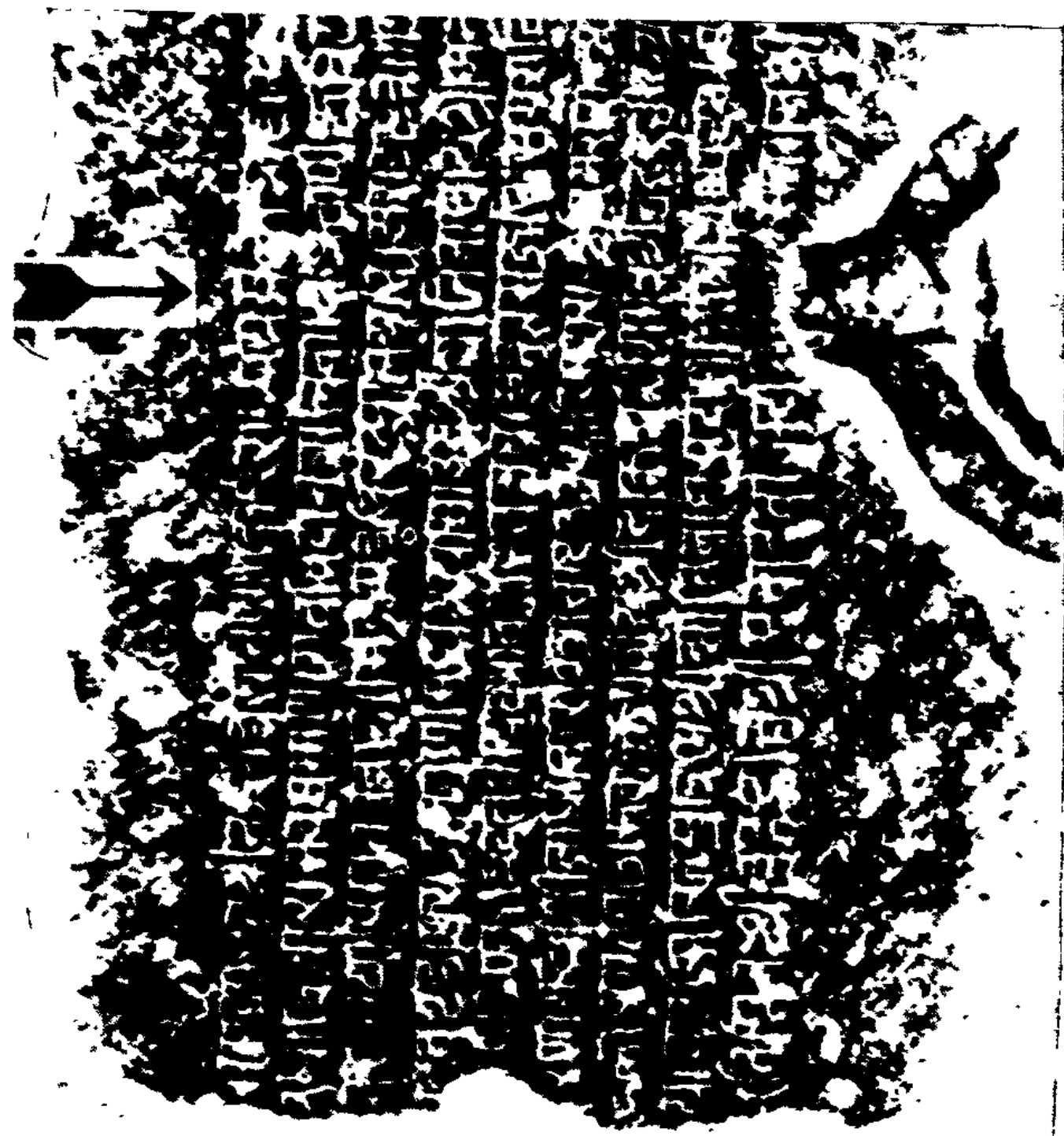
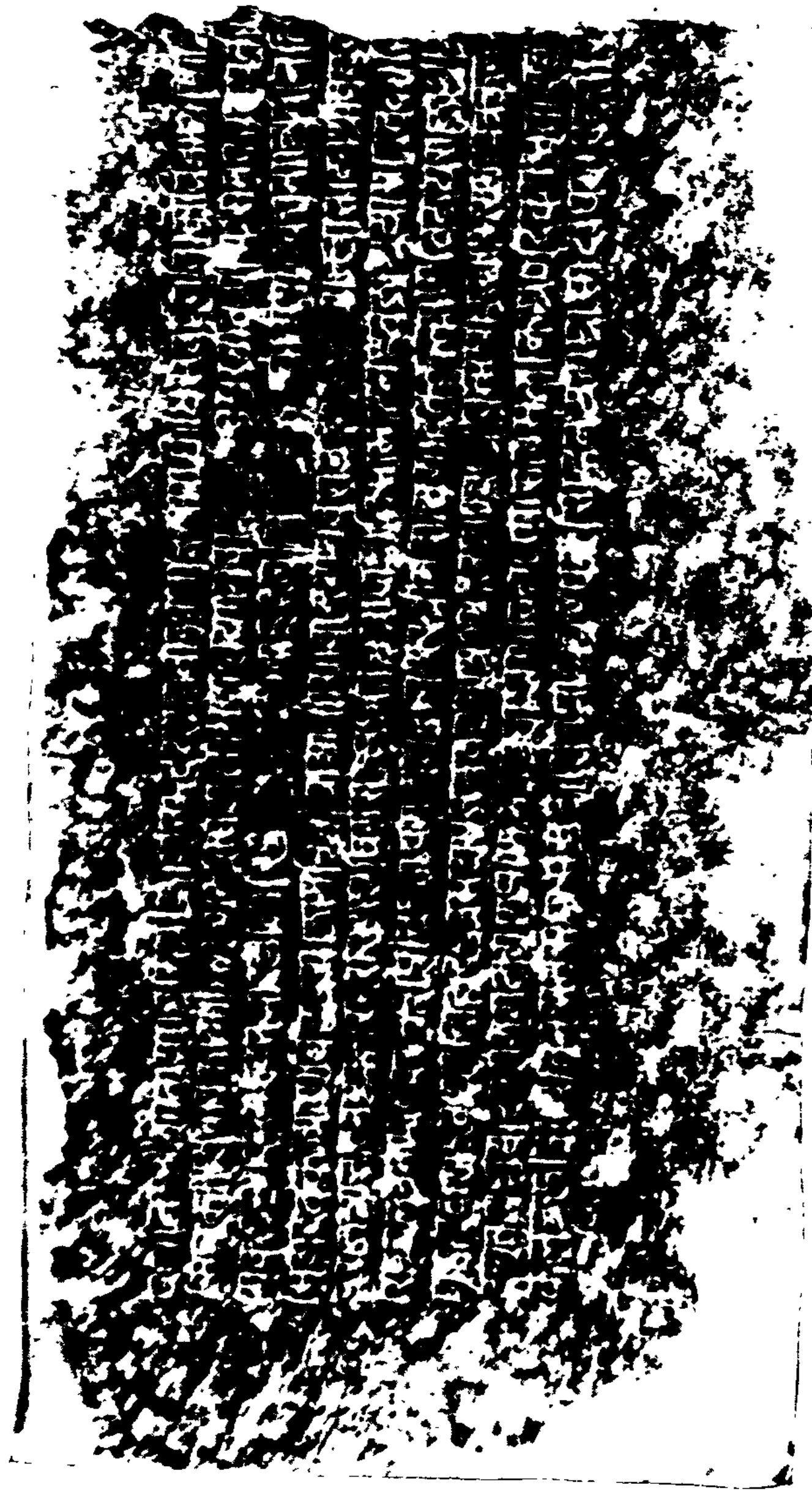
The language of the second part of the inscription is defective. But it mentions *Śrēṣṭhin* (banker) Padmasimha who was the son of Dēlhaṇa and Paūmsiri (Padmaśrī). He belonged to the *Ambāi gōtra*, the *Nāsala santāna* (family) and the *Prāgvāta* community and was constantly devoted to the Jain Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha. Padmasimha is stated to have built 'this building' (*ayaṇ prāsādaḥ*), for the sake of *dharma*, apparently along with a number of his relations belonging to the *Prāgvāta* (modern Pōrwād) and *Uṃsēvāla* (modern Ōswāl) communities and the members of his family including his wife, the *Bāi*, his sons Arasimha and Narapāla and his grandsons Jaitā, Karmasimha and Tējaḥpāla. The word *Bāi* is an honorific expression used in Western India along with the names of ladies. The personal name of Padmasimha's wife is not mentioned in the record. What building is really indicated by the word *prāsāda* is not clear from the language. It may be that it was a temple of Śāntinātha attached to the Maṇasimha-vihāra mentioned in line 6 as having been caused to be made by Ābhata and his sons and grandsons. It is also not impossible that the additional structures in the Maṇasimha-vihāra were made jointly by Ābhata, Padmasimha and others.

The persons whose names are mentioned before that of Padmasimha probably as those of his relations are the following: (1-2) *Śrēṣṭhin* Pāhaḍa and *Prāgvāta Vyavahārin* (tradesman) Vatsarāja, son of *Prāgvāta Śrēṣṭhin* Bōhaḍi; (3-4) Kumarasimha and Lākhaṇa, sons of *Vyavahārin* Saraṇā; (5) Jāsū, wife of Jasarā (Yasōrāja) who was a *śrāvaka* (lay follower of Jainism) of the *Bṛihad-gachchha*, *Chakrēśvarī-gōtra* and *Uṃsēvāla* community; (6-11) Jāsū's sons Mahaja, Sadharāṇa, Prālha, Mālūṇa, Sōmasimha and Vijāḍa; and (12-14) Sāvaḍa, Guṇapāla and Mōhana, sons of *Prāgvāta* Dhanadēva.

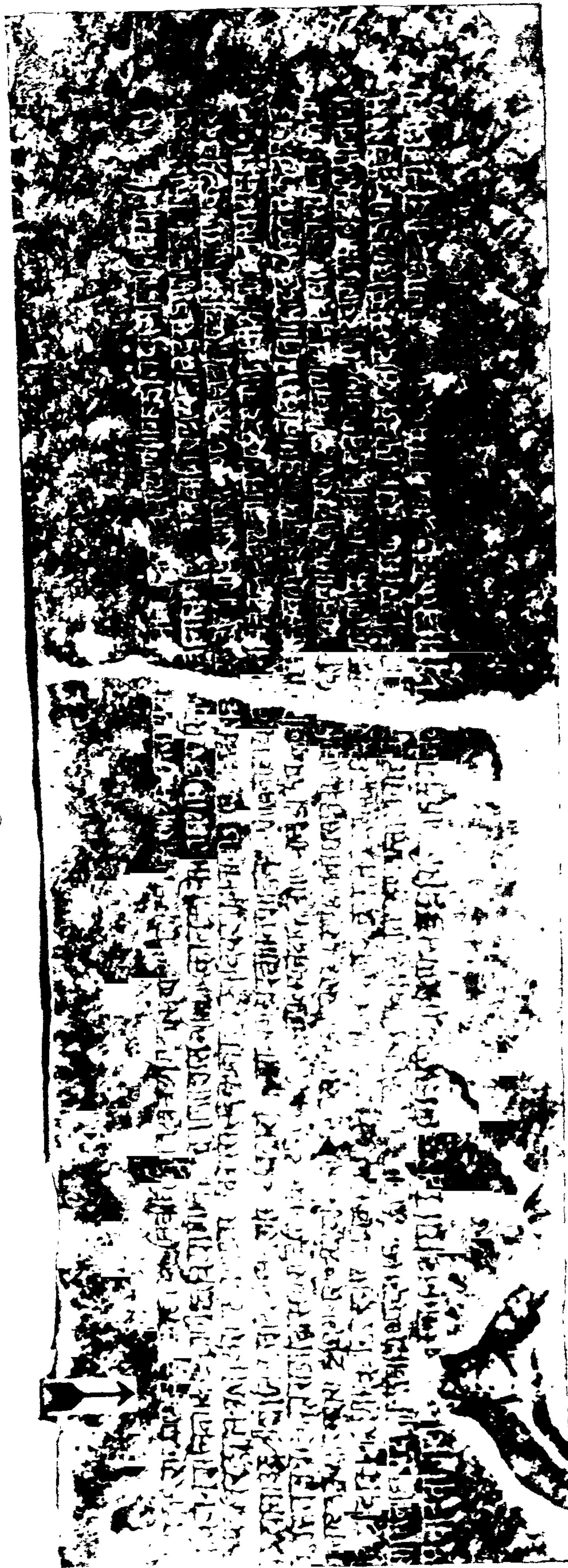
¹ It is said that two inscriptions containing the dates Vikrama 1225 and 1229 outside the Achalēśvara temple on Mount Ābū mention the dynastic name Dēvdā (loc. cit.; Lala Sitaram, *History of Sirohi Raj*, pp. 159-60; L. B. Desai, op. cit., p. 197). But no such inscriptions are known to us.

TWO SONGIRA CHAUHAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARLUT

Left Side



Right Side



(from Photographs)

2
4
6
8

2
4
6
8

The building constructed by Padmasimha and others was consecrated by Guṇabhadra-sūri, the disciple of Dhanēśvara-sūri of the *santāna* of Sarvadēv-āchārya of the Bṛihad-gachchha. The record ends with the well-known passage : *maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*, and a prayer to the effect that welfare may come to the community of [Jain] monks. This is followed by the names of Chachā, Chāṇḍā and Ālhā, the sons of the artisan Gaṅgā. They appear to have been responsible for building the structures and engraving the inscriptions.

TEXT¹

No. 1

[Metres : verses 1-5, 8 *Anushtubh* ; verse 6 *Upajāti* ; verse 7 *Mālinī*.]

- 1 Siddham² || nama[h*] śrī-Śāmtāya || svasti śrīr=jayō=bhyudayaś=cha || Chōhān-ānvaya-pāthōdhi-samvarddhana-vidhau vi[dhu][h*] || Śrīmān=i [h=Ā]sarājō=bhūt³ śrī-Naḍūlapur-ādhipa[h*] || 1 Karpūr-ā[bha]-yasūstatvō⁴ **Ālhanah** prithivīpati[h*] || tat-putra[h*] śrī-Gajasimgha(hah) śrī-Maṇḍōrapur-ēśvara[h*] || 2 Sa[tya]-nyāya-va(ba)[lād=bhā]ryā Bachchha[la(lā)] kshatriyāyaṇī⁵ | Gajasimghā(h=ā)ṁgajō=bhidhayā śrī-Manaṇa-simgha(ha)ka[h*] || 3 Vivēk-ātm=āsti tat-paṭṭē⁶ **Āsaṭ-ākḥō(khyō)** mahāsaya[h*] || Namvā...[dī]pura[tō] vāpīm yah samakārayat || [4] Yaś=cha || Ādhārā(rah) sarva-dha[r*]-māṇām=avadhir=dāna-sālinā[m*] | yah pratāpī kshatriyāṇām dhārmikāṇām śirōmaṇi[h*] || 5 Kālē Kalau dōsha-gaṇēshu sarpan⁷ [sa pu]tram⁸ lēbhē mahimānam=eṣa | nirāśrayas=tv=Ābhaṭa-sadud(d-gu)ṇ-aughas=tam=ārurōha prabhu-
- 3 m=ēka-durga[m*] || 6 Yama iva bhaya-hētur=yō=rishu—⁹ jō ya iha Bali—¹⁰ [rtha]tō vādakānam¹¹ | Avani-ti[la]ka-vashayā¹² pit=eṣa prajānām¹³ |¹⁴ sa jayatu chira-kāla[m*]¹⁴ **Ābhaṭō** rāja-putra[h*] || 7 Tasya viśvāsa-sadana[m*] kōśa-rakshā-vichakshaṇah | Nāna-sauvarṇa¹⁵-sad-vaṁśē=[bhūch=cha] maṁtri Yaśōdharah || 8 **Sam^o 1283 Jyēshṭha-śudi 8 Gurau** mahārāṇaka-śrī¹⁴-**Udaya-**
- 4 **simhadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē** maṁtri-śrī-Yaśōvīrē || **Chāhumāna-va[m*]śa-[u]¹⁶**.. rāja¹⁷-**Ābhaṭēna** śrī-Bṛiha[d-gachchha]-dēvagrī[h]-ā[r*]tham rāja¹⁷-Manasimgha(ha)-śra-(śrē)yasē dēva-śrī-Śāmtināthāya śrī-Manasim[gha](ha)-vihārāy=āgryā bhūmiḥ pradattā || tathā dēva-śrī-Śāmtināthāya nē...¹⁸ nimittam **Valadaūṭha-trā(grā)mē** pīṭha[h*] pradattā(ttah) || tathā Śrī-Śāmtināthāya pūjā-nimi-

¹ From inked impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ The intended reading may be *yaśās=tata^o*.

⁵ The intended reading may be *Kshātriyāyaṇī* ; cf. *Mānavāyana* (above, Vol. XXX, p. 122).

⁶ The space for the two *aksharas* looks like a blank.

⁷ The author's idea is not quite clear here.

⁸ Read *putram sa* for the sake of the metre.

⁹ The space for the three *aksharas* looks like a blank.

¹⁰ The space for the four *aksharas* looks like a blank.

¹¹ The intended reading seems to be *yāchakānam*.

¹² The intended reading may be *vēshē yah*.

¹³ The *danḍa* is redundant.

¹⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

¹⁵ The reading does not appear to be *Sāvarṇa* meaning the *Sāvarṇya gōtra*.

¹⁶ The space for three or four *aksharas* here looks like a blank. The intended reading may be *udbhavēna*.

¹⁷ *Rāja* stands for *Rājaputra*=*Rāwat*.

¹⁸ The intended reading does not appear to be *nēvēdya* for *naivēdya*.

- 5 ttaṁ rāja¹-Ābhaṭēna putra-Har[i]sarā²-rāja¹-Prithimarāja-prabhṛiti-putra-pautr-ādi-samētāna pū[r*]vaja-srēyasē dēvakā..³..ghaṭṭa⁴ ēka 1 pradattaḥ || yathā || Va(Ba)hubhi[r*]-vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā pholaṁ(lam) || 9 ā-chandr-ārka[m*] pālani[ya]h(yam) ||

No. 2

Sa(Sva)sti [|| *] Samvat

1330 varshē Phā[l*]guṇa(na)-śudi 11 Ravau dōrda[m]ḍa-dalita-sakala-prachamḍa-

- 6 ripu-bala-⁵ Umāpati-vara-labdha-prauḍha-pratāpa-mahāmaṇḍalēsvara-śrīmach-**Chāchigadēva**-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śrī-[śrīka]raṇē maha⁶-śrī-Jāpākē rā⁷-Ābhaṭēna pu⁸-Hē(Ha)-risarā rā⁷-Prithimarā rā⁷-Ajayasimgha(ha) [rā⁷]⁷-Simghala rā⁷-Anagharā [Sū]marā rāja⁹-Bānitharā [iti*] putra-pautr-ādi-[sa]hitēna Manaṇasimha-vihārah rā⁷-śrī-Manaṇasimha-srēyasē kārapitaḥ⁹ || Tathā
- 7 Prāgvāṭa-vamś-ōdbhava-srē¹⁰-Bōhaḍi-putra(trau) sadā-sujana-vachchha(tsa)la-srē¹⁰-Pāhaḍa-[h*] Prā¹⁰-vya¹¹śrī-Vatsarō(rā)ja[h*] vya¹²-Saraṇā-putra-Kuma[rasiṁ]ha-Lāshaṇa-(khaṇau) tathā Uṁsēvāla-jñātīya¹³-śrī-Chakrēsvarī-gotrē(trīya)-srē¹⁰-Jasarā-bhā[r*]yā Jāsū [tat]-putra-Mahaja-Sadhara[ṇa]-Prālha-Mālūṇām(ṇā)-Sōmasimha-Vijāḍa(ḍāḥ) va(ta)thā Prā¹⁴-Dhaṇa(na)dēchā(v-ā)mgaḥja-Sāvaḍā-Guṇapāla-Mō-
- 8 haṇa(nāḥ) tathā Prāgvāṭa-vamśa-gagan-āmgāṇa-pū[rṇi]m-ēṁdu(dau) A[m]vā(bā)i-gō-[tr]ē vya¹⁰-Nāsala-samṭānē srē¹⁰-Dēvamga-suta-Dēlha[ṇa-bhā]ryā Paūmsiri¹⁵ ta[t]-putrēna śrī-Śāntinātha-sadā-saktēna srē¹⁰-Padmasimghēna¹⁶ śrī-Jina-dharmmēna sad-āvāsīt-āmtaḥkaraṇā bhāryā Bāi putra[h sa]d-vivēkī Arasiṁgha-Narapāla¹⁷ pautra(trāḥ) Jaitā-Karmmasi(sim)ha-Tēja[h*]pāla-pramukha(khāḥ) [ity-ādi*]-sa-
- 9 kala-kuṭumvō(mb-ō)pētēna sarva-saṁgha-samudāyēna Prā¹⁰-srē¹⁸-Padmasi[m]hēna ayaṁ prāsādō dha[r*]m-ā[r*]tham kāri[taḥ pra]tisti(shṭhi)taḥ śrī-Bṛihad-gachchhē śrī-Sarvadēv-āchārya-samṭānē śrī-Dhanēsvara-sūri-śishyāiḥ śrī-Pūrṇabhadra-sūribhiḥ ||¹⁹ maṁgalaṁ [mahā]-śrīḥ | śubham bhavatu śrī-Śramaṇa-saṁghasya || [sū]²⁰-Gaṁgā-putra(trāḥ) Chāchā Chāṁḍā Ālhā [|| *]

¹ Raja stands for Rājaputra=Rāwat.

² The rā-ending in a name stands for rāja.

³ The intended word seems to be dēva-kāryē.

⁴ The intended word is araghaṭṭa (water-drawing machine).

⁵ Sandhi has not been observed here.

⁶ Maha is an abbreviation of Mahattama. For the globular mark after ha, a double daṇḍa was originally engraved.

⁷ The abbreviation stands for Rājaputra = Rāwa.

⁸ The abbreviation stands for putra.

⁹ Read kāritaḥ.

¹⁰ This abbreviation stands for śrēshṭhi.

¹¹ These abbreviations stand for Prāgvāṭa-jñā(jā)tīya-vyavahāri¹⁰.

¹² This stands for vyavahāri¹⁰.

¹³ This stands for Sanskrit jātīya.

¹⁴ Th's stands for Prāgvāṭa-jñā(jā)tīya.

¹⁵ Sanskrit Padmaśrīḥ.

¹⁶ Read tat-putrah śrī-Śāntinātha-sadā-saktaḥ śrī-Padmasimghaḥ tasya.

¹⁷ Read putrau sad-vivēkinau Arasiṁgha-Narapālau.

¹⁸ This stands for Prāgvāṭa-jñā(jā)tīya-śrēshṭhi¹⁰.

¹⁹ What looks like the numerical figure 1 is engraved after the double daṇḍa.

²⁰ This is the abbreviation of sūradhāra.

No. 5—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.6.1961)

1. Silsilā Inscription of Aṅgasimha's time, Vikrama 1162

There is an inscribed **boulder** at the foot of a hill belonging to the Kaimur Range near **Sil-silā** which is not far from Bhagwanpur, about ten miles to the south of Bhabua, headquarters of a Sub-Division of the Shahabad District of Bihar. Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, informed me of the existence of the inscribed boulder and I visited the place in December 1960 for copying the writing on it.

There are actually **two inscriptions** engraved on the boulder, the first containing five lines of writing and the second six lines. The letters of the first record are slightly smaller than in the second, individual *aksharas* being about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches high in the former and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height in the latter. The spaces covered by the two inscriptions, the second engraved below the first, are respectively about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet by 1 foot and $3\frac{1}{8}$ feet by $2\frac{1}{8}$ feet. There is the representation of a bow with an arrow fixed to it and a spear-head at the end respectively of lines 1 and 2 of the second inscription. The real significance of these symbols cannot be determined, though they may be the insignia of the ruler mentioned in the record.

The preservation of the writing in both the epigraphs is unsatisfactory. Many letters in the first line of the **first inscription** are damaged. The purport of this record is not quite clear, though it uses the word *va(ba)li*, literally 'an offering', very probably in the sense of 'an offering of animals', i.e. 'an animal sacrifice', as it is usually understood in Eastern India. From the occurrence of the expressions *varāh-āvāsa* (a pigsty) in line 2, *varāha-va(ba)li* (sacrifice of pigs) in line 3 and *va(ba)li datta* (animal-sacrifice was offered) in line 4, it appears that the inscription recorded the sacrifice of certain animals in favour of a deity. The reading and interpretation of the **second inscription** is also very difficult; but it is of some importance as it throws new light on the early medieval history of the Bhabua region of the Shahabad District. The second inscription is therefore edited in the following pages.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī **characters** of about the twelfth century A.D. Its **language** is Sanskrit, though the **orthography** exhibits the influence of local pronunciation (cf. *jasya* for Sanskrit *yasya* in line 5). The **date** at the end of the record seems to be the year (i.e. Vikrama) **1162, Vaiśākha-sudi 3, Monday**. This date corresponds to the **9th April 1106 A.D.**, though correctly the *tithi* was sudi 4.

The record begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti*. The following passage in lines 1-2 suggests that the transaction recorded below in the inscription was made when *Nāyaka* **Aṅgasimha** was ruling from **Vaṇṭhiām-Pātharapura**. The next passage in lines 2-5 states that some land in the possession of the *Nāyaka* (apparently meaning Aṅgasimha of Vaṇṭhiām-Pātharapura) lying in the village of **Amaramēṭha** in the **Kasaramōla pattalā** within **Vārāṇasī** was granted as a *Śiva-śāsana* by a person named Vimūrti. The reading of the last part of the name of the village and the first part of the name of the *pattalā* or district is, however, not absolutely

beyond doubt. It appears that Vimūrti purchased the plot of land from the *Nāyaka* and granted it in favour of the god Śiva worshipped in a temple in the neighbourhood of the boulder bearing the inscription. The following passage in line 5 states that, having known the fact relating to the grant, the Brāhmaṇa should be regarded as a friend by the lord of the land. This suggests that the charge of the land granted in favour of the god Śiva by means of the epigraph under study was given to the Brāhmaṇa priest of the Śiva temple in the locality. The record ends with the date in lines 5-6 which has already been discussed above.

The **importance** of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies us with the name of a hitherto unknown *Nāyaka* who was ruling in Vikrama 1162 (1106 A.D.) over the territory including the area where the inscription has been found. We have inscriptions¹ of another *Nāyaka* named Pratāpadhavaḷa who belonged to the Khayaravāḷa (i.e. Kharwar) tribe and ruled from Jāpila (modern Japla in the Palamau District) over the Sasaram-Japla region of the Shahabad and Palamau Districts at least from Vikrama 1214 (1158 A.D.) to Vikrama 1225 (1169 A.D.). The Sone-East-Bank plate² of the Kadamba *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Udayarāja who was the son of Praharāja (the *Pradhāna-sachiva* of a Khadirapāḷa or Kharwar king) and the grandson of Samarasimha, gives the following genealogy of his overlord Indradhavaḷa of the dynasty of Khadirapāḷa : (1) Sādhava ; (2) his son Raṇadhavaḷa ; (3) his son Pratāpadhavaḷa ; (4) his son Sāhasa ; (5) his son Vikrama ; and (6) his brother Indradhavaḷa. This inscription is dated Vikrama 1254 (1197 A.D.) when Pratāpadhavaḷa's grandson Indradhavaḷa was ruling. Aṅgasimha of our inscription seems to have been ruling over the land to the west of the territory under the Khadirapāḷa=Khayaravāḷa=Kharwar *Nāyaka* Pratāpadhavaḷa and may have been a contemporary of the latter's grandfather Sādhava. Whether Aṅgasimha was an aboriginal chief like Pratāpadhavaḷa cannot be determined without further evidence, though it is quite likely. It is also not altogether impossible that Pratāpadhavaḷa was actually a descendant of Aṅgasimha.

We have seen above³ that the relations of Pratāpadhavaḷa with the contemporary Gāhaḍavāḷa ruler Vijayachandra (1155-70 A.D.) of Banāras cannot be determined with certainty. Since, however, *Nāyaka* Aṅgasimha's territory formed a part of the Vārāṇasī district, he was apparently a subordinate of the contemporary Gāhaḍavāḷa king Madanachandra (c. 1100-14 A.D.). Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in locating Vanṭhiām-Pātharapura and the other **geographical names** mentioned in our record. They do not appear to have been localities within the present Bhabua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

TEXT⁴

1 Siddham⁵ svasti [[] **Va[ṇṭhi]ām-Pātharapurāt** |⁶

2 *Nāyaka-śrī⁷-Aṅga[s]iha⁸-patō⁹ Vārāṇa-* |¹⁰

¹ See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 299, 338, 340, 1759; also above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 23 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 222 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 155.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ To the right of the *danda*, which is superfluous, there is the figure of a bow with an arrow fixed to it.

⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁸ Sanskrit *Aṅgasimha*.

⁹ Possibly we have to suggest *bhūpatāu* [*śāsati**].

¹⁰ To the right of the *danda*, which is superfluous, there is the figure of a spear-head.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR—PLATE I

1. Silsilā Inscription of Aṅgasimha's time, Vikrama 1162

A

2

4

B

2

4

6

2

4

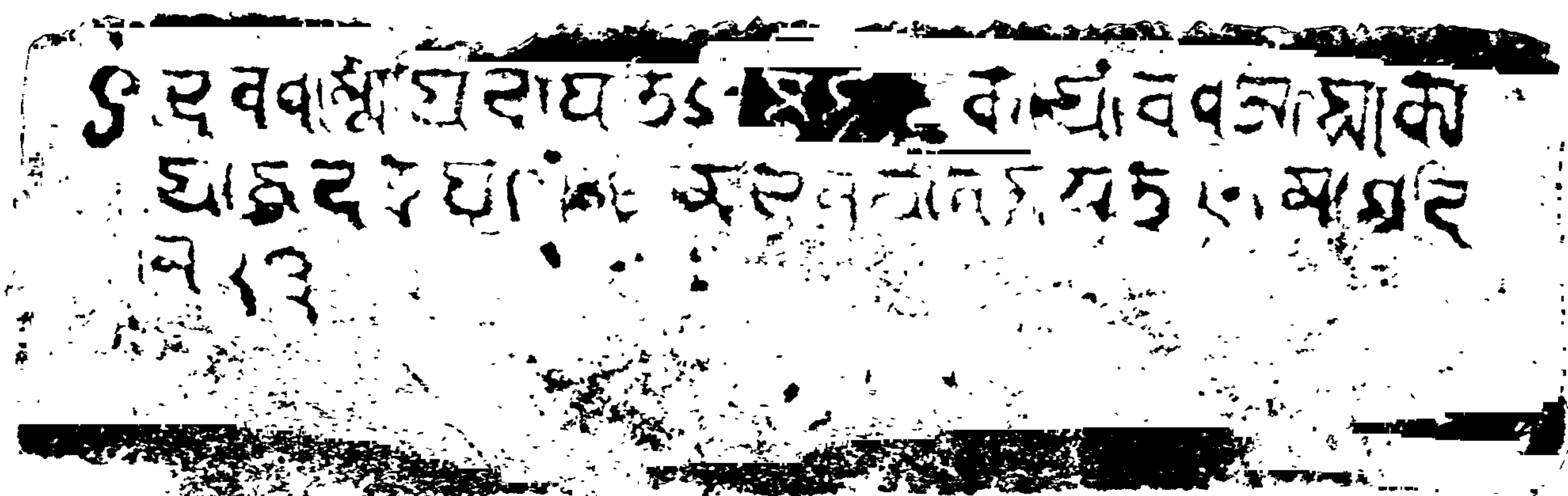
2

4

6

Size : One-sixth

2. Nōṅgaḥ Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Vikrama [1*]201



Size : Actual

- 3 syām [Ka]sa[ra]mōla-pa[tta]lāyām Amaramē[tha]-grāmē |¹
 4 [nāyaka]-saṁbhu[jya][mā*]nakam² śrī-Vimūrtti[nā*] Śiva-sā(śā)sanam kṛitvō(tvā) |¹
 5 pradattam |¹ matvā ja(ya)sya bhūmī tasya Vrā(Brā)hmaṇō vaṁ(baṁ)dhu[h*] | [Sam 1162]
 6 Vaisāsha(śākha)-[su]d[i]² 3 Śōmē |

2. Nōṅgaḍh Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Vikrama [1*]201

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image found at Nōṅgaḍh under the Sikandra Police Station within the Jamui Sub-Division of the Monghyr District. It was copied by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of my office, in January 1961.

This inscription contains three small lines of writing, the last one of which is much shorter than the others. The writing covers an area about six inches in length and a little above one inch in height. The record is written in Gaudīya characters of about the twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit with considerable influence of the local pronunciation on the orthography. The date is quoted as the year 201 of the Pāla king Madanapāla who is known to have ruled in c. 1143-61 A.D. The year of the date apparently refers to some era. But it is difficult to think of any Indian era that would suit the date. It is, however, very probable that the engraver has omitted the figure 1 before 201 through inadvertence and that the year is actually Vikrama 1201. Although inscriptions referring themselves to Pāla rule were generally dated in the regnal reckoning of individual Pāla monarchs, there are a few Pāla inscriptions from U. P. and Bihar, which are dated in the Vikrama or Śaka era; cf. (1) the Sarnath (near Banaras) inscription of the time of Mahipāla I dated Vikrama 1083; (2) the Gayā inscription of Gōvindapāla's time dated in Vikrama 1232; and (3) the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla's time dated in Śaka 1083 and regnal year 18.⁴ The day of the date is quoted in our record as the 23rd of Mārgaśīrsha. Since the months were regarded as Pūrṇimānta,⁵ the 23rd of Mārgaśīrsha probably indicates Mārgaśīrsha sudi 8. This date seems to correspond to the 4th November 1144 A.D.

As we have seen elsewhere,⁶ the 4th May 1161 A.D. fell in the 13th regnal year of Madanapāla, so that the 4th May 1144 fell in the first year of his reign. The date of our inscription would therefore fall in the first or second year of Madanapāla's rule and prove to be the earliest epigraph of his reign so far discovered.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol and states that the image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, was the *dēva-dharma* of *dānapati* Śēja and his *vadhū* (wife) Aśōkā. The deity was apparently installed at a place called Dakā. We know that the expression *dēva-dharma* was used in Eastern India in the sense of *dēya-dharma* (a religious gift) when the object of the gift was the image of a deity. Likewise, the expression *dānapati* is known to indicate a person who took a vow to get an image of a particular deity made and installed in a shrine on the fulfilment of his desire. In the present case, it appears that the vow was taken by Śēja but that the image was dedicated for installation by his wife Aśōkā.

¹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

² Possibly the word *kshētram* is to be understood here.

³ The letter *s* resembles the same letter in *sāsanam* in line 4; but it is joined here with the previous *akshara* (i.e. *ash*). The *i-mātrā* of *dī* looks like an *ā-mātrā* of the previous letter.

⁴ See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 114 and 370; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, note 3.

⁶ Ibid., p. 142.

The following passage reading *ja(ya)d=atra puṇam(ṇyam)* is followed by a globular mark often used in the medieval records of Northern India in order to indicate abbreviations of words, e.g. *ṭha°* for *ṭhakkura*, *Kā°* for *Kāyastha*, etc. In the present case, the mark has apparently been used to indicate the omission of a passage like *tad=bhavatu sarva-sattvānām=anuttara-jñān-āvāp-tayē* usually found in Mahāyāna Buddhist records in similar contexts. The phraseology of our epigraph shows that the inscribed object was a Buddhist image. The date, discussed above, comes at the end of the inscription in lines 2-3.

Dakā seems to have been the old name of modern Nōṇgaḍh or of a neighbouring locality.

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² [||*] d[ē]va-dharmmō³ yaṁ dā[na*]pati-Śējas[y]a **Dakāyārṇ** vadhū³-Asō(śō)kā-
 2 yā ja(ya)d=atra p[u]ṇam⁴ °⁵ [śrī]-**Madanapāla-saṁmata**⁶ [1*]201 **Māgra**⁷-di-
 3 nē 23 [||*]

3. Ārmā Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Year 14

This inscription, engraved on what looks like part of a stone pillar, was discovered by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office in January 1961 at the village of **Ārmā** near the Kiul railway station in the Monghyr District. There are altogether twelve lines of writing covering an area about 9½ inches in height and 5½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. A letter at the beginning and end of the lines is damaged or broken away in some cases. But the break at the beginning of line 6 was there even when the inscription was incised. This is indicated by the fact that no letter appears to have been engraved at that place.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Gaudīya alphabet of about the twelfth century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit. But there are some errors of **orthography** and grammar. The **date** is quoted as a particular day of the month of **Vaiśākha** in the **fourteenth year** of the Pāla king **Madanapāla's reign**. Since Madanapāla began his rule in 1143 or 1144 A.D., his fourteenth year roughly corresponds to **1157 A.D.**

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village in favour of a Buddhist monastery which must have existed within or in the neighbourhood of **Ārmā** where the inscription has been found. Besides the reference to the *viṣaya-rājya* (victorious reign) of **Madanapāla** in relation to the date discussed above, mention is also made of the *rājya* or rule of *Pīṭhīpati Āchārya Dēvasēna who was no doubt a feudatory of the Pāla king and ruled over the area including the **Ārmā** region in the western part of the Monghyr District of Bihar.*

Lines 5-12 of the inscription state that a village called **Khaṇḍapātaka-grāma** was granted in favour of the Dhavala-saṅgha by **Sārthadēvikā**, the queen (*rājñī*) of *Mahāmāṇḍalika Jashka-pāla*. The correct form of the *Mahāmāṇḍalika's* name may be Yakshapāla, though we cannot

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Sandhi has not been observed here.

⁴ Read *puṇyam*.

⁵ As indicated above, this globular mark was apparently used to indicate the fact that a passage like *tad=bhavatu sarvasattvānām=anuttara-jñān-āvāp-tayē* has been omitted here.

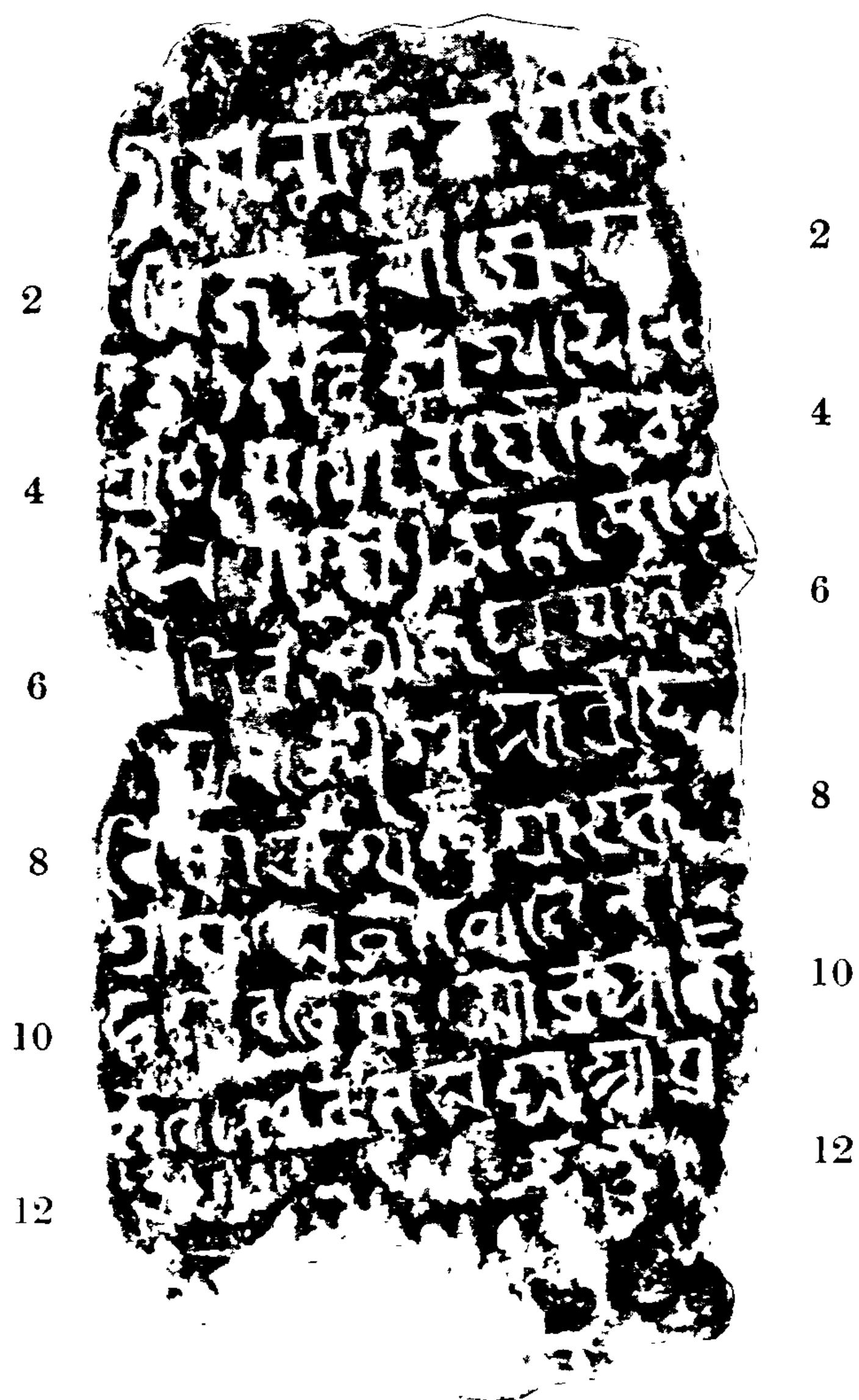
⁶ Read *saṁvat* which is an abbreviation of *saṁvatsarē*.

⁷ The intended reading is *Mārga* which is an abbreviation of *Mārgaśīrsha*.

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THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR—PLATE II

3. Ārmā Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Year 14



Size : One-half

be sure on this point.¹ Dhavala-saṅgha seems to have been the name of a local Buddhist monastery. The village of Khaṇḍapātaka is stated to have been granted together with its land and waters. It is, however, not stated that the gift village was made a rent-free holding in favour of the donee. The use of the sixth case-ending in *Dhavala-saṅghasya*, instead of the fourth case-ending, may suggest that the monastery did not receive a revenue-free gift, but had to pay rent for the village. It has also to be noted in this connection that the petty local chief, whose wife made the gift, was not himself in a position to create a rent-free holding within his fief without the permission of Dēvasēna or Madanapāla. The passage *sva-bhū-sambaddh-aikam-ā-chandr-ārkaṁ kṛtvā*, 'having made [it, i.e. the gift village] a unit permanently attached to her own land', suggests that the lady purchased the village from the ruling authority.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of *Pīṭhīpati Āchārya* Dēvasēna as the ruler of the territory including the Ārmā region in Western Monghyr. We have seen above² that the *Pīṭhīpatīs* were the rulers of Magadha and generally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pālas, that the *Pīṭhīpatīs* Vallabharāja and his son Dēvarakshita of the Chhikkōra family and a later *Pīṭhīpati* named Bhīmayaśas were ruling over Magadha or South Bihar about the middle and the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. and that the status of *Pīṭhīpati* soon passed on to the members of an *Āchārya* family represented by Buddhasēna (1234 A.D.) and Jayasēna (1261 A.D.), the son of Buddhasēna. The inscription under study suggests that *Pīṭhīpati Āchārya* Dēvasēna (c. 1157 A.D.) was a predecessor of the *Pīṭhīpati Āchāryas* Buddhasēna and Jayasēna. That the western region of the Monghyr District formed part of the territories under the *Pīṭhīpatīs* of Magadha, generally identified with the Patna-Gaya region, is known for the first time from the inscription under study. It is usually believed that the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of East Bihar formed the ancient country of Aṅga which was, however, a separate province of the Pāla empire under the rule of a viceroy different from the *Pīṭhīpati* rulers of Magadha. During the reign of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1080-1125 A.D.), Aṅga was being ruled by the king's Rāshtrakūṭa maternal uncle Mathaṇa or Mahāṇa, while Magadha was first under *Pīṭhīpati* Dēvarakshita and later under *Pīṭhīpati* Bhīmayaśas.

We are not sure about the location of Khaṇḍapātaka-grāma though it seems to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Ārmā, the findspot of the inscription.

TEXT⁴

- 1 '[Śr]īman-Mada[na]pāla[d]ē-
- 2 [va]-vijaya-rājyē [sa]-
- 3 [ma]ta⁵ 14 Vaiś[ā*]kha-dinē
- 4 ...⁷ Pīṭhīpaty-āchārya-Dēva-
- 5 [sēna]⁸-rājyē |⁹ mahāmāṇḍa-

¹ A Brāhmaṇa chief named Yakshapāla was ruling at Gayā about 1075 A.D. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1750.

² See above, Vol. XXXV, pp.80-81.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 82-83

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ A symbol for *siddham* seems to have broken away at the beginning of the line.

⁶ Read *saṁvat.*

⁷ The number of the day in the month is broken away at the beginning of this line.

⁸ The *akshara* *śē* is re-engraved on something previously incised.

⁹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

6 ¹lika-śrī-Ja[shka]pāla²- ||³

7 sya rājñī(jñyā) śrī-Sār[tha]dē-

8 vikā(ka)yā Khaṇḍapā[ta]ka-

9 grāma⁴ |⁵ sajala-tha(stha)lēna |⁵ [sva]-

10 bhū-[saṃ]vaddh-uikam⁶ |⁵ ā-cha[n]dr-ārkan.

11 kṛitvā [|]⁷ Dhavala-saṅghasya pra-

12 datta[h]⁷ ||

¹ The space for an *akshara* is broken away at the beginning of this line, though nothing was incised at the place.

² As indicated above, it is difficult to say whether *Yakshapāla* was the name intended.

³ The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

⁴ Read *grāmaḥ*.

⁵ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ Read *baddha-uikam*.

⁷ These *aksharas* are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line.

No. 6—JODHPUR FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF SIMHARAJA, VIKRAMA 1054

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 12.6.1961)

In January-February 1961, an agent of one Mr. Sampat Singh Jain of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, brought to me three loose inscribed copper plates for examination. He was not in a position to tell me as to when, how and where exactly the plates had been found.

On examination, I found that the three plates contained two records, one **incomplete** and the other complete. The former record, written on the inner side of one plate containing the latter half of a land grant issued by one **Sīharāja (Simharāja)**, is the subject of the present paper. The other inscription, written on two plates and recording a grant of land by Kshēmarāja, a *Tantrapāla* of Durlabha, is being published separately.

Simharāja's grant bears a date in **Vikrama 1054** and Kshēmarāja's in Vikrama 1069. The donee in both the records happens to be one and the same individual, Nannaka by name, an inhabitant of **Bhillamāla**, modern Bhīnmāl in the Jalore District of the Jodhpur Division. Bhīnmāl may thus be taken as the provenance of the three plates. It may be of some interest to find out as to how they have come to be in the possession of their present owner.

The original charter was evidently composed of two copper plates, of which only the second is available now. It measures $21 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$ cm., and weighs 555 grams. It has two holes at the top for the rings which had held the two plates together. The extant plate has 13 lines of writing engraved on it, of which the last line is comparatively very short, having only five syllables. The **alphabet** is Dēvanāgarī of the period to which the record belongs. The **language** is Sanskrit, except for the donor's sign-manual at the very end, which is in Prakrit. The composition is in prose, barring the two-and-a-half verses towards the close. It contains many mistakes. As regards **orthography**, the following points call for notice : *anusvāra* mostly takes the place of *para-svarṇa* as in *saṁkrāntau* in line 2 ; *t* is reduplicated before *r* in *trilōkī* in line 2 ; a consonant after *r* is often reduplicated ; and *b* is throughout indicated by the sign for *v*.

As for the contents, we learn from the extant portion that a certain village in the district (*pathaka*) of **Satyapura** was given as a perpetual gift to a Brāhmaṇa teacher (*upādhyāya*), Nannaka by name, hailing from **Bhillamāla**, on the occasion of the **Makara saṁkrānti** falling in the lunar month of **Pausa** in the [**Vikrama**] **year 1054**. The given date corresponds to Friday, the **24th December 997 A.D.** The purpose of the gift was the increase of the religious merit and fame both of the donor and of his parents. The donor made the gift after a holy bath and after the worship of Mahādēva. While the name of the donated village is lost to us (it was evidently given in the first plate now missing), the name of the donor (which was presumably given with some details in the first plate now missing) is known to us from his sign-manual at the end, which reads : *śrī-Sīharājasī-svāhastah*, the name *Sīharājasī* being the vernacular form of Sanskrit *Simharājasimha*. Satyapura, the district in which the donated village was included, is identical with the modern Sānchōr.

It is not possible to state with absolute certainty as to who this Simharāja was, but he may tentatively be identified with the Chāhamāna monarch of that name. He figures prominently in

the Haras stone inscription¹ of his son Vighararāja. Such an identification will require some chronological re-adjustments in the known history, into which we do not propose to enter for the present.²

TEXT

Second² Plate

- 1 ya[ty=a*]stu vō viditam yath=āsmātiḥ(bhiḥ) saṁvatsara-ma(śa)tēshu damaśu(śasu) chadushārmchā(tushpañchā)śa-
- 2 d-adhikēshu Pausa-māsē nē³ Saṁ 1054 Makara-saṁkrāntau snātvā ttrilōkī-guru[m*] Mahā-
- 3 dēvam=abhyarchcha(rehya) matta-kari-karṇṇa-cham⁴chalām=abhivikshya lmīm(lakshmīm) giri[na]dī-vēg-ōpamam yaum-
- 4 vana[nālni]lahya⁵ tṛiṇa-gata-pidvā(bindv-ā)lōlam jīvitam(ta)m= avalōkya ch=āyam grāmam-(mah) Satyapurī-
- 5 ya-pa[thē]kēḥ⁶ pradattam(ttah) śrī-Bhillama(mā)lād=vini[r*]gata-brāhmaṇa-u(ṇ-ō)pādhyāya-Nannakāya Gō-
- 6 vimda-tu(su)tāya tri-pravarāya cāmḍr-ārkk-ārnnava-tkimta(kshiti)-sama-kālī[natayā*] sā(śā)sanēn=ōdaka-pu(pū)-
- 7 rvvam parayā bhaktyā pradattam(ttah) mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha punya(ṇya)-jāsō(yasō)-bhivṛiddhayē para-
- 8 lōka-[pha]lam=aṁgīkṛityō(tya) Asmat-kula-[kra]manu(m=u)dāranu(m=u)dā[ha*]radbhir-anyaiś=cha dānam=i-
- 9 dam=asya na lōpanīyam(yam) ||⁷ Yāmti kālēna rājānō mahī punar=avasitāḥ(sthitā) |
- 10 tad=ētām yā(yō) yadābhūktē sa tadā [pha]lam=aśnutē ||⁸ Sva-datām(ttām) para-datām-(ttām) vā yō harēta⁹
- 11 vasumdharam(rām) [|*] shashṭhir=vvarsha-sahasrā(srā)ṇi viṣṭā(shṭhā)yām jāyatē kṛimi[h*] Nāgaśātu-
- 12 padhīmā¹⁰ likhitēndam¹¹ Drōṇēna Chamu(dra)-putrēna(ṇa) || dū¹² Chadra(ndra)guptah || śrī-Siharā-
- 13 jasī-svabhastah [|*]

¹ Above, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 60 ff.

² [Simharāja of the present record appears to have been a local chief of the area in question. The *akshara* read as *u* and corrected into *dra* in line 12 may be *da*.—Ed.]

³ The syllable *nē* seems to be superfluous.

⁴ This syllable *cham* looks more like *chum*.

⁵ The intended reading possibly is *yauvanam-ākalayya*.

⁶ The intended reading is possibly *Satyapurīya-pathakē*.

⁷ The metre of this half verse is *Vasantatilakā*.

⁸ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ This syllable *ta* has a superfluous *virāma* sign below it.

¹⁰ The sense of this portion (eight syllables) is not clear.

¹¹ Read *likhitam=idam*.

¹² This *dū*^o is an abbreviation of *dūtakaḥ*.

[illegible]

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No. 7—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 2.5.1961)

1. Kusumā Inscription of [Vikrama] Year 693

About the middle of the year 1959, I received an indistinct photograph of a fragmentary stone inscription from Shri Achalmal Modi of Sirohi, Rajasthan. The inscribed stone was reported to have been discovered in the village of **Kusumā** in the Reodar Tahsil of the Sirohi District, about 28 miles from the Abu Road railway station. The inscription was later removed to the Jodhpur Museum where it is now preserved. About the beginning of 1960, my colleague Dr. G. S. Gai visited Jodhpur and took impressions and photographs of the inscription. The epigraph was at first examined in my office by Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam, one of my Epigraphical Assistants.

The inscribed stone is a **fragment**, its top, upper right and right sides being broken away and lost. The extant part of the record exhibits only twelve lines of beautifully engraved writing with another line at the top almost totally lost excepting traces of the lower part of a few *aksharas* at the beginning. The number of lines lost before this cannot be determined. Roughly speaking, about 90 *aksharas* were engraved in each line of the original inscription, of which only about 50 from the left are now preserved in the lower part of the record (cf. lines 6-12). In lines 2-4 nearly 20 *aksharas* are preserved while more than 25 *aksharas* can be read in line 5. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the record is also not satisfactory, many *aksharas*, especially in lines 8-9, being more or less badly rubbed off. The last line containing the date is small.

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of about the seventh century A. D. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is written in verse with the exception of the date at the end. Unfortunately not even a single verse is completely preserved in the extant part of the inscription. The **orthography** of the epigraph resembles that of other records of the area and age in question. The **year** of the date, written in numerical symbols, is **693**, though the word *saṃvatsara* or any of its abbreviations has not been used in introducing the number. The year must be referred to the Vikrama Saṃvat so that it corresponds to **636-37 A.D.** The exact date is quoted as the **5th of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra**.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a Śiva temple in what is called the **hermitage of the sage Kutsa**. This temple was built on a hill in the neighbourhood of Kusumā, the findspot of the inscription, probably by a warrior named Satyabhata who was apparently the younger brother of the ruler of the area in question.

Lines 1-7 contain parts of several stanzas in the description of a heroic personage. Line 3 seems to refer to his feet as rubbed by the crowns of a large number of subordinate rulers so that he may be regarded as a king. His name and other details about himself and his family are broken away. But, considering the facts that the date of the record falls in the reign period of king Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj and that wide areas of Rajasthan appear to have been included in Harsha's empire, it is possible that the ruler referred to in our record was a feudatory of the Kanauj king. A stanza beginning in line 7 speaks of the said ruler's younger brother, by name **Satyabhata**, who is described as a great warrior.

Line 8 contains parts of a verse referring to a temple (*saudha*) of 'the conqueror of the city' (*puram vijetuh*), i.e. the god Śiva, which was apparently situated on a hill since it is stated to have

been lying in the sky (*pūrṇ-āntariksha-sthita*). It was probably built by Satyabhaṭa mentioned above. The same temple is mentioned as *viśāla-dēva-bhavana* at the beginning of line 10 which also speaks of an *āśrama-pada*, i.e. a hermitage, in relation to the shrine. Line 11 contains parts of a stanza which prays for the longevity of the said temple (*sadman*) situated in the hermitage of the sage named Kutsa. This hermitage of Kutsa is no doubt the same as the *āśrama-pada* mentioned earlier. The Kuts-āśrama apparently stands for modern Kusumā.

Line 12 containing parts of two stanzas states that the *pūrvā* (i.e. the eulogy quoted above) was composed by Śivagupta, described as the son of a Brāhmaṇa (*dviḥjanman*) whose name is lost, and that it was engraved by the Kshatriya named Sthāvara who was the son of Rudravatsa and the grandson of Mātrivishṇu.

The inscription ends with the date already discussed above.

TEXT¹

- 1 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ
- 2 yaśas-śakalair=iva pravatatā yudhi yasya pabhubhu² —³
.....⁴ — —
- 3 tṣhull-āvataṁsa-sphuṭa-mukuta-ghaṭā-kōṭi-ghṛisṭ-ō ॐ —⁵⁶ [||* ****
- 4 ***sya chirāya ripubhi sthitam(tam) | yēn=ānēkāḥ krīḍat[ā] na [p]ra ***** [||*] ⁷
.....⁸ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — —
- 5 d-ānandit-āli-ku[la-pa]llavam=udvahantī [||*] paryullasat-kiraṇa-mamjarit-[ā]si-yasṭ[ih]
— — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — [||*] ⁹¹⁰
- 6 nūnair¹¹=iva yasya n=ārthibhiḥ kalushitam chētaḥ ||¹² Śāsadhara-dhavaḥ-prabh-āvabhāsaiś=
śabalayatō bhuvan-āntara[m] ॐ [śa]rṇaḥ¹³ [||*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ
ॐ — — ॐ — — [||*] ¹⁴ ***** [||*]
- 7 yasya saṁgrāma-lubdhēna bāhunā duḥkham=āsitam(tam) ||¹⁵ ya[sy=ānu]jaḥ Satyabhaṭō
bhaṭānām=agrēsaraḥ saṅgara-saṁkaṭēshu | utkhāta — — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — — ॐ — —
ॐ ॐ — — [||*] ¹⁶ — — — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — — ॐ — — — — ॐ
- 8 parāgat-ōru-śikhara[m] pu(pū)[r]ṇ-āntar[iksha-sthitam(tam)] | siddhair=drisṭam=udagra-
hṛisṭa-vadan[ai]s=saudha[m] Vijētuh Purā(ra)m=ētat=tēna samam nijēna yaśasā ka[lpa]
ॐ — — ॐ — — [||*] ¹⁷ — — — — ॐ — — — — ॐ — — — — [||*] — — — — ॐ —
— ॐ

¹ From impressions and photographs.

² There is a mistake here ; but it is difficult to restore confidently the word intended by the author. Can we suggest *prabhōr=bhuvah* ? But, in that case, the syllable before *pra* has to be regarded as short by a recognised poetical licence.

³ Metre : *Drutavilambita*.

⁴ About 68 *aksharas* are missing in this part.

⁵ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁶ About 64 *aksharas* are missing in this section.

⁷ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁸ About 64 syllables are missing here.

⁹ Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

¹⁰ Nearly 48 *aksharas* are missing here.

¹¹ The intended word seems to be *anūnair*.

¹² Metre : *Āryā*.

¹³ The word seems to be *viśrṇaḥ* or *viśrṇaiḥ*.

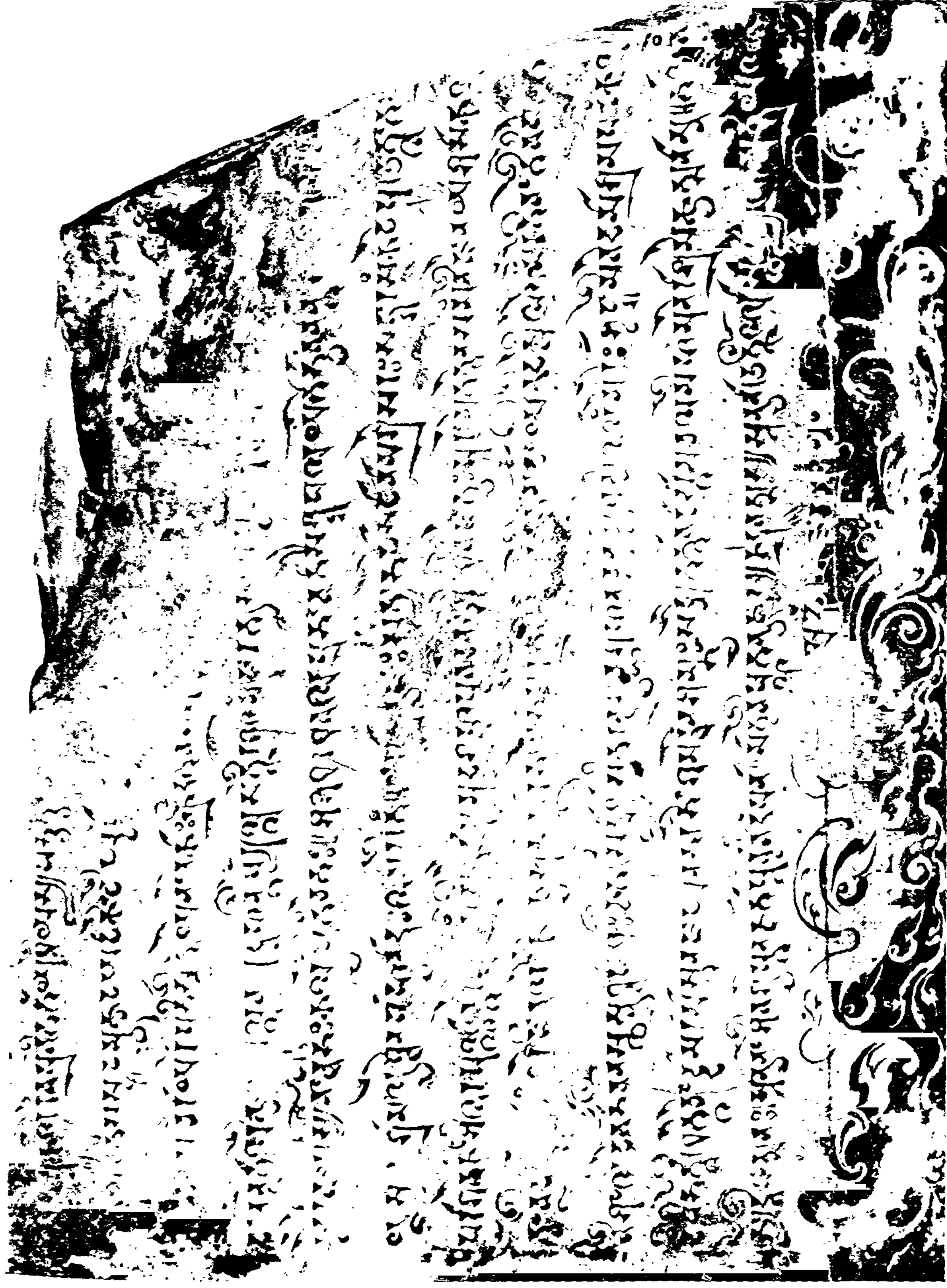
¹⁴ Metre : *Pushpitāgrā*.

¹⁵ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹⁶ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

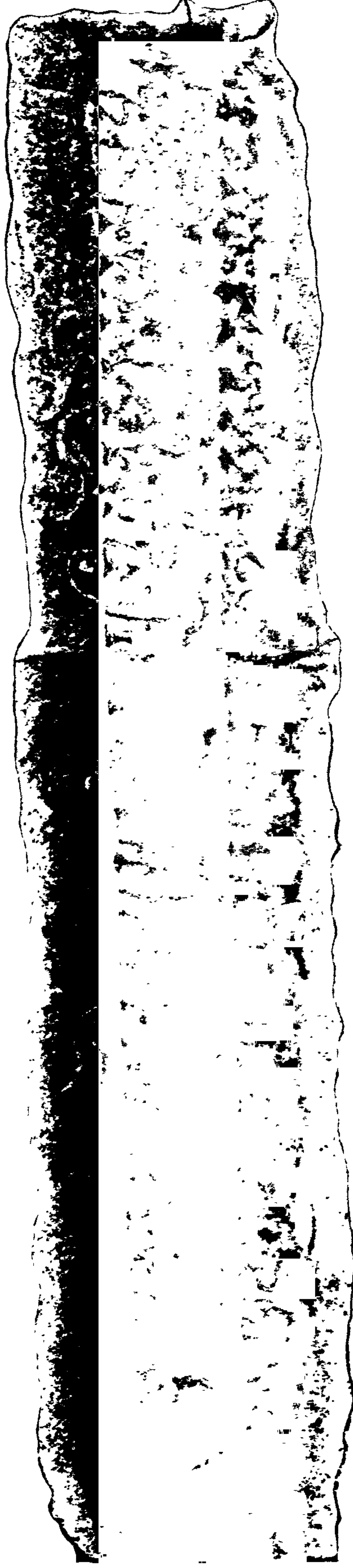
¹⁷ Metre : *Śāradalavikṛīḍita*.

1. Kusumā Inscription of [Vikrama] Year 693



2. Tasai Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

A



Size : Two-thirds

- 9 tvā vidy[ul-l]ē[kh]ā-[cha]m[cha*]lē jīva-lōkē [||*]¹ Kusuma-saurabha-lōbha-pari[bhramō
bhramara-vibhra]ma-dāyini dakṣiṇē | maruti vāti vi[bōdhi]ta—○—○○○—○○—
○○—○—[||*]²—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—
- 10 viśāla-dēva-bhavanē stha(sthā)snu dhvaj-ādhaḥ kṛitam(tam) | siddh-ādhyāsita-randhra-
guchchha-gahana-chchhann-ōchchhalan-mēkhalām Mērōḥ śṛiṅgam=iv=ēdam=āsrama-pa-
[dam] ka[lpa]○—○○—[||*]³—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—
—○○—○○—○○—○○—○○—
- 11 daṁ bibhartti | dhattē ch=ōddāma-rāmā-stana-jaghana-bhar-ābhōgam=arddhēna Śambhuḥ
sadm=aitat=tāvad=āstām=achalam=iha munēr=āsramē Kutsa-nāmma[h*] ||⁴ Tāṇḍavaḥ
***** [||*] *****[||*]⁵ * * * * *
- 12 sya dvijanmanah | sūnunā Śivaguptēna kṛitā pūrvv=āviḍam̐pa(ba)nā⁶ ||⁷ Mātṛivishṇu-tanū-
jasya Rudravatsasya sūnunā | utkīrṇā Sthāvā(va)r-ā[kh]yēṇa⁸ Kshattriyē[ṇa] * * * *
[||*]⁹
- 13 *600 90 3 Chaitra-śu 5 °10

2. Tasaī Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

This fragmentary inscription is engraved on a stone slab which is built into the wall of the Śiva temple at Tasaī near Alwar, Rajasthan. Recently I received a few impressions of the inscription from the Curator, Government Museum, Alwar, and I am editing the epigraph from those impressions. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. Some letters are damaged here and there.

There are fourteen lines of writing in the extant part of the inscription. The writing covers an area about twelve inches in length and twelve inches and a half in height. At least two lines of the original writing are lost above this part and one line below it.

The record was noticed by G. H. Ojha in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum*, Ajmer, for the year ending 31st March 1920, p. 2. He says, "It is the lower part of a *praśasti* of some temple of Viṣṇu (Vāsudēva-Baladēva) erected by Raṇyāditya, son of Halavaṇa (and his wife Gīullā), son of Sujaya (and his wife Gōvā), son of Nāgasvāmin, son of Mīya, the names of whose ancestors are lost. The *praśasti* was composed by Dēgaṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Dēddata, and was inscribed by Māhaṭa, son of Chāmuṇḍadatta, a goldsmith, resident of Śarōdvarṭta. The *praśasti* is called *vikat-ākṣharā*, that is engraved in Vikata (Kuṭila) or acute-angled characters, and is dated the year 182. It further mentions the endowments made for the proper performance of worship, namely two *palas* of oil for lamp, two *palas* of *guggula* (incense), forty garlands and eight *māshakas* of saffron, and two *chattikas* (i.e. pitchers) of *vāruṇī* (wine) on the twelfth day of the dark half of [every] month." He further observes, "The endowment of two pitchers of wine shows that the temple was not of Viṣṇu proper, but of Baladēva, son

¹ Metre : *Śālinī*.

² Metre : *Drutavilambita*.

³ Metre : *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

⁴ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁵ The intended reading does not appear to be °*ānidam̐parā*.

⁶ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Read °*r-ākhyēna*. The *ākṣharas vārākhyaṇa* are written on certain letters that had been previously incised. It appears that *Sthāra* was originally written with the omission of *va*.

⁸ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*. It is difficult to say whether this was followed by another stanza recording the date.

⁹ This line is engraved below the passage °*nājasya Rudravatsasya sū*° in line 12. Better read *sūnūnāt* at the beginning of the line.

¹⁰ This globular mark is redundant unless it was used to indicate the end of the writing.

of Vasudēva and half-brother of Kṛishṇa—who is also an incarnation of Viṣṇu and is represented to be very fond of drink.” Unfortunately, many of these details are wrong. In the first place, it is not the lower part of the original inscription since a part of the writing seems to be broken away also from the bottom. Secondly, there is no name in the inscription like Sujaya regarded as the husband of Gōvā who was actually the wife of Nāgasvāmin. Thirdly, the name of the author of the *praśasti*, read as Dēgaṭa, seems really to be Dēsaṭa which looks like a more suitable personal name than Dēgaṭa. Fourthly, the geographical name Śarōdvartta, of which the engraver is supposed to have been a resident, is based on a wrong reading. Fifthly, there is no justification for regarding the temple referred to in the record as not one dedicated to Viṣṇu but to Baladēva while the reference to the endowment of two *chaṭṭikas* of wine appears to be due to a wrong reading of a passage in line 14. As regards Miya’s ancestors, his father was Bhava and it was a Brāhmaṇa family to which he belonged.

We are also inclined to disagree with Ojha when he finds a reference to the Kuṭila alphabet in the expression *vikaṭ-ākṣharā* and regards Vikaṭa and Kuṭila as the designations of the alphabet in which the inscription is written. This seems to be due to misunderstanding. It is well known that the expression *praśastir=vikaṭ-ākṣharā* occurs in the last stanza of the Aphsad inscription, which Fleet translated as ‘[this] eulogy [written] in beautiful letters’.¹ The name Kuṭila was applied by earlier writers to the alphabet in which this and other inscriptions are written because the upright strokes of the *aksharas* employed therein have at the bottom a small tail which is ‘crooked, curved or bent (*kuṭila*)’ and the expression *kuṭil-ākṣharāṇi*, ‘crooked letters’, was actually traced in the Dewal inscription² of Vikrama 1049. Fleet of course had no objection to the designation Kuṭila for the alphabet even though he pointed out, “It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing.”³ But Bühler draws our attention to the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* (XVIII, 42) referring to people being cheated by the Kāyasthas, ‘using crooked letters (*kuṭila-lipibhiḥ*)’, to show that *kuṭil-ākṣharāṇi* really means ‘letters difficult to read’.⁴ Both Bühler and Kielhorn were inclined to avoid the use of Kuṭila as the designation of the alphabet, the proper name of which appears to be Siddhamātrikā.⁵ Ojha’s *Prācīn Bhāratiya Lipimālā* has really no argument in favour of the use of this nomenclature.⁶

But Ojha rightly assigns the **date** of the inscription to the Harsha era and takes it to correspond to **788 A.D.** We had also occasion to refer to the date of the present inscription along with a number of dates found in records discovered in various parts of Northern India in order to show that they can be referred to no other reckoning but the Harsha era of 606 A.D.⁷

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of about the eighth century A.D. and resemble that of other contemporary epigraphs of the Rajasthan region. The engraving is beautiful as in similar other early records of the area. The record is written in **Sanskrit**. In **orthography** also, it resembles other contemporary records of the said area. The composition is entirely in verse but is rather poor in style.

The **object** of the inscription, which is a eulogy, is to record the construction of a temple of the god Viṣṇu by a person named Ranyāditya (verse 7 in lines 8-9). The name of this person reminds us of the Sun-god worshipped under the name Rannāditya or Rannāditya in Western

¹ CII, Vol. III, pp. 205, 208.

² Above, Vol. I, pp. 81, 85.

³ CII, op. cit., p. 201. He also draws our attention to similar other expressions such as *ruchir-ākṣara-paṅkti-bhiḥ*, *sad-rarṇā*, etc.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 50.

⁵ Cf. ibid., p. 49.

⁶ Op. cit., pp. 32 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 168-69.

- 8 rimnām(shṭha)ś=cha guṇa-raśmi-samuj[j*]valaḥ || [6*] Raṇyādityaḥ sutas=tasmā[d*]=dvi[ja]-va[ryā]-
- 9 d=ajāyata | tēn=ēdam kārītaṁ śubhram Viṣṇōr=griham=anuttamam(mam) || [7*] Rachitā [Dēśatē]¹
- 10 n=ēyam Bhaṭṭa-Dēddata-sūnuna | praśastā² vatsara-śatē dvāśītē vi[kaṭ-āksha]rā || [8*]
- 11 [Chāmu]ṇḍadatta-puttrēna(ṇa) Māhaṭēna vipaśchitā | utkīrṇā su(sva)rṇnak[ārēna(ṇa)] Śarō-
- 12 rdhishṭhāna-vāsinā³ || [9*] Dvē palē [dī]pa-tailasya gu[g*]gulasya pala-dva[yam(yam)] |
- 13 chatvārīṇśa(rimśa)ti-mālās=cha kuṅkumasy=āshṭha(shṭa)-māshakāḥ || [10*] Dvāda[śyām]
- 14 ⁴krishṇa-pakshasya vāruṇyās=cha d[v]ikā⁵-dvayam(yam) | p[ūj-ā]rtham Vās[udē]vasya⁶
- 15[|| 11*]

3. Kāmān Inscription of [Harsha] Year 263

The town of **Kāmān**, about 35 miles to the north-west of Bharatpur, headquarters of the District of that name in Rajasthan, is well known to the students of Indian epigraphy for the two early medieval stone inscriptions it yielded. The first of these two epigraphs was found on a pillar built into the inner side of the court-wall of the old mosque known as the Chaurāsī Khāmbā which was constructed with materials from older Hindu temples of the locality. This is a fragmentary inscription which does not bear any date but is roughly assignable to the 8th or 9th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds. It was edited by Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp.34 ff. The inscription is known to record the construction of a temple of the god Viṣṇu by the grandmother of Vatsadāman who was a ruler of the Sūrasēna family. In ancient times, the Sūrasēnas had their capital at Mathurā, about 40 miles from Kāmān. But, later, Mathurā is known to have become the centre of power of other ruling families such as the Śaka Kshatrapas and the Nāgas. The Sūrasēna prince, mentioned in the Kāmān inscription of the 8th or 9th century, may have had his headquarters at Kāmān.

The second early medieval stone inscription from Kāmān, also fragmentary, was obtained from a large well about half a mile from the town and lies in the possession of Vallabh Lālji Mahārāj Gōsāl at Gōkul. This epigraph is of the nature of the Sīyadōṇī and Āhār inscriptions⁷ being a collective record of a number of donations and endowments made on different dates in favour of certain deities. The most important of these deities seems to have been Kāmyakēśvara (mentioned in Document No. 3), apparently the god Śiva installed in a temple at Kāmyaka, i.e. Kāmān, while Document No. 8 mentions Pramāṇarāśi and Chāmuṇḍāka who were no doubt Śaiva ascetics related to Kāmyakēśvara's temple. The dates of the different records contained in the inscription range between the years 180 and 279 obviously referable to the Harsha era and corresponding

¹ Ojha reads the name as *Dēgaṭa*.

² The word *praśastā* has been used in the sense of *praśasti*.

³ Read *Sarōdhishṭhāna-vāsinā*. Ojha here apparently reads *Sarōdvartta-nivāsinā*, 'by an inhabitant of Sarōdvartta'. It is, however, impossible to read *Sarōdvartta* since *rdhishṭhā* is quite clear.

⁴ The space for an *akshara* or two is left blank at the beginning of this line.

⁵ The *akshara* *dvi* does not look like *ddi* (cf. *ṇḍa* in line 11). Ojha apparently reads *vāruṇyās=chatṭika*⁸ and explains *chatṭika* as 'a jar'. But cf. *ṭṭa* in line 10. With *dvikā*, cf. *chātūrtha* or quarter-measure (above, Vol. XXX, p. 176).

⁶ Only the first part of the second half of the stanza could have been engraved in this space, so that the concluding syllables of the stanza were engraved in another line.

⁷ See above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff; Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff. See also the Nanana copper-plate inscription edited, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 238 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 19, note 7, and p. 159.

respectively to 786 and 885 A.D., though the latest date was read by V. V. Mirashi as the year 299 while editing the inscription in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXIV, pp. 329 ff. The first of the eight different documents contained in the inscription records the creation of a permanent endowment by the *Gōshṭhikas* while the last of them also speaks of the *Gōshṭhikas* as responsible for the utilisation of certain incomes of the temples in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermilion and lights. These *Gōshṭhikas* were apparently members of the *gōshṭhī*, i.e. a corporation or committee of supervisors in charge of the religious institution referred to in the inscription just as the *Pāṇḍās* (superintendents of temples) of today. Although, however, the religious institution in question was principally Śaiva in character, Document No. 4 stipulates the permanent supply of 60 garlands [per day] by the florists of Kāmyaka, of which 34 were to be supplied at the temple of Vishṇu and 26 at the shrine of Chāmuṇḍā. This shows that the religious institution at Kāmyaka contained temples of other deities besides that of Śiva.

The third of the early Kāmān inscriptions published here is engraved on a stone slab embedded in the outer side of the wall of the Chaurāsī Khāmbā not far above its plinth. This part of the wall was hidden from the view owing to an accumulation of earth. The Northern Circle of the Department of Archaeology discovered the inscription in the course of a clearing operation a few years back. I received a few impressions of the inscription from the Superintendent of that circle in 1958 and visited Kāmān in order to prepare better impressions in January 1960. The inscription was first examined in my office by my colleague Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.

Unfortunately, like the two other Kāmān inscriptions referred to above, the present epigraph is also **fragmentary**. There are altogether 23 lines of writing covering an area about 2½ feet in length and a little less than 1¾ feet in height. But the first four lines in the upper part and the initial section of all the other lines, about half a foot in length on the left side of the inscribed slab, are almost totally damaged and cannot be read at all. Some passages in line 5 can be made out, though their reading cannot be regarded as beyond doubt. The position is better in regard to the clearer part of lines 6-11, though here also there are some passages, the reading of which is rather doubtful. The difficulty in the decipherment of this part is enhanced by the fact that it contains a number of personal names. The clearer part of the remaining lines can be deciphered without trouble. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the verses, the text of not a single of which is completely preserved, the meaning of the passages is not always clear. Between 60 and 70 *aksharas* were originally engraved in each line of the epigraph. But the largest number of them that can be confidently read in a single line now is only about 40.

The fragmentary inscription under study is written in the Siddhamātrikā characters of about the 8th or 9th century as in the case of the other two Kāmān inscriptions referred to above. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a passage containing the date at the end, the extant part of the epigraph is written in verse. The date, which is written in words, is the third of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 263 apparently referable to the Harsha era and corresponding to 869 A.D.

The decipherable parts of several verses in lines 6-7 refer to the *Gōshṭhikas* born in respectable families while similar parts of certain other stanzas in lines 8-11 enumerate the names of these *Gōshṭhikas*. The following names can be made out in the stanzas in question : (1) Dhōṇḍaka, son of Vāsuka ; (2) Tikkaṭa, son of Vishṇu ; (3) certain persons residing at Avimōlasatpura (i.e. Avimōlapura);¹ (4) Dēpūla born of Nasari ; (5) Nagguka, son of Nannuka ; (6) Jēpuṅga, son of Kōmbaka ; (7) Śrīdhara born of Prayāga ; (8) Gaṇēśvara ; and (8) the three brothers named Nāgaṭa, Siddhanāga and Śivavishṇu who were the sons of Īśāna. A stanza ending in line 11 states that the *Gōshṭhikas* mentioned above by name were devoted to the god Mahēśa (Śiva).

¹ Cf. Hambīrapura called Hambīra-kumāra-satpura in the Chiruvroli grant (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 178).

The section of the inscription in lines 11-20 following the part discussed above, records the object for which the eulogy contained in our inscription was composed. This was the excavation of a step-well (*vāpī*), the construction of a temple (*maṭha*) and the offering of *piṇḍa* by certain persons called 'the sons' so that it must have been offered by them to their deceased parent or parents. These people who offered *piṇḍa* were apparently the persons who were responsible for the creation of the step-well and temple in memory of the deceased. Both the step-well and the temple are referred to again in a stanza ending in line 14 and for a third time in line 15 while the temple alone is further mentioned in line 20. The offering of *piṇḍa* with the waters of the *Gaṅgā* and other things including sesame and flowers is referred to in line 18.

The excavation of the step-well and the construction of the temple are attributed to the *Gōshṭhikas* (see *sad-Gōshṭhikaiḥ kāritaḥ* in line 14 ; cf. *sad-Gōshṭhik-aughaiḥ* in line 19). This may suggest that all the *Gōshṭhikas*, whose names are enumerated in the upper part of the inscription (lines 8-11 discussed above), were responsible for the pious works. But there are a few points which appear to go against this view. The reference to the offering of *piṇḍa* to the parent or parents by the persons in question suggests that the said two pious deeds were done in memory of their parent or parents not by a large number of people but by a few persons who were brothers. The passage *Nāgaṭ-ādibhir=upārjjitam* in a verse beginning in line 17 seems again to indicate that one of these brothers responsible for the pious works was *Nāgaṭa*. As we have seen, the three brothers *Nāgaṭa*, *Siddhanāga* and *Śivavishṇu*, the sons of *Īsāna*, are mentioned (line 10) at the end of the list of the *Gōshṭhikas*. It is thus possible that it was these three brothers who were responsible for the excavation of the step-well and the construction of the temple in memory of their deceased father *Īsāna*. The enumeration of all the *Gōshṭhikas* in the first part of the inscription may, however, suggest that their corporate body as a whole had some responsibility in regard to the step-well and temple. They were probably the trustees of an endowment created for the maintenance of the pious works of the three brothers.

The step-well was excavated in a village (cf. *grāmakē* in line 14), the name of which is lost. Whether this was *Avimōlapura*, the only locality mentioned in the record (cf. line 8), cannot be determined. But the place where the step-well was excavated seems to have been in the suburbs or the vicinity of *Kāmān*. The temple appears to have been built by the side of the step-well as in similar other cases known to us.¹ That the temple was not built far from *Kāmān* is probably indicated by the utilisation of its materials for the construction of the *Chaurāsī Khāmbā* mosque at that place.

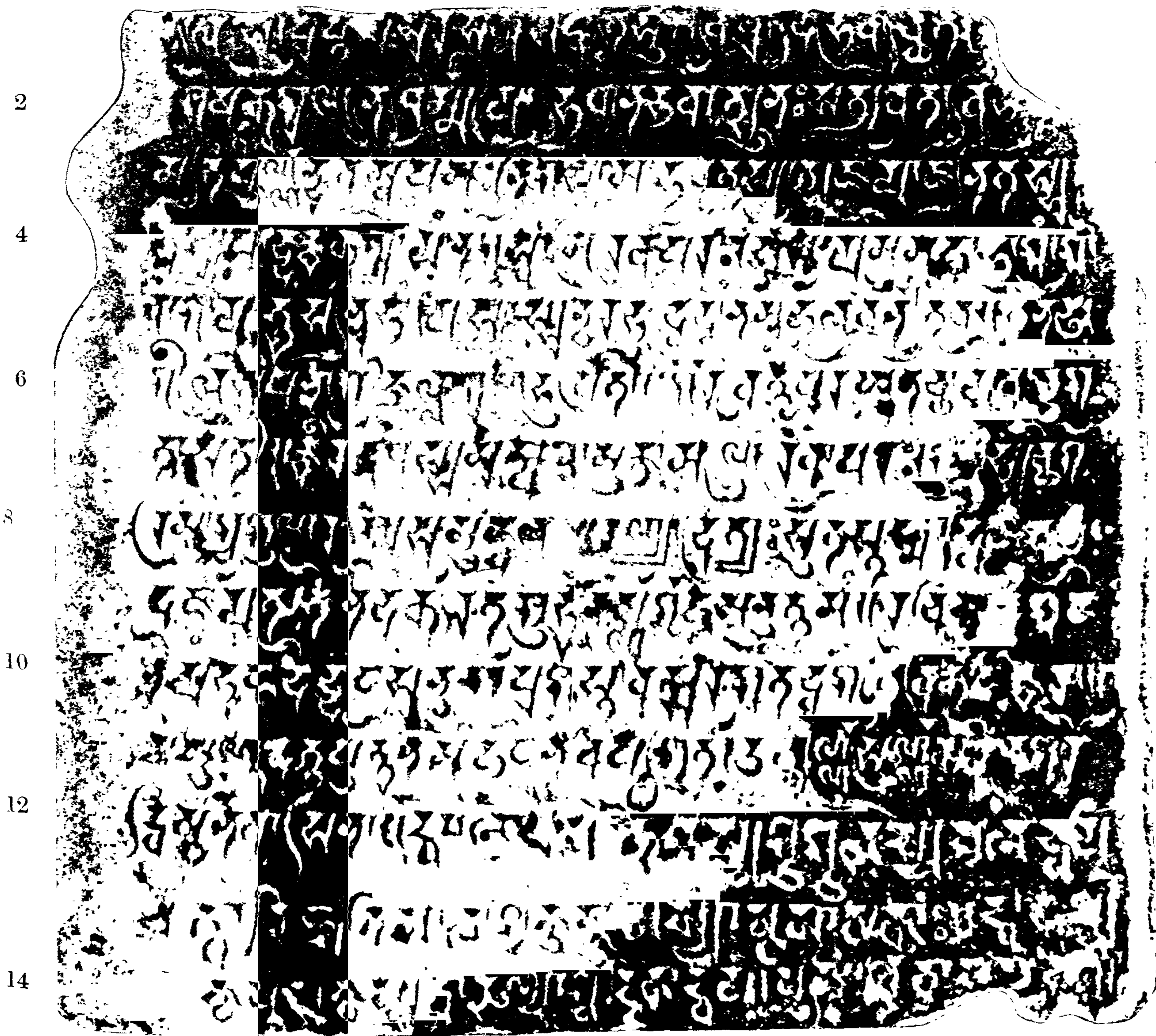
We have seen above that the *Gōshṭhikas* are mentioned in line 11 as devoted to the god *Śiva* (*Mahēśa-priyāḥ*). They would, therefore, appear to have been superintendents of a Śaiva religious establishment. It may thus be supposed that the deity installed in the *maṭha* or temple referred to in our inscription was the god *Śiva*. But, as we have seen above, one of the *Kāmān* inscriptions, previously published, speaks of the shrines of the deities *Śiva*, *Vishṇu* and *Chāmuṇḍā* in connection with the religious institution in charge of the *Gōshṭhikas* at *Kāmyaka*. Moreover, the latter part of the last foot of a stanza preserved in line 20 of our record reads — — — *Harau Hariś=chabhagavān sad-gōshṭhikai sthāpitāḥ*. The reference here is to the installation of three gods, two of whom were *Hara* (*Śiva*) and *Hari* (*Vishṇu*). It seems that the word *Harau* in the dual was joined in the *dvandva* compound with the name of another deity. Since, however, metrical requirement shows that the syllable immediately preceding *Ha* was short, the lost word does not appear to have indicated a name of *Śiva*'s consort *Pārvatī*, which would generally end in a long syllable. It is thus not impossible that this lost name was meant to indicate the god *Brahman* who, together

¹ Cf. the excavation of a *vāpī* and a *chaitya* for the god *Śambhu* in memory of one's deceased younger brother in the *Narwar* inscription of *Vikrama* 1355 (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 344).

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN—Plate II

2. Tasai Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

B



Size : One-half

with Viṣṇu and Śiva, composed the Brahmanical Trinity. A passage like *Pūjyau Brahma-Harau* would suit the requirement of the metre of the stanza. It should, however, be noted in this connection that there are instances of the use of Śiva's name in the dual to indicate Śiva and Pārvatī.¹ We therefore see that, although the *Gōshṭhikas* responsible for the construction of the temple were specially devoted to the god Śiva, they were not averse to the worship of Pārvatī (or Brahman) and Viṣṇu along with that god.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the preserved part of the inscription is Avimōlapura, the exact location of which is uncertain.

TEXT²

- 1
 - 2
 - 3
 - 4
 - 5
 - 6 skarāḥ ||³ Jaladhaya iva gambhō(mbhī)rā..nāsāḥ kūrma-āyatana-bhūtāḥ
[|*] sakal-ātīpūrit-āsā [nimānti] yē
 - 7 [|*]⁴ — — — — — ∪ — — ∪ — — — — — ∪ — m-āvikārāḥ
| sam — — chchair=ggōshṭhikāḥ śuvbhra(bbhra)-vañśāḥ kō — — — — — ∪ — nāma nāśī
||⁵ Prakhyā[tō] n=ādhanah(na)ś=cha⁶
 - 8 | Ddhō(Dhō)ndaka-samjñō Vāsuka-sūnus=Ti[kka]ṭa-nāmā Viṣṇu-
tanū(nu)jaḥ⁷ ||⁸ Śrīmad-Avimōlasatpura-nivāsinō bhadra-van⁹
 - 9 [|*] tanayaḥ ||⁸ Dēpūlō Nasarēḥ khyāt[o] Naggukō Nannuk-
ātmajaḥ | [Jēpuṅgō Kōmva(mba)ka]-sutaḥ Prayāgat¹⁰ Śrīdharas-tathā ||¹¹ Gaṇeśvarō
dharma-ma¹²
 - 10 * * * * * [|*] * * * * * h ||¹¹ Nāgaṭas=Siddhanāgaś=cha Śivavi-
śṇur=iti trayah | Ī[sāna]sy=ātmaajā, śuvbhṛā(bbhṛā) bhrātaraḥ puṁ(pu)ṇya-karmminah ||¹¹
Dānavantō=py=alaṅghy-ō
 - 11 ṅgā[h |*] Mahēsa-priyā gōshṭhikāḥ kīrtitā ityamī(amī) nā[ma]bhīḥ ||⁸
Sādhukarma-nirat-aika-mānasāḥ sarvva ēva Dhanad-ōpama-śriyah |
 - 12 — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — [|*]¹³ — — ∪ — ∪ ∪ m=
uttamavā(dhā)raṇāsu nirvvāṇa-mārgga-paramāḥ sakal-āksha-varggaiḥ¹⁴ | ātmānam=
ātmani nidhāya sa(su)karmminō=pi ti[shṭha]¹⁵

¹ See above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 163, text line 9. Note also the reference to Chāmunda in a Kāmān inscription cited above.

² From impressions.

³ The metre of this stanza is uncertain.

⁴ Metre : *Āryā*.

⁵ Metre : *Śālinī*.

* The reading of this *akshara* may also be *śchē*.

⁷ Read *tanuiah* for the sake of the metre.

* Metre : *Āryā*.

* The intended word may be *ramśa*.

¹⁰ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

11 Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

¹² The intended word may be *matih*.

¹³ Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

¹⁴ The word *aksha* in this expression means 'an organ of sense'.

¹⁵ The intended word seems to be *tishṭhanti*.

- 13 ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [||*]¹ * * * * * | chitta-sthairyāya ku-
rvvanti tat-phal-ānavalōkinaḥ ||² Vāt-āsphālana-chamchal-ānala-śikhā-lōlam jagach-chē-
shṭitam vyā
- 14 — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — [||*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ —
— — ॐ — [ggrā]makē vāpī svādu-jalā maṭhaś=cha vipulaḥ sad-gōshṭhikaiḥ kārītaḥ
||³ Bhōktus=sakāśād=iva.—
- 15 ॐ — — — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — — — [||*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — — ॐ — —
ॐ ॐ — — — — [||*]⁴ Amṛitam=amṛitam=ētat=satyam=asyām su-vāpyām sura-sadanam
=idan=[ta]t=san-maṭhaś=cha
- 16 ॐ — — [||*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — — ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ na tu kā — — ॐ — — ॐ
— — [||*]⁵ * * * * * chit=sa-lēkhitō=py=a-lēkhitāḥ | a-lēkhitō=pi yō hitāḥ sa * * *
- 17 * * * [||*]⁶ — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — nam vikalpayan=sādhu-kṛita ॐ — — [||*] — — ॐ —
— ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — sarvv-ātmanā vyādhir=iva sva-kāyāt ||⁷ Nāgaṭ-ādibhir=upārjjitām
śa[bha]m
- 18 — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — [||*] — ॐ — ॐ ॐ [vi]vṛiddhayē natair=Īgukāya vidhivan=
nivēditam(tam) ||⁸ Sat-puttrais=[tair=gga] — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — h piṇḍam=ēva
pradattam bhaktyā Gāmgaiḥ payōbhis=tila-kusu[ma] ॐ —
- 19 — ॐ — — ॐ — — [||*] — — — — — satatam=alam=i[mā]m pālayishyanti kīr-
tīm tēshām [pāda] ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ tē gōshṭhik-aughaiḥ ||⁹ Chamchach-
chāmara-chāru-chihna-ruchirē chandra-śriyaḥ
- 20 — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — bhirāmē maṭha[h] [||*] kaśchin=madhya-kṛit-ālaya
ॐ ॐ — — — — — ॐ Harau¹⁰ Hariś=cha bhagavām(vān) sad-
gōshṭhikai sthāpitāḥ ||³ Yāvad=vāri[nidhi]
- 21 ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — — — ॐ — — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ Śivō ratnam kam=ādhyā-
tmajam(jam) [||*] tāvat=kīrtti-kṛitām kavēs=cha viśadā
- 22 — — ॐ — — ॐ — — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — — — [||*]¹¹ |
samva(samva)tsara-śata-dvayē tṛi(tri)-shasṭy-adhikē Jyēshṭha-śuk[la]-
t[rayō]¹²

¹ Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

² Metre : *Anushṭubh*.

³ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ Metre : *Indravajrā* or *Upajāti*.

⁵ Metre : *Mālinī*.

⁶ Metre : *Anushṭubh*. This stanza seems to refer to certain conditions which were only partially incorporated in the document under study though even the unwritten conditions were also established (*hita*) by convention.

⁷ Metre : *Upajāti*.

⁸ Metre : *Rathōddhatā*.

⁹ Metre : *Sragdharā*. This stanza refers to the gratitude of the persons responsible for the pious works to those who would maintain them.

¹⁰ The word means Hara and his consort. Otherwise the preceding word was possibly *Brahma*.

¹¹ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. This verse contains a prayer for the long life of the pious works as well as of the poet's composition, i.e. the eulogy under study.

¹² The intended word was apparently *trayōdaśī*.

No. 8—RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM RAMESVARA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 8.6.1961)

This inscription is engraved on the **four faces of a pillar** set up in the courtyard of the Rāmalingēśvara temple at Rāmēśvara near Proddaturu in the Taluk of that name in the Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh. A rough transcript of the inscription, described as 'damaged and not dated', appeared in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 68 (pp. 39-42) with the following remarks in the introductory note: 'It belongs to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and records the gift of some land and taxes to the Rāmēśvara temple by Kannayya, the king's *sāmanta*, and some land to Tipayya-gorava. It consists of about 25 Sanskrit verses giving the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings and praising Kṛishṇa'. This notice contains a few inaccuracies, the most important of them being that the record belongs to the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III (794-814 A.D.) and is not of the reign of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.). It seems to be assignable to a date about the close of the rule of Gōvinda III on palaeographical grounds.

The inscription is **fragmentary**, a few lines of writing being more or less completely rubbed off at the end of the first, second and third faces of the pillar. There were originally 34 stanzas in the introductory part running from the first side up to the middle of the third. A letter or a few of them at the beginning and end of many of the lines are damaged or lost while some of the stanzas are partly or wholly lost at the end of the first and second sides of the pillar. Since, however, the introductory verses are numbered in the original, it is not difficult to determine the loss on the first and second sides of the pillar. It appears that originally about 41 lines were engraved on the first side and about 40 lines on the second. The writing on the former seems to have originally covered an area about 4 feet 8 inches in height and 1 foot 5 inches in breadth while that on the latter probably occupied a space about 5 feet 3 inches high and 10½ inches broad. Of the lines originally incised on these two sides, 36 are readable on the first and 32 on the second side. Only 35 lines are readable on the third side (5 feet 3½ inches by 1 foot 4½ inches) of the pillar. The fourth side containing 23 lines of writing has not suffered from any damage.

The **characters** belong to a cursive variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet of about the **ninth or tenth century A. D.** The inscription is **bilingual** being partly written in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. The introductory section in Sanskrit verse records the construction of three temples by a Rāshtrakūṭa chief named Kṛishṇa *alias* Dhuradaṅkakāra who was a subordinate and probably relative of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III. The above introductory part is followed by a Kannada section in prose on the latter half of the third and the first half of the fourth side of the pillar. It records the grant of a village made in favour of the god Rāmēśvara apparently installed in one of the said temples by the same Rāshtrakūṭa chief whose name is given here as Kannayya (a modification of the Sanskrit name *Kṛishṇa*) and who is stated to have secured the gift village from Gōyinda (a modification of *Gōvinda*), i.e. Gōvinda III. The same section also records the grant of a few plots of land in favour of two other deities who must have been installed in the remaining two of the three temples built by the chief. The second half of the fourth side contains the usual imprecatory and benedictory section mainly in Kannada, the well-known Sanskrit stanza *Sāmānyō=yam dharma-sētur=ṇṛipāṇām*, etc., being quoted in it. This is

followed by a Kannada endorsement referring to the gift of some land in favour of a Śaiva priest who was probably in charge of the Rāmēśvara temple.

Verse 1 is a *maṅgala* stanza containing a prayer for the protection of the ruler named **Dhura-daṅkakāra** by the god Rāmēśvara. This Dhuradaṅkakāra, later also called Kṛishṇa, is the hero of the eulogy and the god Rāmēśvara seems to be the same as modern Rāmalingēśvara in whose temple in the village of Rāmēśvara (named after the said deity) the inscription under study has been found. Dhuradaṅkakāra was thus a secondary name of Kṛishṇa.

After the above *maṅgala* stanza, the inscription introduces the **Rāshtrakūṭa** family, to which the hero of the eulogy, viz. Dhuradaṅkakāra *alias* Kṛishṇa, apparently belonged, in verses 2 ff. While introducing the said family as a branch of the Yadu clan, verse 2 mentions (1) the god Brahman; (2) from him—Atri; (3) from Atri's eye—the Moon-god; (4) from the Moon-god—Budha; (5) from Budha—Dīrghāyus, the first king of the lunar race; and (6) from Dīrghāyus—king Yadu who seems to be also called Kukura and Vṛishṇi not quite accurately. It will be seen that this genealogy is not in keeping with the epic and Puranic traditions.¹ The same stanza further mentions (1) in the family of the said Yadu-Kukura-Vṛishṇi—Vāsudēva (Kṛishṇa); (2) after him—Ratipati (Pradyumna); and (3) Ratipati's son Aniruddha. Verse 3 praises the kings born in the family of the **Yadus** with reference to the help they rendered to the lord of the gods in his struggle with the demons.

Verse 4 introduces the **Rāshtrakūṭa** dynasty which sprang from the said family of the **Yadus**. In regard to the mention of the Rāshtrakūṭas as representing a branch of the Yadu clan, we have elsewhere pointed out that this is not found in the records of Gōvinda III (794-814 A. D.) but appears for the first time in a record of his son Amōghavarsha I (814-78 A. D.).² The present record thus appears to be the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa inscription clearly attributing Yādava origin to the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas.

Verse 5 mentions the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor **Dantidurga** (742-56 A. D.) *alias* **Sāhasatuṅga** who is stated to have enjoyed royal fortune as a result of having churned the ocean that was the **Chālukyas**, while the next stanza (verse 6) states that Dantidurga died when young and the sovereignty passed on to king **Kṛishṇa**, i.e. Dantidurga's uncle Kṛishṇa I (c. 756-75 A.D.). Dantidurga's *viruda* Sāhasatuṅga and the fact that he died in his youth are interesting informations. Verse 7 speaks of **Prabhūtavarsha** (i.e. Gōvinda II, c. 775-80 A. D.) as the son of Kṛishṇa I and vaguely refers to the exploits of his elephant force in the region watered by the **Ganges**. A Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Ganges valley during the reign of Gōvinda II, apparently when king Indrāyudha (783-84 A. D.) was ruling at Kanauj, is not mentioned in any other source. We know that Jinasēna's *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, composed in Śaka 705 (783-84 A. D.), mentions the Northern ruler Indrāyudha as a contemporary of the Southern king Śrīvallabha, the son of Kṛishṇa, while Pāla and Gurjara-Pratihāra inscriptions suggest that the Pāla emperor Dharmapāla (c. 770-810 A. D.) ousted Indrāyudha and installed Chakrāyudha (apparently a member of Indrāyudha's family which may be called the Āyudha dynasty) on the throne of Kanauj.³

Of course it is difficult to determine whether Kṛishṇa's son Śrīvallabha ruling in 783-84 A. D. was Gōvinda II or his younger brother Dhruva Nirupama Dhārāvarsha who, as we shall presently see, was the *de facto* ruler during his elder brother's reign and became the *de jure* king a few years

¹ For the representation of Purūravas as the son of Budha and Āyus as the son of Purūravas in the genealogical section of Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions, see above, Vol. XXXII, p. 46. The Kukuras were a subclan of the Yādava people while Vṛishṇi was a distinguished member of the Yadu family. Yadu was really the son of Yayāti.

² Loc. cit., note 1.

³ See above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 102 ff.

later by overthrowing Gōvinda II. But it is interesting to note that the Rāshtrakūṭa records ascribe military success to Dhruva in the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna. Thus verse 14 of the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarsha I states that Dhruva seized the white umbrellas of the Gauda king as the latter was fleeing between the Ganges and the Jumna¹ while a stanza in the Baroda plates of Karka refers to the same king's exploits in the Ganges-Jumna valley.² It is not impossible that Dhruva led the expedition during the reign of his elder brother as a general of the latter so that the achievement could have been claimed by both of them.

King Indrāyudha of Kanauj seems to have been a friend of the Rāshtrakūṭas while Dharmapāla was an enemy of Indrāyudha and a friend of Chakrāyudha who was a claimant for the Kanauj throne. Thus the presence of Dhruva in the Ganges-Jumna valley seems to have been for the purpose of helping Indrāyudha against the attack of Dharmapāla. This also explains the presence of Dhruva's son and successor Gōvinda III (794-814 A. D.) in the same region at a later date when, according to verse 23 of the Sanjan plates, Dharmapāla (i.e. Dharmapāla) and Chakrāyudha surrendered themselves to the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch. By this time, Indrāyudha had already been ousted and Chakrāyudha had occupied the throne of Kanauj with the Pāla king's help. But the claim regarding the acceptance of the surrender of Chakrāyudha by the Rāshtrakūṭa king seems to suggest that the latter now acknowledged the former as the king of Kanauj and regarded him as well as his ally Dharmapāla as his friends.

The relations of Indrāyudha with the Gurjara-Pratihāras, who are known to have fought both with the Rāshtrakūṭas and with the Pālas, cannot be satisfactorily determined in the present state of our knowledge. It is, however, not impossible that, when Dharmapāla attacked Indrāyudha, the latter applied for help to both the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Gurjara-Pratihāras and received it from both the powers at different periods in his long-drawn struggle with Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha, sometimes from the one and sometimes from the other. It is well known that the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 805-33 A.D.) ultimately succeeded in occupying Kanauj and making it his capital. But this appears to have happened after the death of Gōvinda III and Dharmapāla.

Verse 8 of our inscription refers to the addiction of king Prabhūtavarsha Gōvinda II to pleasures in the company of women and states that, owing to the said state of affairs, the ministers raised his younger brother **Dhruva Nirupama** (c. 780-94 A. D.) to the throne. It is well known that the same fact is also indicated in the copper-plate grants of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A. D.), according to which, "Sensual pleasures made [Gōvinda II] careless of the kingdom ; and, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose."³ There is little doubt that Dhruva ousted his elder brother with the help of the ministers. Verse 9, which is partially preserved, speaks of king **Jagattuṅga** (i.e. Gōvinda III) described as the high and victorious banner of the **Tuṅga family**, another name of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, and as the son of Dhruva Nirupama. The latter part of this stanza and verses 10 and 11 are damaged and lost.

¹ Ibid., pp. 244, 252.

² Ibid., p. 104, note 1.

³ Cf. *Gōvindarāja iti tasya babbhūva nāmnā sūnus=sa bhōga-bhara-bhangura-rājya-chintāḥ | ātm-ānujē Nirupamē vinivēśya samyak=sāmrajyam=iśvara-padaṁ śīthilīchakāra ||* (above, Vol. IV, pp. 282-83, text lines 16-18). Cf. also verse 11 of the Daulatabad plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa : *Tasy=ānujō Nirupamas=tam=udīrṇam=iḥshan=tyaktam nripair=api nayēna vilupyamānam | rājyam babbhāra guru-bhaktimatō=nya-samsthām mā bhūt=kil=ānvaya-parichyutir=atra lakshmyūḥ ||* (above, Vol. IX, pp. 196-97). It states that Nirupama, while perceiving Gōvinda II conceited, abandoned by the feudatory rulers and deprived of good policy, assumed the tottering royal authority that was in the hands of his brother who was 'a person other than one possessing devotion for the elders (i.e. one without devotion for the elders)', so that the sovereignty might not deviate from the Rāshtrakūṭa family. D. R. Bhandarkar seems to have misunderstood the meaning of this stanza (cf. *ibid.*, p. 194).

As will be seen below from our analysis of the writing on the second side of the pillar, verse 12 introduces the hero of the eulogy, whose description continues upto verse 24 with which the introductory section ends. It will also be seen that his name was Dhuradaṅkakāra *alias* Kṛishṇa who was the son of Indra and belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. The identification of this Kṛishṇa with the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III is absolutely untenable. In the first place, none of the three Rāshtrakūṭa emperors bearing the name Kṛishṇa was the son of Indra. Kṛishṇa I was the son of Kakka I, Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A. D.) of Amōghavarsha I (814-78 A. D.), and Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A. D.) of Amōghavarsha III (934-39 A. D.). Secondly, it is difficult to believe that the six rulers, viz. (1) Amōghavarsha I (son of Gōvinda III), (2) Kṛishṇa II (son of Amōghavarsha I), (3) Indra III (grandson of Kṛishṇa II), (4) Amōghavarsha II (son of Indra III), (5) Gōvinda IV (younger brother of Amōghavarsha II) and (6) Amōghavarsha III (brother of Indra III), who ruled between Gōvinda III and Kṛishṇa III, could have all been described by the author of the eulogy in only two stanzas, viz. verses 10-11, engraved only in three or four short lines. This is certainly not suggested by his description of Dantidurga Sāhasatuṅga, Kṛishṇa I, Prabhūtarsha Gōvinda II, Dhruva Nirupama and Jagattuṅga Gōvinda III in verses 5-9, five stanzas here being devoted to the five kings. It is unlikely that, while a stanza each is devoted to the description of the earlier kings, the immediate predecessors of the ruling monarch were described summarily in two stanzas since the description of the latter generally occupies more space in the *praśastis* than that of the former.

Verse 12, which is the first stanza on the second side of the pillar, mentions **Kṛishṇa** who is compared with Indrānuja (i.e. Upendra or Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa). The words *tatō=bhūt* in this stanza seems to suggest that the chief's father was mentioned in the previous verse. The next stanza (verse 13) refers to his success against his enemies in general and the **Pāṇḍya** king in particular and seems also to suggest that **Rājamārtanḍa** was one of his *virudas*. Verse 14 and the first half of the following stanza (verse 15), some parts of which cannot be made out, narrate, in the words of his own mouth, how the said chief was born as the son of his father (cf. *yath=āham . . . tanayō=sya jātaḥ* in verse 14) and considered the protection of the subjects his main duty as the true son of his father (cf. *tat-sutēna hi mayā kīryaṁ jagat-rakṣaṇam* in the first half of verse 15). The latter half of verse 15 mentions the ruler **Kṛishṇa as the son of Indra** and as the ruler of the earth. Verse 16 mentions the same ruler by the name **Dhuradaṅkakāra** while the next stanza (verse 17), the concluding part of which is illegible, mentions him as **Kṛishṇarāja**. Verse 18 is lost at the end of this side of the pillar.

Verse 19, which is the first stanza on the third side of the pillar, seems to mention a subordinate of **Kṛishṇa, the son of Mahēndra (i.e. Indra)**, by name **Sōmaha**, who was probably the governor of the area around the locality wherein the inscription has been found. The text of verse 20 is corrupt, though it seems to mention **Va labhadēva** (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor) as the overlord of the hero of the eulogy. Verse 21 states that the chief **Raṭṭakandarpa**, i.e. Kṛishṇa *alias* Dhuradaṅkakāra, sent a general (*Daṇḍapati*, the same as *Daṇḍanāyaka*) to occupy **Kāñchī** which was in the occupation of the **Draviḍas** apparently meaning the Pallavas. Thus, from verses 14 to 21, we find that Dhuradaṅkakāra Kṛishṇa was also called Rājamārtanḍa and Raṭṭakandarpa.¹

Verse 22 states that the ruler **Kṛishṇa**, who was a *Bhāgavata*, built at the *Mahāśrama* (apparently meaning the site of the village of Rāmēśvara, the findspot of our inscription) three cloud-touching [temples] which became the ornaments of the valley of the river Veṇṇā (*Veṇṇā-taḷa-bhūmi*), no doubt referring to the valley of the Pennar running through the Anantapur, Cuddapah and

¹ *Raṭṭakandarpa* is known to have been the *viruda* of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperors Gōvinda IV and Khoṭṭiga (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 387, 416, 422).

Nellore Districts. As a matter of fact, Proddaturu and Rāmēśvara in its vicinity both lie near the northern bank of the Pennar. The next stanza (verse 23) seems to mention the said temples as 'the rows of Mahēśvara's shrines'. The chief's epithet *Bhāgavata* in the previous stanza normally means 'a devotee of the *Bhagavat* (i.e. the god Vishṇu)'. But, considering the fact that the epithet has been used in connection with the construction of three Śaiva temples, it is possible to take it in the sense of *Śiva-bhāgavata* (i.e. a devotee of Śiva the *Bhagavat*). As will be seen below, the Kannaḍa section in the latter half of the third and the first half of the fourth side of the pillar speaks of the grant of a village in favour of the god Rāmēśvara and also of a few plots of land to Masiyaṅkadhavala and Kāḷadēva (or kāḷadēva) who were apparently deities like Rāmēśvara. This appears to suggest that the three temples built by Kṛishṇa Dhuradaṅkakāra at Rāmēśvara were dedicated to the three gods Rāmēśvara, Masiyaṅkadhavala and Kāḷēśvara (or kāḷēśvara). The name Masiyaṅkadhavala means 'the god of white complexion with a black mark', which is the same as Nīlakaṇṭha. The last stanza of the section, viz. verse 24, prays for the long life of the three pious works (*dharma-traya*, i.e. the three temples) of the ruler **Dhuradaṅkakāra**.

The Kannaḍa section in the latter part of the above side of the pillar (lines 28-33) begins with the word *svasti* and states how *Samadhigatapañchamahāśābala Mahāsāmanta Kannayya* (i.e. Kṛishṇa *alias* Dhuradaṅkakāra-Rājamārtanḍa-Raṭṭakandarpa) obtained (*paḍedu*) the locality called Naṅgadūru from the illustrious Gōyinda (i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III Jagattuṅga) and granted it in favour of the god Rāmēśvara for the maintenance of the Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the priests of the Rāmēśvara temple). Next follows a damaged and incomplete passage in which the donor seems to be described as having also given a plot of land lying to the east of Naṅgadūru to another deity named Masiyaṅkadhavala (lines 33 ff. on the third side). Another plot of land measuring fifty *mattars* was given to the deity Kāḷadēva (or kāḷadēva) probably along with a field measuring a *kamma* of land and called Navilu (lines 1-2 on the fourth side). In addition to the above, a piece of land to the west of the village (i.e. Naṅgadūru) was granted to the above-mentioned Masiyaṅkadhavala to be enjoyed as *vilā-bhāga* (probably the same as *vilā-vṛitti*, *bīlā-vṛitti*, *bīl-ānuvṛitti*, etc., known from many Kannaḍa records), the revenue income (*siddh-āya*) of this plot of land being five *paramēshṭhi-gadyāṇas* of gold (lines 3-9 on the fourth side).

The concluding part of the record (lines 18-23 on the fourth side) contains an endorsement referring to the gift of 30 *mattars* of land in favour of Tippiyya-gorava who was apparently a Śaiva priest probably attached to the temple of Rāmēśvara. He may also have been the head of the group of priests in charge of all the three temples built by Dhuradaṅkakāra Kṛishṇa.

It appears that the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Kṛishṇa, also called Dhuradaṅkakāra, Rājamārtanḍa and Raṭṭakandarpa, was a general or viceroy of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III. His *viruda* Raṭṭakandarpa suggests that he was a scion of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. That he was introduced in verse 12 while the description of his overlord commences in verse 9, with only two stanzas intervening between them, seems to suggest that he was introduced by the author as a close relation of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor. But this relationship cannot be determined without further evidence. It is not altogether impossible that Indra, the father of Kṛishṇa Dhuradaṅkakāra was no other than the homonymous Rāshtrakūṭa prince who was a younger brother of Gōvinda III and was made the viceroy of Lāṭa by the latter and that the hero of the eulogy contained in our inscription was the viceroy of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor in the area around the Cuddapah District.

Among the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the Ganges is indirectly referred to in connection with the exploits of the army of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda II and the valley of the Veṅṇā or Pennar is mentioned as the land where the three Śaiva temples were

built by the hero of our eulogy. Kāñchī is indirectly mentioned probably as the capital of the Draviḍas (Pallavas). The well known holy places Śrīparvata and Vāraṇāsi (Vārāṇasī) are mentioned in the imprecatory section on the lower part of the fourth side of the pillar. We are not sure about the location of the gift village called Naṅgadūru.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 Śrīmā(ma)n-mānasam=ānidhāya vidhivad=dhṛit-padma-sanma[dhya]-
- 2 mē chhitvā klēśaka-pāśa-rāśim=anīśam [pā]-
- 3 rē-tamas-samsthitam | rudhvā mārutam=āma[nam]-
- 4 ti munayas=samśāra-vichchittayē |² yaṁ [sa]
- 5 śrī-Dhuradamkakāra-nṛpati[m*] Rāmēśva[rō]
- 6 rakshatu | 1 |³ Asti Brahmā tatō=trē ∪
- 7 ∪ ∪⁴ nayanataś=ch=Ēndur=Indōr=Budhō=bhū-
- 8 j=jātas=Sōm-ānvayānām prathama-narapa[ti]-
- 9 s=tasya Dīrghāyur⁵=asmāt | jātō=sau [bhū]-
- 10 mipēndrō Yadur=iti Kukurō Vṛishṇir=asy=āpi [vaṁ]-
- 11 [śē] jātaś=śrī-Vāsudēvas=tad-anu Ratipati[s=ta]-
- 12 t-sutaś=ch=Āniruddhaḥ | 2 |⁶ Ēvaṁ vaṁśē Yadūnām [pra]-
- 13 [sa]rati visarad-vikram-aik-āśrayāṇām bhū-
- 14 pā bhōgīndra-dīrgha-sthira-bhuja-parigha —
- 15 kshit=ō[r]vvīm=iv=āsām(śām |) sa(sā)hāyyam yaḥ prayā —
- 16 suraripu-samitau śrīmad-Ākhaṇḍaśya |⁷ [tē]-
- 17 naikēnēkavṛityā⁸ śāśi-viśada-yaśō-rāśaya-
- 18 [s=sam]babhūvuh | 3 |⁶ Tasmin=kuḷē sakala-vāridhi-chā[ru]-
- 19 vīchī- |⁷ kāmchī-bhṛitō mahita-bhūmi-ma-
- 20 hāmahishyāḥ [|*] bhartt=ābhavan=nṛipa-sahasra-

¹ From impressions. The lost or damaged letters at the beginning and end of the lines, which can be restored with confidence, have been shown in squarish brackets. We are indebted for some suggestions to Dr. G. S. Gai and Mr. S. H. Ritti.

² The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Traces of the three lost syllables suggest *ryatanu* which, however, does not offer any sense. Read **tris=tad-anu*.

⁵ Cf. above, p. 58, note 1 ; also Vol. XXVIII, p. 249, text line 13.

⁶ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁷ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

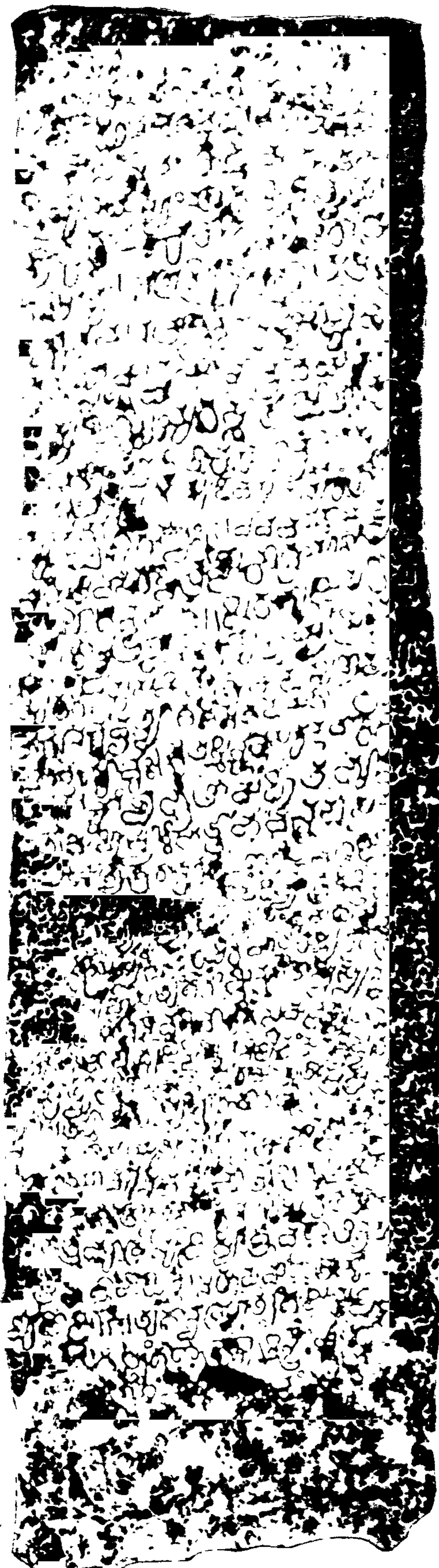
⁸ This is erroneous.

RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM RAMESVARA

Second Side

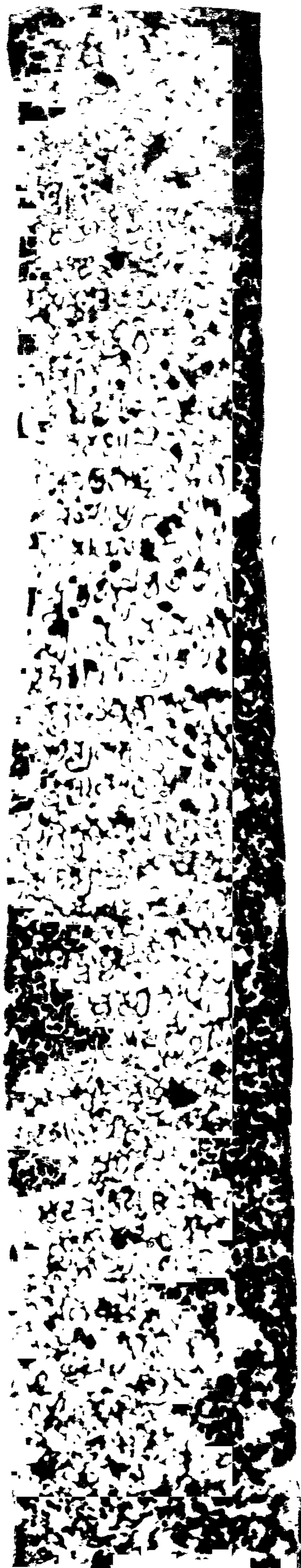
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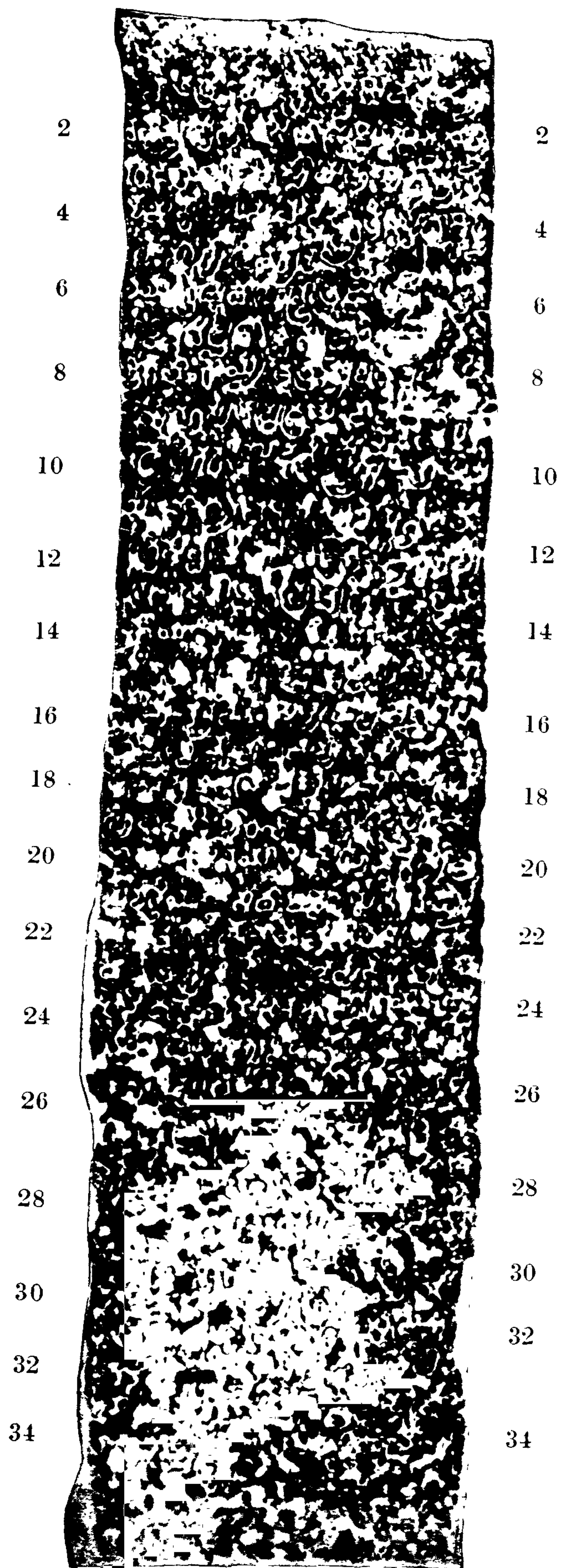
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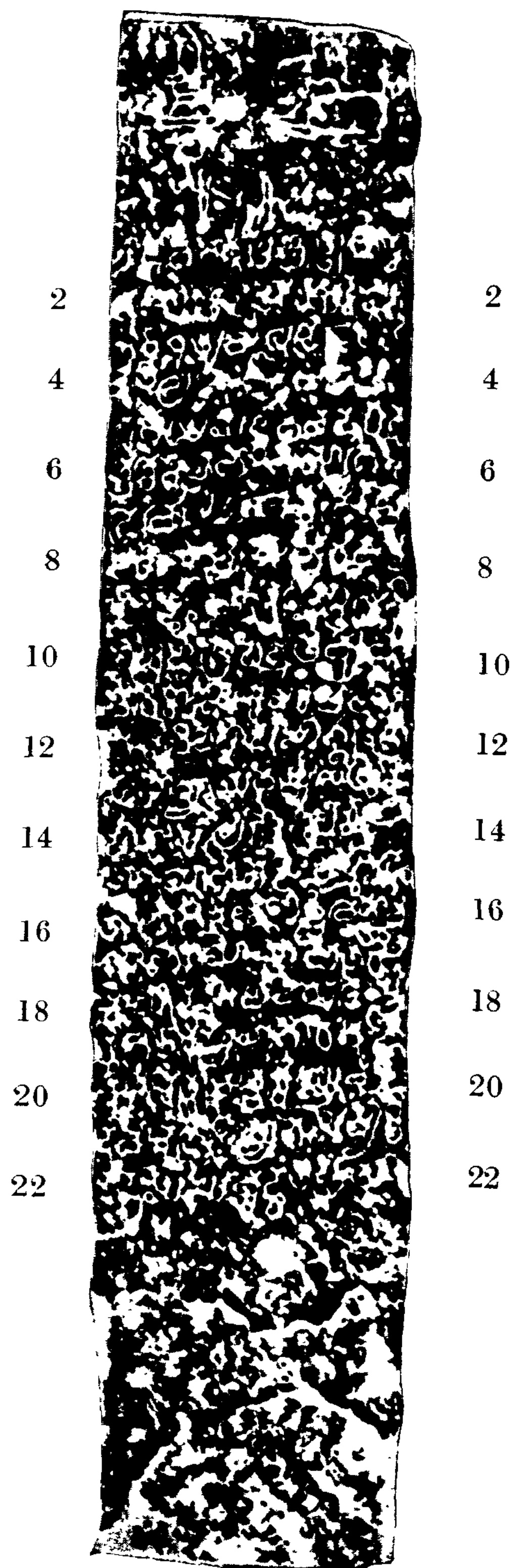


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Third Side



Fourth Side



¹¹ The intended word may be *jagad-druhō*.

- 3 [Kṛi]shṇas=sukṛishṇīkṛita-vairi-nārī[jan-ā]-
 4 nan-ēndu[r]=nṛipatis=tatō=bhūt [| 12 |]¹
 5 [Sa] Rājamārttaṇḍa-nṛipa[h*] pratāp[āt=sama]-
 6 stam=ādāya jagaj=jigīshuḥ [| pra]-
 7 [tā]pa-santāpita-Pāṇḍya-rā[jō dē]-
 8 vas=samast-āri-tamaḥ-ksha-
 9 [yō]=bhūt | 13 |² Trivishṭapasthā ◡
 10 ◡ — r=yyath=āham |³ yathā praj-ārthi ◡
 11 ◡ bhūtaḥ=pi | vidhātum=ā
 12 — ◡ tath=ēti gatvā |³ ka — ◡ —
 13 — s=tanayō=sya jātaḥ | 14 |²
 14 — — — sya may=ātmajēna vihi[tam]
 15 pūrvvaṁ tath=ājñāpitā — — — ◡ ◡
 16 tat-sutēna hi mayā [kāryam]
 17 [ja]gad-rakshaṇam(ṇam) | ity=ēvaṁ khalu Kṛi(Kṛi)shṇa-
 18 nāma-nṛipatis=ch=Ēndr-ātmaja[s=samprati]
 19 śrīmānya(n-ē)sha kalau kalamka-rahitaḥ
 20 pṛithvinī(m-i)mān rakshati | 15 |⁴ Ta-
 21 smin śrī-Dhuradamkakāra-nṛipatau [sam]-
 22 rakshati kshmām=imām satya-tyāga-
 23 samṛiddha-vṛiddha-mahimā sa-
 24 d-bandhu-baddhāsyadā⁵ [|*] jātō rakshati
 25 — pradō vasumatī[m*] sasyauka-
 26 śasy-ōjva(jjva)lā[m*] |⁶ parjanyaō=pi [dharām]

¹ Metre : Upajāti.

² Metre : Upajāti.

³ The *ḍaṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁴ Metre : Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

⁵ The intended reading may be *baddh-āspadaḥ*.

⁶ The *ḍaṇḍa* is redundant.

27 ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — —

28 padam(dam) | 16 |¹ Āyōdhan-ārtham=adhiga-

29 chchhati **Kṛishṇarājē** |² kṛishṇībabhū[va]

30 vadanam ripu-kāminīnām(nām) [|*] vai-

31 dhavya-tāpa-paritāpita-mā-

32 nasānām matt-ēbha — ॐ ॐ ॐ —

33 ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — [| 17 |*]³

34

35

36

37

38

39

40 [| 18 |*]

Third Side

1 — cham tatra niyachchhati dvijavarā dhany[ā]

2 vadānya(nyā)s=tathā |⁴ jātās=tē=pi nidhīśvarā Ha-

3 ॐ rada-grāmēśvaras=**Sōmahah** | bamdhuś=ch=ātma-

4 samas=tath=ēshṭa-samadṛig-bhṛityā(tya)s=tathā — ॐ

5 — |⁴ sākshād=ēva kṛit-ādhipatya[m=a]-

6 tha yaḥ **Kṛishṇē Mahēndr-ātma**jē [| 19 |]⁵ Bhaktiḥ

7 [Śū]lini Vallabhair=vvasumatī⁶ divas=cha⁷ vi-

8 ttē ratāḥ(tiḥ) kāryyaś=śatru-[gaṇē*]shu [cha*] pratipa-

9 dam |⁴ snēhas=sam̐tō⁸ praśrayaḥ [|*] dānam ch=ārthishu du[h]-

¹ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ Metre : *Vasantatilaka*.

⁴ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous. The previous word in three syllables may be *jñātayaḥ* though it seems to be erroneous.

⁵ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁶ The intended reading seems to be *Vallabhē vasumatī*.

⁷ The intended reading may be *dēvē* (or *daivē*) *cha*.

⁸ Read **satām*.

5 DGA/61

- 10 khitēshu karuṇā durnashtēshu¹ daṇḍam [chiram]
 11 saubhāgyam vanitāṣu **Kṛishṇa**-nṛipatēs=sa-
 12 [rvva]tra sarvvā(rvve)=rttha-dam(dāḥ) | 20 |² Śrī-**Raṭṭakandarppa**-
 13 [nri]pēṇa tēn=āchirē(ra)-prabhuktaṁ(ktē) Draviḍaiḥ pri-
 14 yāyāḥ [|*] kāmchy-āspadē dakṣiṇa-dig-ramaṇyāḥ
 15 [ka]rttum ratim daṇḍapatiḥ=prayuktaḥ | 21 |³ — —
 16 jya-bhāvē nṛipatiḥ prayuktaḥ **Kṛishṇaś**=cha **Vēṇṇā**-
 17 taḷa-bhūmi-bhūshāḥ | mah-āśramē bhāgava[tē]-
 18 [na] tēna kṛitās=trayō=bhramliha-mūrttayas=tē [| 22 |]⁴
 19 Hēḷa-vidhitsā⁴-rachitā na yatnais=tathā vatā-
 20 ntārham=imē⁴ na yānti | Mahēśvarasy=āla-
 21 ya-panta(nkta)yas=tās=tath=āpi Kailāsa-girēr=yya
 22 — — [| 23 |] Yāvat=Padmabhavō bhuvaṁ vitanutē
 23 yāvach=cha Lakshmīpatiḥ(tir)=dhattē vakshasi kaustubham
 24 sa Bhagavān Gaurī[m*] nadi[m*] rāḍvaro⁵ [|*] yāvach=ch=ām-
 25 budhi-vīchi-[bā]hu-nivahair=āsēvyatē bhū-
 26 vadhū- |⁶ s=tāvat⁷ śrī-**Dhuradamkakāra**-nṛipa-
 27 tēr=ddharma-trayaṁ tishṭhatu || 24 ||⁸
 28 svasti [|| *] samadhigatapaṁchamahāśa-
 29 bda-mahāsāmantam sahaja[bhūri]-
 30 śravaṁ
 31 śrīmat-[**Ka**]nnayyam śrī-Gōyindara⁹

¹ Read *dushtēshu*.

² Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

³ Metre : *Upajāti*.

⁴ There is a mistake here.

⁵ Read *rāḍvaram*.

⁶ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁸ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ The intended reading is probably *Gōyindaranim*.

- 32 [Brā]hma[ṇa] [de]seyim paḍedu Rāmēsvara
 33 ...¹ [ko]ṭṭudu [Na]ṅgaḍūru [[] allimda
 34 [mū]ḍaṇa Masiyaṅkadhavalargge a
 35 mattarkkeyi kayyalu
 36
 37

Fourth Side²

- 1 kāḷa³dēvargge ayvattu matta-
 2 rnavilu saṁmaṁdha kaṁmaṁ [/*]
 3 int-initum=allade ūrim pa-
 4 ḍuvalaṁ
 5 ge Masiyaṅkadhavalara ma-
 6 ttakke vilā-bhāgam=āge na-
 7 ḍe[vudu] [/*] antu siddh-ā-
 8 yamaṁ paṁcha paramēshṭi(shṭhi)-
 9 gadyāṇa-ponnu [/*] int=iṣṭhiti
 10 tappidōṁ Śrīparvatamumaṁ
 11 Vāraṇāsiyumam kavileyu-
 12 man=aḷida pāpaṁ sārgguṁ [/*]
 13 Sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētu[r]=nṛi-
 14 pāṇām kālē kālē pā-
 15 lanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [/*] tasmād=ē-
 16 tām(tān)=bhāginaḥ pārtthivēndrō(drān)=bhū-
 17 yō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-

¹ The letters *dēvargge* would suit the context, though the traces do not clearly support this reading.

² The figure of a Śivaliṅga, a bull and a cow are engraved above the writing on this side.

³ The name of the deity may have been Kāla or something like Kaṅkāla, Mahākāla, etc.

- 18 mabhadraḥ [||*]¹ Bidirara keyyo-
 19 ttage Tippayya-goravargge
 20 mūvattu mattar=kkeyyumam [makka]-
 21 ḷa-makkalge sishyara-sishyari-
 22 ge naḍeyisuvudu [||*] tappal=ā-
 23 gadu [||*]

¹ Metre: *Sālini*.

No. 9—BICHAPALLI INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA'S TIME, SAKA 996

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 2.3.1961)

The sub-joined inscription was copied by me when I visited **Bīchapalli** in December, 1960.¹ The village, situated on the southern banks of the **Kṛishṇā** river, is in the Alampur Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription is engraved on three sides of a pillar set up in the compound of the **Āṇjanēya** temple.

On the top of the first side of the pillar, where the record commences, are the figures of a **Śiva-līṅga**, the sun and the crescent moon while, a little below on the right side, is a couchant bull facing left. This side of the pillar contains 24 lines of writing while the second side has 31 lines and the third 14 lines only. Thus there are altogether 69 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. The **characters** are Telugu-Kannaḍa and are quite regular for the **date**, viz. 1074 A. D. The **language** is Kannaḍa prose except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. In regard to **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is usually doubled and that Sanskrit *ś* is represented by *s* in a number of cases.

The **date** of the inscription occurs in lines 28-33 as **Śaka 996, Ānanda, Pushya śu. 8, Sunday**. The date corresponds to the **28th December 1074 A. D.**

The record belongs to the reign of the Western Chālukya king **Bhuvanaikamalladēva** who is also known as **Sōmēśvara II** and ruled from 1068 to 1076 A. D. The king is stated to have been ruling from his capital (*nelevīḍu*) at **Baṅkāpura** which, we know, was a secondary capital, the main capital being **Kalyāṇapura**, modern **Kalyāṇa** in the Bidar District of Mysore State. **Baṅkāpura**, which has retained its name to the present day, is a big village in the Shiggaon Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. The place was originally named after **Baṅkeya** of the Chellakētana family, who was the minister of the Rāshtrakūṭa king **Amōghavarsha I** (814-78 A. D.) and was governing the **Banavāsi** province under that king.

The inscription introduces (lines 11-25) the king's feudatory **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chidda-chōḷamahārāja** as governing the **four divisions**, of which only the **Kanne-nāḍu** is mentioned, after obtaining them, evidently from the king, as a fief called *vīḷa-vīṭṭi*, the exact significance of which is not known.² The chief is stated to have undertaken an expedition (*dig-vijaya*) against a certain **Sēguṇa** and to have defeated and captured him.

The **object** of the epigraph, given in lines 34-61, is to register a gift made, on the **date** discussed above, by **Chidda-chōḷamahārāja** while he was returning from his expedition referred to above, apparently in commemoration of his victory. The gift, given as a *paramēśvara-datti*, consisted of the village **Pariyaḷa-tīrtha** on the southern bank of the **Perdore** or **Kṛishṇā** and belonged to the **Ayaje-300** division. The donation was made to the temple of the god **Lakshmaṇēśvara**

¹ The inscription is registered as No. B 81 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

² It is also called *bīḷa* or *bīḷ-ānurvīṭṭi* in some records. **Sōmēśvara II** himself is stated to have been ruling **Beḷvola-300** and **Purigere-300** as his *bīḷ-ānurvīṭṭi* in a record (*SII*, Vol. XI, Part i, No. 84) of the time of his father **Sōmēśvara I**.

situated in the midst of **Elarāme-tīrtha**. It is further stated that the gift was intended for the services of the god like *aṅga-bhōga*, *nivēdya* and *nandū-dīpa*, for a *satra* or alms-house, for the twelve ascetics and for the food and clothing of the twelve students attending on the ascetics. The gift was entrusted to Sūryarāśipañḍita who was in charge of the place.

The feudatory chief Chidda-chōḷamahārāja is endowed with a number of epithets. They show that he belonged to the solar race and Kāśyapa-gōtra and had the banner of peacock-feather and lion-crest, and that he was called *Kāvērī-vallabha* and *Oreyūrpuravar-ēśvara*. We are also told that he was a bee on the lotus-feet of the god Mallikārjuna, evidently of Śrīśaila. From his name and the epithets associated with him, it is clear that he belonged to the family of **Telugu-Chōḷas** who were feudatory chiefs under the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and were governing some territory in the Alampur, Kurnool and Anantapur areas. He is also evidently the same chief as Chiddaṇa-chōḷamahārāja known from a few records of Sōmēśvara I and Sōmēśvara II. The earliest mention of the chief which I have been able to trace occurs in a record¹ of Sōmēśvara I dated in 1059-60 A. D. when he was governing the Sindavāḍi-1000 division. Next he is referred to in a record² of the same king dated in 1067-68 A. D. as governing the division of Ayaje-300. After this, he appears as a feudatory of Sōmēśvara II in a record³ of 1073-74 A. D. representing him as governing the four divisions called Kanne-300, Peḍekal-800, Naṛuvāḍi-500 and Ayaje-300. It has been already observed that our inscription refers to him as governing the four divisions out of which only Kanne-nāḍu is mentioned. The remaining three divisions were, therefore, Peḍekal-800, Naṛuvāḍi-500 and Ayaje-300. It may be pointed out in this connection, that one Irugaṇa-chōḷa of the same family appears as a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I in the records of 1056-57 A. D.⁴ probably as governing the same four divisions while a certain Bijjaṇa-chōḷamahārāja figures as governing the said divisions as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI in 1078 A. D.⁵ Therefore, Chiddaṇa-chōḷamahārāja may be assigned to the period 1058 to 1075 A. D., though his exact relationship to Irugaṇa and Bijjaṇa, his predecessor and successor respectively, is not known at present.

As indicated above, the inscription under study informs us that Chidda-chōḷamahārāja was returning, at the time of the gift, from his northern expedition against a Sēguṇa whom he had defeated and captured. This Sēguṇa is no doubt a Yādava king and may be identified with Sēuṇa or Sēuṇachandra II. In the Bassein⁶ and Waghli⁷ records of this Sēuṇachandra II dated in 1069 A. D., he assumes subordinate titles showing thereby that he was a feudatory of Sōmēśvara II.⁸ Hēmādri's *Vratakhanda* states that Paramardidēva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, was saved from the coalition of his enemies by Sēuṇachandra II and was established by him in the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa.⁹ This may suggest that, in the struggle for the Chālukya throne between Sōmēśvara II and his younger brother Vikramāditya VI, Sēuṇachandra II espoused the cause of the latter. Enraged by this act of the Yādava, ruler Sōmēśvara II sent, as revealed by the epigraph under study, his chief Chidda or Chiddaṇa-chōḷamahārāja to chastise the traitor. Our record claims that the Chōḷa chief defeated and captured the Yādava king while Hēmādri's work, written about two centuries later,¹⁰ does not admit it. It is not impossible that Sēuṇachandra II might have

¹ *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 123.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. B 115.

³ *Ibid.*, No. B 116.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Nos. B 112 and 114.

⁵ *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 60.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 116.

⁷ *Above*, Vol. II, p. 221.

⁸ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, pp. 443 and 515.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 271, verse 29.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

joined Vikramāditya VI to oust Sōmēśvara II in an earlier attempt which must have taken place before 1074 A. D., the date of the present record, and which might have proved unsuccessful. But we know that Vikramāditya VI finally ousted his elder brother and crowned himself sometime in 1076 A. D.¹ It is also stated in the Āsvi plates of 1093 A. D. of Āirama² who was the son and successor of Sēuṇachandra II and feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, that he conquered Sōmēśvara II and gave the kingdom to his master.³ It appears that both Sēuṇachandra II and his son Āirama participated, sometime after 1074 A. D., in the successful attempt to gain the Kalyāṇa throne for Vikramāditya VI.

The following **geographical names** are found in the inscription : Kanne which is stated to be one of the four divisions obtained by the chief from the king. As shown above, Kanne-nāḍu was a three-hundred division, while the other three divisions were Peḍekal-800, Naṇuvāḍi-500 and Ayaje-300. Kanne-nāḍu appears to represent the area about the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District.³ Naṇuvāḍi-500, which is evidently the same as the ancient Naḷavāḍi-vishaya corresponded to portions of the Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.⁴ Another part of the Kurnool District was the Peḍekal-800 division which appears as Peḍekal-vishaya in earlier records.⁵ Ayaje-300 corresponded to the area round about modern Ayije in the Alampur Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District. Eḷarāme-tīrtha wherein the temple for which the gift was made was situated may be the modern Bīchapalli, the findspot of the record. I am not certain about the identification of the village of Pariyaḷa.

TEXT⁶

First Side

- 1⁷ Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśrayam
- 2 Śrī-pri(pri)thvī-vallabham mahārājā-
- 3 dhirāja-paramēśva(śva)ram parama-
- 4 bhaṭṭārakam **Satyāśraya-kula-tiḷa[kam]**
- 5 **Chālukyābharanam** śrīmad-Bhuva-
- 6 **naikamalladēvara vije(ja)ya-rājyam=utta-**
- 7 **r-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravardhdha(rddha)mānam-ā-**
- 8 **cham(cha)ndr-ārka-tāram-baram saluttam=ire Ba-**
- 9 **m̐kāpurada** nele-vīḍinol sukha-samkhatā-⁸

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 193 ff.

² *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1. The editor reads the name as Iramma while Hēmādri's *Vratakhanda* gives it as Pa(Ai)ramma. The plates which I am re-editing in this journal really give the name as Āirama, spelt as *Āiramma* for metrical requirement.

³ A record of 1057 A. D. from the Nandikotkur Taluk refers to the gift of a village in the Kanne-300 division. Cf. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, No. 119.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part ii, p. 363; above, Vol. XXII, p. 29.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 312.

⁶ From impressions.

⁷ There is an ornamental design at the beginning of the line.

⁸ Read *samkathā*.

- 10 vinōdadim rājyaṁgeyyutt=ire
 11 samadhigata-paṁcha-mahā-sa(śa)bda-
 12 mahāmaṇḍalēsva(śva)ran=anēka-ripu-
 13 durddharam vara-bhuj-āśi(si)-bhāsura-pracha-
 14 ṇḍa[m*] pramtyōdinakara¹-kula-nandanam
 15 Kāsya(śya)pa-gōtram mayūra-piṁchha-[dhva].²
 16 **Kāvērī**-vallabham kambal-pare-ghōshaṇa[m]
 17 sinha-lāṁchhanan=**Oreyūr**-ppurava-
 18 rēsva(śva)ram parachakra-dhavaḷam maṇḍalika-[si(śi)]-
 19 khāmaṇi sa(śa)raṇāgata-rakshāmaṇi **Chō-**
 20 **ḷa-Lāḷa**-sāmanta-śoṇḍalam³ piḍiva Bhīmana ga-
 21 ndhavāraṇam śrīman-Mallikārjunadēva-pā-
 22 dāmbja⁴-bhṛīṁgam śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēsva(śva)-
 23 ram **Chidda-chōḷamahārājar Kanne-nāḍ-ā-**
 24 diy=āgi nālkuṁ nāḍumam vīḷa-virtthi(tti)yaṁ⁵

Second Side

- 25 da paḍed=uttara-disāvarakkam
 26 **Sēguṇana** mēle dig-vijayam
 27 geyd=avana[m] pi⁶ḍisi jayam-
 28 geydu baruttu **Saka-va-**
 29 **rsha 996 ney=Ānanda-**
 30 **sarivatsarada Paushya su-**
 31 **dhḍha(ddha) 8 mi Ādityavā-**
 32 **rad=uttarāyana-sariv-**

¹ The reading given in other records is *pradyōdi(ti)ta-dinakara* (Cf. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part i, Nos. 122 and 207).

² The letter *dhva* is partly broken and the next letter which is completely lost may be restored as *jam*.

³ Read *śoṇḍāḷam*, which is derived from Sanskrit *śuṇḍāḷa*, 'an elephant'.

⁴ Read *pād-ambujā*^o or *pād-āḷja*.

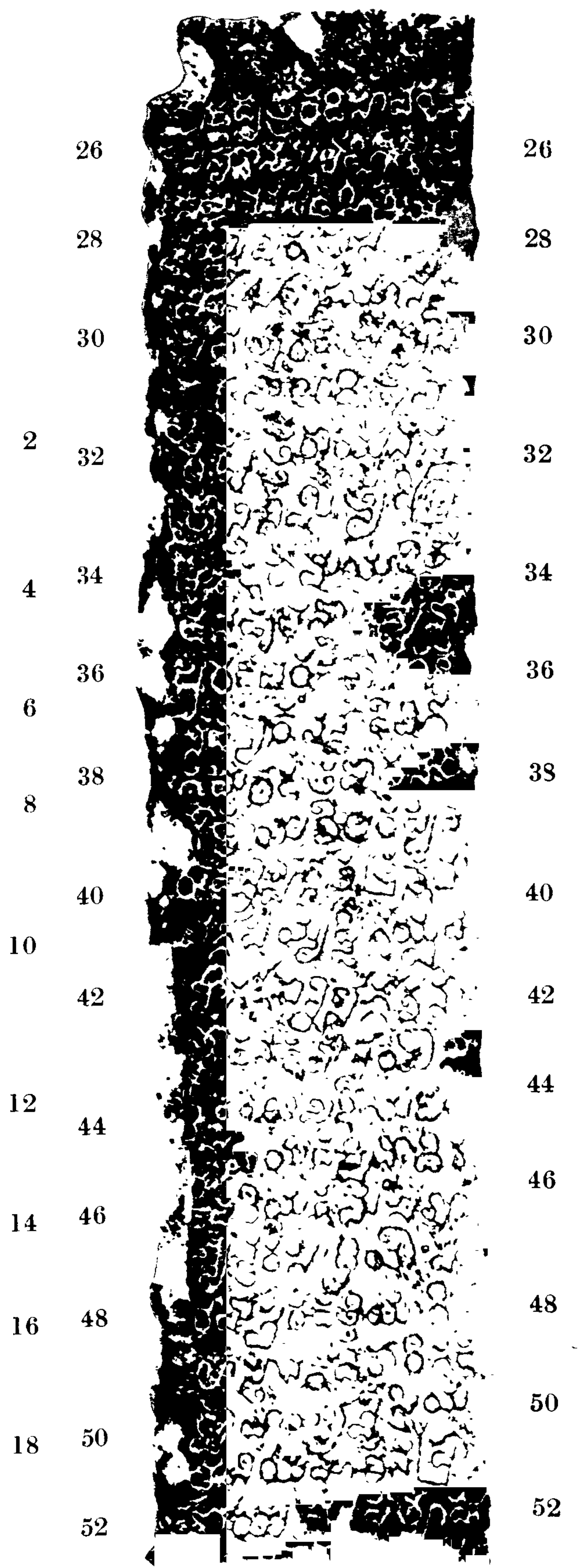
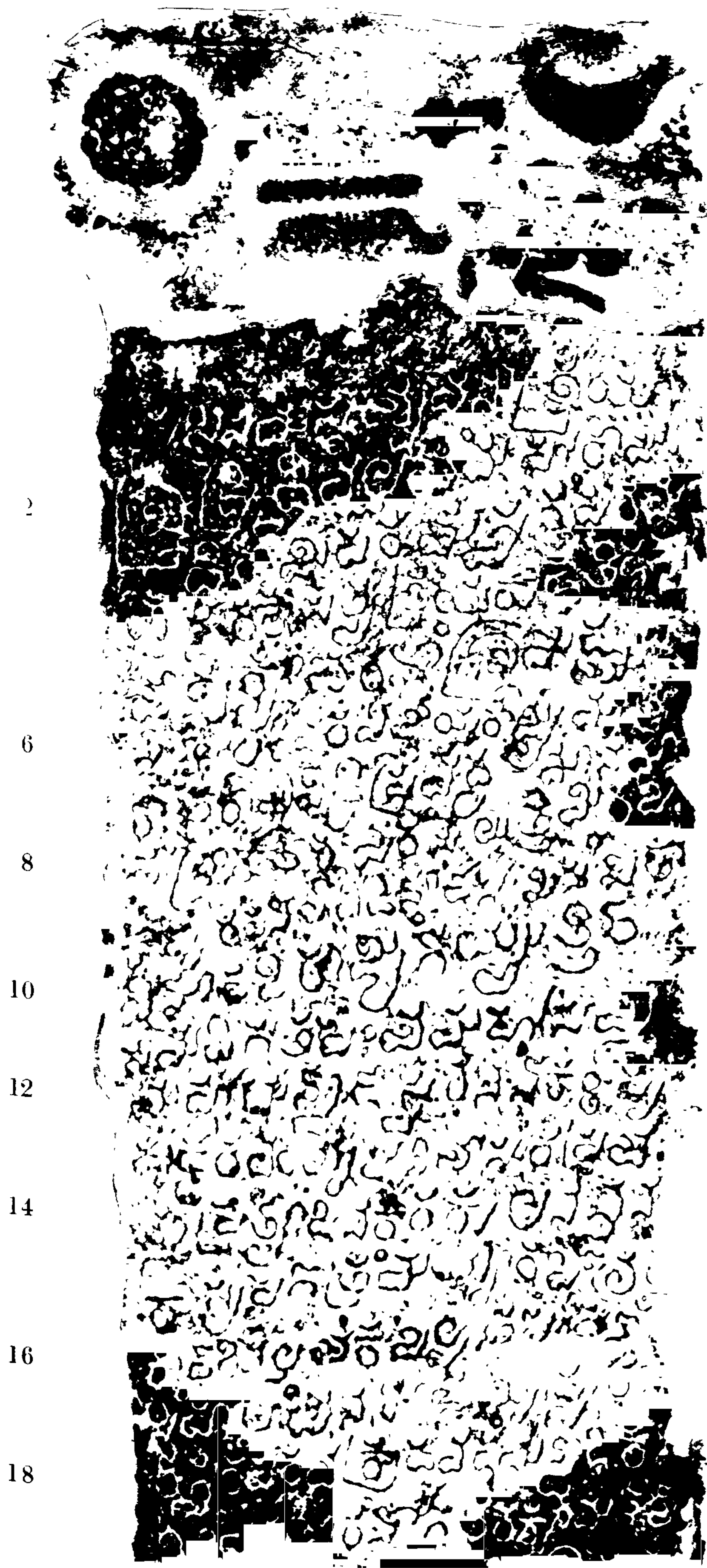
⁵ Read *vīḷa*^a or *vīḷ-ānūvṛttiyim* which is the same as *bīḷ-ānūvṛtti* found in other records.

⁶ The letter *pi* is engraved slightly above the line.

BICHAPALLI INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA'S TIME, SAKA 996

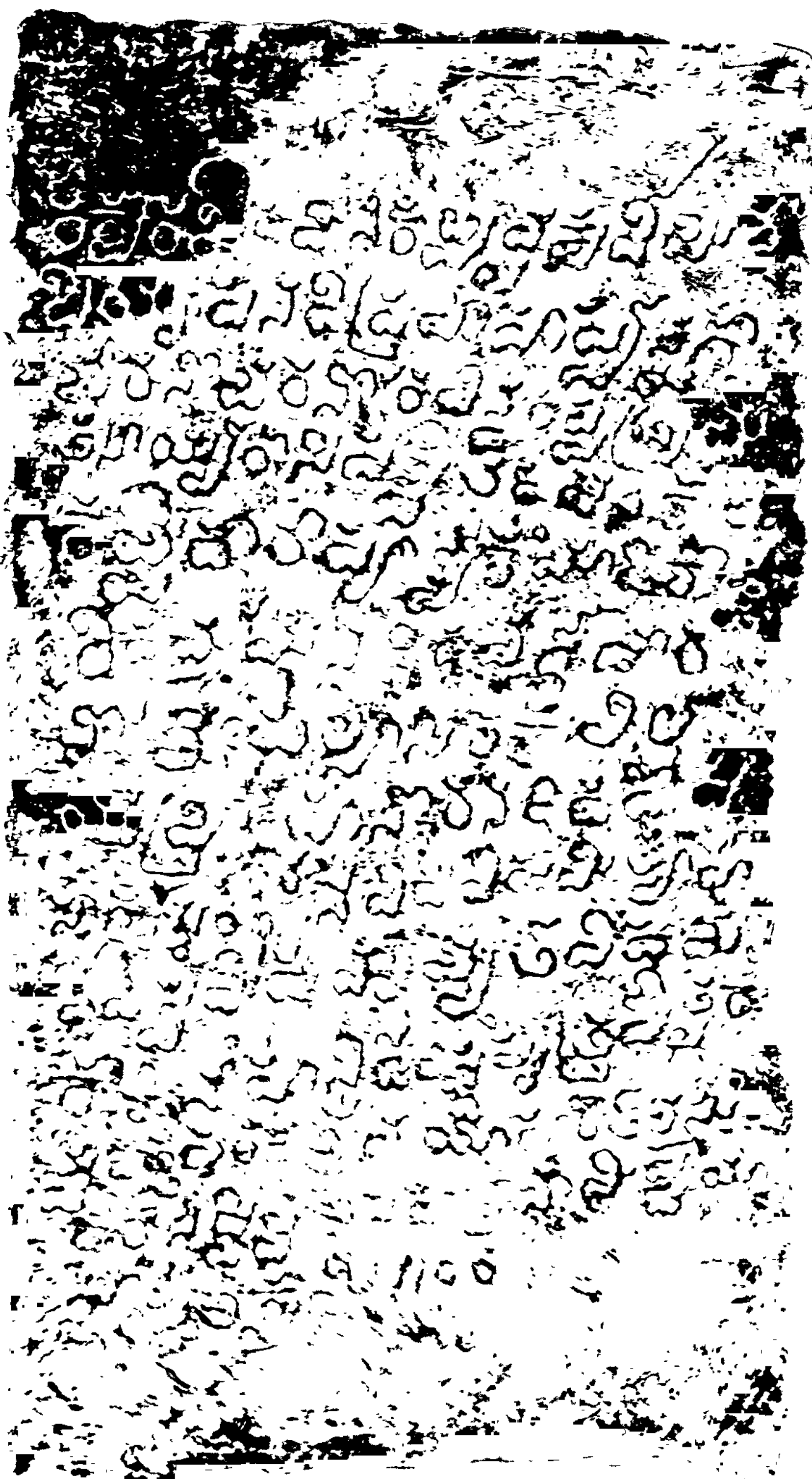
First Side

Second Side



Third Side

56



58

60

62

64

66

68

56

58

60

62

64

66

68

- 33 **krānti** nimitya(tta)dim śrī-
 34 mad-**Eḷarāmeya** tīrttha-
 35 da naḍuvaṇa Lakshmaṇē-
 36 sva(śva)radēvar=aṁga-bhōgakkam
 37 nivēdyakkam nandā-divige-
 38 gaṁ maṭhada tapōdhana[rum]
 39 [Svā]dhyāyaśīlar=appava-
 40 rum pannirvvargge śa(sa)trakkam=a-
 41 vargge paryyasṭi-geyva m[ā]-
 42 ṇigaḷ-pannirvvargg=aśan=ā-
 43 chchhādanakkam=end=**Ayije**
 44 **300** ṇa baḷiya **Pe-**
 45 **r[ddo]reya** dakshiṇa-thī(tī)ra-
 46 da **Pariyaḷamam** sarvv-ā-
 47 bhyantara-sudhdhiyīm¹ pa-
 48 ramēsva(śva)ra-dattiy=āgi
 49 ā stā(sthā)nakk=adhikārigaḷ=a-
 50 pp=āchāryyar=Svasti ya-
 51 ma-niyam-āśa(sa)na-prā-
 52 ṇāyāma-pratyāhā-
 53 ra-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-japa-sa-
 54 mādhi-sī(śī)la-saṁpannar=jaga-
 55 tī(ti)-praśa(sa)nnardhdha(r=ddha)rmm-ōchita-

Third Side

- 56 rakshar akhiḷa-jana-kaḷpa(lpa) vṛikshar=vibudha-
 57 piyūsha-nadī-pravāhar=ppannag-ā-
 58 bharāṇa-charaṇ-āravindar=appa śrīma-

¹ Read *siddhiyīm*.

- 59 t-Sūryyarāsi-panḍitadēvara kālām
 60 karchchi dhārā-pūrvvakam māḍi koṭṭa-
 61 r=ī dharmmaman=aḷidavargge Vāra-
 62 ṇāṣi(si)yal=sāsira kavile-
 63 yuṁ brāhmaṇaran=aḷida dōsha[m]
 64 sārggu[m*] || 0 0 Na visha[m] visham=ity=āhu-
 65 r=ddēvasvaṁ visham=uchyatē [|*] visham=ē-
 66 kākinam hanti dēvasvaṁ putra-pautṛikam(trikam) [|*]
 67 Sva-dattam(ttām) para-dattam(ttām) vā yō harēti(ta) vasum-
 68 dharā[m*] sa(sha)shtir=vvarsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi miṣṭā(viṣṭhā)yām
 69 jāyatē kṛimi[h*] || 0 0
-

No. 10—SRISAILAM INSCRIPTION OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1382

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.6.1961)

The **stone slab** bearing this inscription is set up in the eastern courtyard of the Mallikārjuna temple at **Śrīśailam** in the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. One half of the slab from top to bottom is occupied by **Oriya** writing and the other half by writing in **Telugu** characters. The inscription was noticed in the Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1914-15, as No. 30 of 1915 (p. 59 ; cf. p. 84 for the English equivalent of the date).

Although for reasons to be discussed below, it is difficult to be sure whether the stone slab bears only one inscription or two different epigraphs, it is not impossible that there is really only one record, the first half of which is written in Telugu characters and in an admixture of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages and the second half in the Oriya alphabet and language ; that is to say that the Oriya part is probably a mere continuation of the section in Telugu. There are 37 lines of writing in the Telugu portion covering an area about 52 cms. in breadth and 1.32 metres in height, while the Oriya section consists of only 20 lines of writing which covers a space about 38 cms. broad and 1.15 metres high. Of the two parts, the Telugu portion is carefully engraved and its preservation is also fairly satisfactory. On the other hand, the Oriya part is carelessly incised and the preservation of the writing in it is also not quite satisfactory. The letters in this part exhibit cursive forms as in the Oriya section of the Veligalani grant of Kapilēśvara, edited above.¹ They are not uniform in size and a few of them look unlike any letter of the contemporary Oriya alphabet. It is difficult to be sure about the reading of the upper part of the Oriya section of the inscription. The Oriya part appears to have been engraved by a person who was unfamiliar with the Oriya alphabet and drew up the letters as he felt he saw them in the draft before him, which may have been prepared by an Oriya officer of the king whose eulogy is contained in the epigraph.

A feature of the inscription to which attention may be drawn is that, although the Oriya section looks like the latter half of the document the first half of which is the portion in Telugu, a few epithets of the hero of the eulogy already employed in the first section are repeated in the second. Even in the Oriya part, the word *Gajapati* seems to occur twice, once in line 15 and again in lines 17-18. It has also to be noticed that, while the Telugu part looks like the composition of a man of some learning, the author of the Oriya section was a less accomplished person.

Lines 2-6 about the beginning of the Telugu section give the **date** of the record as **Śālivāhana-Śaka 1382**, the cyclic year **Vikrama, Āshāḍha-sudi 15, Thursday**, when there was a **lunar eclipse**. The date corresponds to the 3rd July 1460 A. D.

The Telugu part of the record is not complete in itself since it ends abruptly in the middle of the description of a royal personage whose epithets show that he was no other than **Gajapati**

¹See Vol. XXXIII, Plate facing p. 287. Cf. also the Oriya part of the Chiruvroli grant (ibid., Vol. XXXIV, Plate facing p. 185).

Kapilēśvara of Orissa, though the king's name is not there. Lines 18-20 at the end of the Oriya section, however, refer to the reign of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara, though there appears to be no mention of his regnal or Aṅka year corresponding to Śaka 1382. Since Kapilēśvara ascended the throne in Śaka 1356 (1434-35 A.D.), Śaka 1382 would correspond to his 27th regnal year or 33rd Aṅka year.

The Telugu part of the inscription begins with two *maṅgala* passages (lines 1-2) which are followed by the date (lines 2-6), discussed above. A passage beginning with the word *svasti* then mentions the god Mallikārjuna *alias* Mahādēva who is called the best Svayambhu-liṅga of Śrīparvata (lines 6-9). The word *Mahādēvuniki* (i.e. 'to Mahādēva') at the end of this section in Telugu would suggest that the object of the inscription was to record certain gifts made in favour of the god Mallikārjuna Mahādēva of Śrīśaila. It is interesting to note that the expressions *Śrīparvata*, *Svayambhu* and *Liṅga-chakravartin* have the honorific word *śrī* prefixed to them while the honorific *śrīmat* is prefixed to *Mallikārjuna* and *Mahādēva*. Thus none of these is without an honorific. The same tendency is also exhibited in lines 16-18 of the Oriya part in which the hero of the eulogy is mentioned as *śrīmat-Karṇāṭēśvara śrī-Kalabaragēśvara śrī-Vīra śrī-Gajapati śrī-Kapilēśvaradēva-mahārāja*.

The long passage in Sanskrit that follows in lines 9-22 of the Telugu part also begins with the word *svasti* and apparently refers to the heroic members of a royal family by way of introducing the hero of the eulogy as one of them. In this section, there are three lengthy and bombastic compound expressions ending in the sixth case-ending plural (cf. °*sampadām* in line 15, °*vasundharāṇām* in line 17 and °*chakravālānām* in line 22). Since the next passage introduces a royal personage, the style of the above section seems to follow the pattern of such expressions as *Pallavarīnām Śivaskandavarmā*, *Vākāṭakānām Pravarasēnaḥ*, etc. Unfortunately, the name of the dynasty is not mentioned. The person to be introduced is, however, called *Sūryavamś-āvalambana-stambha* in lines 28-29 of the following section, so that a word like *Sūryavamśīyānām* would have been suitable at the end of the previous section.

The rest of the writing in the Telugu section in lines 22-37 are epithets of a king whose name, viz. Kapilēśvara, comes at the end of the Oriya part as already indicated above. It is interesting to note that many of the king's epithets in this section are also applied to him in the Warangal inscription of his nephew and viceroy Raghudēva, edited above.¹ While editing the Warangal inscription, we have pointed out that most of these typical epithets are copied from certain Gaṅga inscriptions like the Draksharama, Bhubaneswar and Kanchipuram inscriptions² of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-38 A.D.) and one of the Kapilas inscriptions³ of the latter's son Narasiṃha I (1238-65 A.D.).

The Warangal inscription applies to Kapilēśvara the epithets *Mahēśvara-putra*, *Purushōttama-putra* and *Durgā-putra*, though the first of these three epithets is omitted in the inscription under study. But the king is called at the same time both *parama-vaishṇava* (a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu) and *parama-māhēśvara* (a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara or Śiva) in our record. This fact coupled with the epithet *Durgā-putra*, i.e. 'son of the goddess Durgā (the consort of Śiva)', would suggest that the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara claimed to have been at the same time a Vaishṇava, a Śaiva and a Śākta. While Kapilēśvara's devotion to the god Purushōttama (i.e. Viṣṇu in the shape of Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī) is known from many records including the one under study, the Warangal inscription suggests that he also shared his ancestors' devotion

¹ See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.

² *SI*, Vol. IV, p. 467 (No. 1329); above, Vol. XXX, p. 234; Vol. XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

³ Above, Nol. XXXIII, pp. 41 ff.

to the god Mallinātha and goddess Maṅgalachandī or Gaṇamaṅgalachandī who were probably aspects of Śiva and Durgā. Kapilēśvara appears to have become a devotee of Viṣṇu only after his occupation of the Gaṅga kingdom which, as we know, had been dedicated to Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī by Gaṅga Anaṅgabhīma III, that king and his successors ruling the kingdom as the god's deputies.¹

While editing the Warangal inscription, we also pointed out that, inspite of their staunch devotion to the god Viṣṇu in the form of Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Purī, the Gaṅga king Anaṅgabhīma III and his successor, who ruled Orissa as deputies of the said god, could not dissociate themselves from the Śaiva leanings of their ancestors. It was further pointed out that the representation of Kapilēśvara and his nephew with both Vaishṇava and Śaiva epithets, in spite of the fact that Kapilēśvara avowedly ruled his kingdom on behalf of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha like his Gaṅga predecessors, may be due to the fact that the Sūryavamśīs were also Śaivas originally. But, in this connection, we remarked, 'It has, however, to be noticed that a similar description of Kapilēśvara is not noticed in any other inscription of the Sūryavamśī Gajapati family. Are we then to suppose that the reason underlying the above description of Kapilēśvara was the Śaiva leanings of Raghudēva?'² Now that we have a similar representation of Kapilēśvara as both a Śaiva and a Vaishṇava at the same time in the record under review, this suspicion may be regarded as unjustifiable.

The last epithet of Kapilēśvara in the Telugu part in lines 36-37 represents him as the lord of the eastern world including countries like **Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Draviḷa, Gauḍa, Utkala and Siṁhala**. This hyperbolic epithet is not found in other inscriptions.

Very little is intelligible in lines 1-5 of the Oriya part though one may suspect that it continues the description of the king. He is apparently called *Purushōttama-putra* in line 6, *Rāvula* (*Rājākula*) in line 7 and *rājarisī* (*rājarshi*) in line 8. Of these, the epithet *Rāvula* is a feudatory title indicating Kapilēśvara's subordinate position in relation to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha who, as indicated above, was regarded as the master of his kingdom. It may be noted in this connection that lines 25-26 of the Telugu part describe Kapilēśvara as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-jagannūlakāraṇa-śrī-Purushōttama-putra* which may be interpreted in two ways. We may take it to mean that Kapilēśvara himself is endowed with the imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and alternatively also that it is the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha that enjoyed the said imperial title. The first meaning seems to be intended by the author, though the use of the feudatory title *Rāvula* in the description of Kapilēśvara in line 9 of the Oriya part may tempt one to suggest that the second of the two alternative interpretations discussed above is the correct one. We have evidence to show that Kapilēśvara enjoyed imperial titles as well. The corrupt expressions in lines 12-19 of the Oriya section represent him as *Mahārājēśa Mahārājādhirāja Rājēśvara Paramēśvara Gajapati Gauḍēśvara śrīmat-Karṇāṭēśvara śrī-Kalabaragēśvara śrī-Vīra śrī-Gajapati śrī-Kapilēśvaradēva-mahārāja*.

From the parts of the inscription that can be made out, it appears to be merely a eulogy of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara of Orissa. There is no mention of any pious or heroic act of the king in the Telugu portion and in the readable part of the Oriya section of the record. It is also difficult to determine whether the upper part of the Oriya section, the reading of which is dubious, contained any such reference. But, as already indicated above, there is the passage 'to Mahādēva' about the beginning of the Telugu section and this suggests that the object of the epigraph was to record certain gifts in favour of the god Mallikārjuna Mahādēva of Śrīsailam. Moreover,

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 19.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 127.

in ancient and medieval Indian records of the *praśasti* type, the description of the achievements of the hero is offered as an introduction to the delineation of particular pious or heroic acts done by him. Thus the present inscription also does not appear to be a mere eulogy of Kapilēśvara without recording a pious act of the king. It may therefore be concluded that there is reference to the gifts made in favour of Mallikārjuna Mahādēva in the upper part of the Oriya section of the inscription. Of course, it may be suggested that the Oriya part of the record is complete in itself and that the end of the Telugu section containing a record of the donation was engraved on a separate stone slab which has not been available to us. But, even in such a case, i.e. if the Oriya part is regarded as a complete record by itself, its upper part should contain some reference to a pious activity as otherwise the passage 'during the victorious reign of Kapilēśvaradēva-mahārāja', with which it concludes, will be meaningless.

It is difficult to determine whether the present inscription proves Kapilēśvara's presence at Śrīśailam on the date of the record. If he was present to offer his homage to the great Mallikārjuna of Śrīśailam on the auspicious occasion of the lunar eclipse, he should have certainly made some donation in favour of the god and that is expected to have been recorded in the inscription. But the passage referring to [an act performed] during his reign in the Oriya part, referred to above, may also suggest that it was one of his subordinates who had occasion to visit the Mallikārjuna temple and was responsible for setting up the inscription recording the donation of gifts made by him in favour of the deity, though the record of donation cannot be traced in the readable part of the inscription and has also not been as yet traced on any other slab among the votive epigraphs of Śrīśailam. In this connection, reference may be made to the Uyyalavada (Koilkuntla Taluk, Kurnool District) inscription¹ recording the erection of a *jaya-stambha* by Kapilēśvara's officer Narasiṃha-pātra.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are all well known.

TEXT²

Telugu Part

- 1 Kalyāṇam=astu | svasti-śrī-jay-ā-
- 2 bhyudaya | Śālivāhana-Śaka-varusha-
- 3 m̐bulu 1382 gunem̐ti Vikrama-
- 4 samvatsara Āshāḍha-śu 15 Gu³ nā-
- 5 m̐ti Sōma-grahaṇa-puṇya-kāla-
- 6 mam̐du | svasti [|*] śrī-Śrīparvata śrī-
- 7 Svayambhu śrī-Liṅga-chakravarti Śrī-
- 8 man̐(ma)n-Mallikāju(kāju)na śrīman̐(ma)n-Mahādē-
- 9 vuniki [|*] svasti-śrī [|*] savy-āpasavy-ādi-vṛishṭa-
- 10 spashṭa-samākṛishṭa- |⁴ jaraṭi-⁵ | kamaṭi-⁶ | niṣṭu(shṭu)-

¹ A. R. Ep., 1935-36, No. B 277.

² From impressions.

³ This is an abbreviation of *Guruvārē*.

⁴ The *danda* here and below is used generally as a hyphen is used in English.

⁵ The lexicons recognise *jaraṭi* or *jaradī* in the sense of a kind of grass and *jaraṭha* is explained as old, drooping, cruel, yellowish, etc. The intended reading may be *jaraṭhī*, 'an old or cruel female', though the meaning of the section is not clear. Do the words refer to the sound of the bow?

⁶ It is uncertain whether the intended word is *kamaṭhī*, 'a small female tortoise'. As indicated above, the meaning of the section is not clear.

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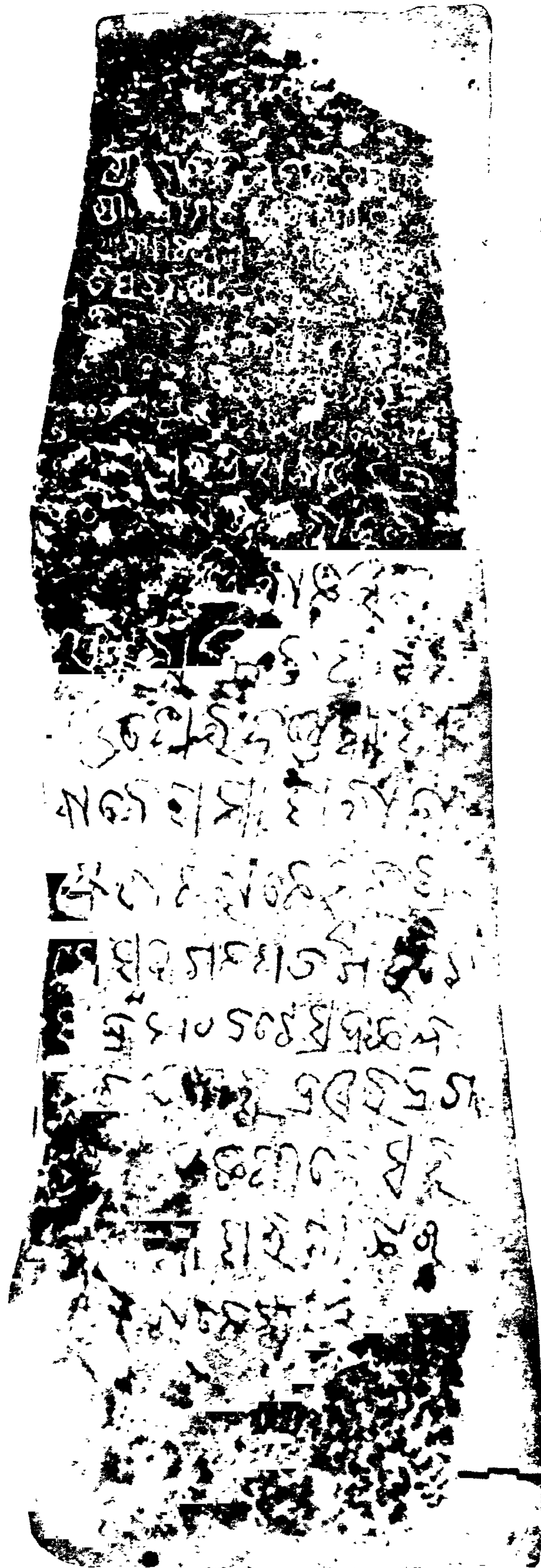
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- 11 r-ō[d*]damḍḍa(ḍa)- | kōdamḍḍa(ḍa)- | prachamḍḍa(ḍa)- | ray-ā-
 12 tripta- | kshipta- | dṛipta- | śara-visara- | vihi-
 13 ta- | ravi-kara-nihita- | timira- | tamisrā-
 14 pradhvaṁsa- | saṁppā(pā)dita- | mukha-hēma-
 15 śuchi- | saṁppa(pa)dām | satata- | sa-mada-
 16 kari-ghaṭ[ā]-ghaṁṭā-rav-ōjjāgarita- | sā-
 17 garō(r-ā)vadhi | vasuṁda(dha)rāṇām | ni¹shkṛipa-kṛi-
 18 pāṇa- | dhārā-dārit-ārāti- | rājanya-ni-
 19 raṁjana-baḥaḥa-ni[h*]śvāsa- | gaṁdhavā-
 20 ha- | laharī-parirambha- | paramparā-samu-
 21 ttaramgita-pratāpa- | pāvaka- | prasara-
 22 pradi(dī)pita- | nikhila-dik-chakravālānām | samara-
 23 mukh-ānēka-ripu-darppa-mardana | bhuja-bala-pa-
 24 rākrama | paramavaishṇava- | paramamāhēśvara
 25 paramabhaṭā(tṭā)raka | jagan-mūla-kāraṇa- | śrī-Puru-
 26 shōttama-putra | śrī-Durggā-putra | trō(tra)yī-
 27 samuddharāṇa-parāyaṇa | vasuṁda(dha)r-ōddhā-
 28 ra-Mahāvarāha | **Sūryya-vamś-āvalam-**
 29 **bana-stambha** | dharmma-rakshaka-daksha | nava-nav-ānu-
 30 ra(rū)pa-karmma-tulita- | pūrvva-narapati-charita |
 31 maryyādā-mahōdadhi trō(tra)yī-vidy-ānava-
 32 dya-vidva[j*]-jana- | viśrāṇit-āśīrvvāda- | vachana-pra[ti]-
 33 samaya- | samupadīryyamāna- | sapt-āmga-
 34 prajā-jana- | saṁttā(tā)pa-chamdana | san-mitra-hṛida-
 35 ya-namdana | Vaivasvata-Manu-paramppa(pa)rā-prasūta-
 36 [Rāma]chandra-charit-ālamkṛita | **Karnā(rṇā)ṭa-Lāṭa-[Dra]vi-**
 37 **ḷa-[Gauḍ-Ō]t[ka]ḷa-Simhala-prabhṛiti-** | prāg-dha[r-ā]dhīśvara

Oriya Part

- 1 śrī-Rā
 2 śrī || [śrī]ma
 3 āmā ||

¹ This *akshara* is engraved below the line with a mark.

- 4 japa
 5
 6 [Pu*]rusōtama-putra
 7
 8
 9 rāvula
 10 rāja-risī
 11 .. krita prachā-
 12 ṇḍa-dōradanḍa-[māhā]-
 13 rā[j]ēsa¹ mähārājā-
 14 dhirāja rājēsvara pra-
 15 mesvara Gajapata(ti) Gauḍe-
 16 sra vra(śrī)ma .² naṭēsra vra(śrī)-Kala-
 17 [va]ragē[sa]ra tra(śrī)-Vira tra(śrī)-Ga-
 18 [japati-śrī]-Kapilēsara-
 19 [dēva]-[mā]hārājāṅkara
 20 [vijē]-rājē-sma[i]³[|| *]

¹ We have *varāha* in this context elsewhere.

² This sign does not look like any letter but may stand for *t-Ka*.

³ Sanskrit *vijaya-rājya-samaye*.

No. 11—INSCRIPTIONS OF TWO BRAHMANA RULERS OF GAYA

(3 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 5.4.1961)

Five stone inscriptions of a **Brāhmaṇa** ruling family of **Gayā** are known to have been discovered at that famous holy place. Four of them belong to **Viśvarūpa** or **Viśvāditya**, who was the son of Śūdraka and grandson of Paritōsha, and one to **Yakshapāla**, son of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya.

The five inscriptions are the following :¹

1. Inscription found at the gate of the Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple at Gayā, recording the erection of a temple for the god Janārdana at Gayā by Viśvāditya in the 15th year of the reign of the Pāla king Nayapāla (c. 1038-55 A.D.), i.e. about 1053 A.D. The *praśasti* was composed by *Vāji-vaidya* Sahadēva and engraved by the artisan Saṭṭha-sōma, son of Adhipa-sōma. This inscription was edited by M. M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, Part i, 1900, pp. 190 ff., and illustrated by R.D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), Plate XXV. A transcript of the epigraph with translation also appeared in A. K. Maitreya's *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, pp. 110 ff.

2. Inscription inside the small shrine of Narasiṃha in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā, recording the erection of the temple of the god Gadādhara and some other unnamed shrines by Viśvarūpa in the 15th year of Nayapāla's reign. The *praśasti* was composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi and 'written' by Sarvānanda. A rough transcript of the epigraph appeared with illustration in R. D. Banerji's work referred to above, p. 78 and Plate XXVI.

3. Inscription on a slab under the image of the god Gadādhara. As the image could not be removed without wounding the religious feelings of the local population, only the first four lines of the epigraph with a part of the fifth could be copied. R. D. Banerji published his transcript of these lines in his *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 82-83, Plate XXXI(c). The record begins with *ś namō Mūrttanḍāya* and a verse in praise of the Sun-god. But verses 2-3 and the beginning of verse 4 in line 5 show that this part of the epigraph is exactly the same as verses 2-4 of the Narasiṃha temple inscription of Viśvarūpa (No. 2 above), which, however, begins with a stanza in praise of the goddess Lakshmī. It appears that this inscription also was a *praśasti* composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi and that it recorded the erection of a temple by the same Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya. It is, however, difficult to say whether it was dated in the 15th year of Nayapāla like the Narasiṃha temple inscription.

4. Inscription affixed to the wall of a small shrine under the Akshaya-vaṭa at Gayā, recording the erection of the Prapitāmahēśvara and Vaṭeśa temples and other shrines by Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya in the 5th regnal year of the Pāla king Vighrahapāla (c. 1055-70 A.D.), i.e. about 1060 A.D. The *praśasti* was composed by *Vaidya* Dharmapāṇi. A rough transcript of the inscription with an illustration was published by Banerji, op. cit., pp. 81-82 and Plate XXVII.

5. Inscription in the Śitalā temple recording the pious activities of Yakshapāla without any date either in Yakshapāla's reign or in that of the contemporary Pāla emperor. It is a *praśasti* composed by the Brāhmaṇa Murāri belonging to the family hailing from Āgī-grāma and was

¹ R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), p. 95.

'written' by Padmapāṇi. The inscription was edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 63 ff., and transcribed and illustrated by R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 96-97 and Plate XXIX.

The text and translation of the Śitalā temple inscription of Yakshapāla published by Kielhorn contain some errors. The most important among the misreadings is that Kielhorn failed to read verses 2 and 12 correctly and recognise the name of the Akshaya-vaṭa in both the stanzas. A serious defect in Kielhorn's interpretation of the inscription concerns the passage describing Śūdraka in verse 3. This passage reads: *svayam=apūjayad=Indrakalpō Gauḍ-ēśvarō nṛipati-lakṣhaṇa-pūjayā yam*, and was translated as: "to him paid homage of his own accord the ruler of Gauḍa, almost equal to Indra, with homage fit for a lord of man." This creates an impression as if Śūdraka was a superior to the Gauḍa king. The appropriate translation of the section would be: "whom the lord of Gauḍa, almost equal to Indra, honoured of his own accord with the honour that was the mark of royalty." It is clear that Śūdraka was recognised as a ruling chief by the contemporary Pāla emperor of Gauḍa. The *nṛipati-lakṣhaṇa* was no doubt something like a *paṭṭa* (fillet or turban) or *tilaka* (a mark of sandal paste or some such thing put on the forehead of the subordinate by his master) and reminds us of the passage *tushṭa-bhūpāla-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-vibhūṣita* used in respect of the *Rājasthānīyas* (viceroys or feudatory rulers).¹

Although the recognition of Śūdraka as the subordinate ruler of Gayā meant very little to the Pāla emperor, Kielhorn's translation has influenced most writers on the history of the Pālas. Thus R.D. Banerji quotes Kielhorn's transcript of Yakshapāla's record and asserts, "Most probably Yakshapāla assumed independence during the troublesome (sic) times of the reign of Vighrahapāla III, Mahipāla II and Śūrapāla."² H. C. Ray refers to the Gauḍa king's 'homage' to Śūdraka and to the epithets *nṛipa* and *narēndra* applied respectively to Viśvarūpa (Viśvāditya) and Yakshapāla and concludes, "The assumption of royal titles by Viśvāditya and his son Yakshapāla of Gayā shows that the Pāla hold even over Magadha was growing loose. It is likely that this family became practically independent after the death of Rāmapāla (c. 1126 A.D. according to Ray)."³ This is all imaginary since the words *nṛipa* and *narēndra* would suit even a small Zamindar during the period in question. Even R.C. Majumdar, who rightly thinks that 'the lord of Gauḍa formally honoured Śūdraka by investing him as king with proper ceremony', also refers to Viśvarūpa's epithet *nṛipa* and to the absence of the date in the regnal reckoning of the contemporary Pāla king in Yakshapāla's inscription and concludes, "A study of these four inscriptions (i.e. Nos. 1-2 and 4-5) shows the gradual decline of the Pāla power in the Gayā District during the reigns of Nayapāla and Vighrahapāla III. Thus towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the fabric of the Pāla sovereignty was crumbling to dust."⁴ Of course, the records of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya are dated in the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla and the 5th year of the reign of Vighrahapāla III, while the inscription of Yakshapāla does not bear any date at all. It is, however, significant that Yakshapāla does not date his record in a year of his own reign as an independent ruler is expected to do. We therefore find it difficult to come to the conclusion that Yakshapāla threw off the yoke of the Pālas, even if it is conceded that reference to the date was purposely avoided in his epigraph and that its absence is not due to oversight on the part of the author of the *praśasti*.

Another fact that has to be considered in this connection is that, about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., Magadha appears to have been under the rule of a line of chiefs styled *Pīṭhīpati* (lord of *Pīṭhī* or the *Vajrāsana-pīṭha* at Bodhgaya) which is explained in the commentary on Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* as *Maḡadhādhīpa* (i.e. the lord of Magadha or South Bihar)

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1.

² Op. cit., p. 97.

³ *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 348.

⁴ *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, p. 149

and that they appear to have had their headquarters at Bodhgaya. Elsewhere,¹ we had occasion to discuss what we know of these rulers. The *Pīṭhīpati*=*Magadhādhipa* Bhīmayaśas was a feudatory of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1080-1125 A.D.)² and helped the latter in ousting Kaivarta Bhīma's rule from North Bengal apparently during the earlier part of Rāmapāla's reign. Rāmapāla's maternal uncle and general Mahāṇa, the Rāshtrakūṭa governor of Aṅga (East Bihar) and the commander of the Pāla forces against Kaivarta Bhīma, is described in the *Rāmācharita* as the vanquisher of *Pīṭhīpati* Dēvarakshita who appears to have been a predecessor of Bhīmayaśas in the rule of Magadha.³ The Sarnath inscription⁴ of Kumaradēvī informs us that Mahāṇa's daughter Śaṅkarādēvī was given in marriage to *Pīṭhīpati* Dēvarakshita, son of *Pīṭhikāpati* (*Pīṭhīpati*) Vallabharāja, and that Śaṅkarādēvī's daughter Kumaradēvī was married to Gāhaḍavāla Gōvinda-chandra (1114-55 A.D.) of Kanauj. Thus Dēvarakshita was a contemporary of Mahāṇa who was an earlier contemporary of Rāmapāla and probably ruled about the eighth decade of the eleventh century. His father Vallabharāja's rule therefore may be roughly assigned to about the seventh decade of that century when Rāmapāla's father Vīgrahapāla III (c. 1048-75 A.D.)⁵ and Yakshapāla of Gayā were also ruling. If the *Pīṭhīpatīs* Vallabharāja and his son Dēvarakshita were the scions of the Chhinda family, as has been supposed by some scholars,⁶ their ancestors were also probably ruling from their headquarters at Bodhgaya like themselves. It would further appear that these chiefs having their headquarters at Bodhgaya were far more powerful rulers than the minor chiefs of Gayā and, considering the fact that Gayā and Bodhgaya are only about seven miles apart, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Brāhmaṇa rulers of Gayā were directly under the *Pīṭhīpatīs* of Bodhgaya.

As regards the family to which the Gayā rulers belonged, M. Chakravarti regarded it as low class Brāhmaṇa⁷ while A. K. Maitreya seems to suggest that its members were high class Brāhmaṇas.⁸ This difference is based on the different interpretations of the expression *mahādvijarāja-vamśa* used in the description of Paritōsha in verse 4 of the Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription (No. 1). Although the expression may mean 'a family of great Brāhmaṇas' or 'a great family of Brāhmaṇas', if we rely on the tradition, *Śaṅkhē tailē tathā māṁsē vaidyē jyautishikē dvijē | yātrāyām pathi nidrāyām mahach-chhabdō na dīyatē*, the expression *mahā-dviija* would mean 'a degraded Brāhmaṇa' such as the Agradāni-Brāhmaṇas of Bengal, who accept offerings at *śrāddha* ceremonies.⁹ It is therefore not impossible that Paritōsha was a Gayāla Brāhmaṇa, the Gayālas being regarded as of a lower status by high class Brāhmaṇas of Eastern India because they live on presents made in connection with *śrāddha* ceremonies performed at Gayā which is considered as the most suitable

¹ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 80-81.

² Rāmapāla's son Madanapāla ruled in c. 1144-61 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142) and was preceded on the throne by his brother Kumārapāla (none of whose records has as yet been discovered) and Kumārapāla's son Gōpala III to whom the Rajibpur inscription of year 14 is ascribed (above, Vol. XXXV, p. 230). Since Rāmapāla's latest known date is his regnal year 42 (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1635), his rule may thus be roughly assigned to 1080-1125 A.D.

³ Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, p. 339, note.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 321 ff.

⁵ Vīgrahapāla III, father of Rāmapāla, was a later contemporary of Kalachuri Karna (1041-71 A.D.) who fought with Vīgrahapāla's father Nayapāla and gave his daughter in marriage to Vīgrahapāla. The latest known date of Vīgrahapāla III is the year 26 of his reign. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 52. Since Rāmapāla was preceded on the throne by his two brothers Mahipāla II and Śūrapāla II, no records of whose rules have so far been discovered, we may tentatively assign the reign of Vīgrahapāla III to 1048-75 A.D.

⁶ *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, p. 25.

⁷ *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, Part i, p. 191; cf. Banerji, op. cit., p. 77.

⁸ *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, pp. 116-17 (translation of verses 4-5).

⁹ Cf. *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *mahābrāhmaṇa*. This work does not enter the other expressions involved and wrongly ascribes the convention to the grammarians of Pāṇini's school. Pandit D. Bhattacharya of Calcutta draws my attention in this connection to Śrīpatidatta's *Kūtantrapariśiṣṭa*. The Agradānis are similar to the Achārajā- (Achārya)-Brāhmaṇas of U. P. and the Punjab.

tīrtha for the celebration of such rites. This is not impossible in view of the fact that nowhere in the inscriptions the proficiency in Vedic studies of any of the members of this family is mentioned nor even their *gōtra*. On the other hand, the Akshaya-vaṭa inscription (No. 4) mentions Paritōsha as respected by the Brāhmaṇas and as devoted to the feet of the Brāhmaṇas without mentioning that he was a Brāhmaṇa himself. The poet of the Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription therefore may have used expressions like *mahā-dvijarāja-vaṁśa* and *dvija-rāja-śekhara* (verse 5) purposely. This latter expression may mean 'the best of the Brāhmaṇas' and also 'one who is highly respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas'.

1. Inscription of Viśvāditya, Year 15 of Nayapāla

The inscription is 71 cms. in length and 3 cms. in height and contains 18 lines of writing. It begins with the *siddham* symbol and the *umaskāra*: *ō namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya*, which are followed by twentyone stanzas of the *praśasti*.

Verse 1 is in adoration of the god Viṣṇu while verse 2 refers to **Gayā**, 'the open door to salvation,' as the residence of the god Prajāpati (Brahman). The next stanza (verse 3) describes Gayā as a great centre of Vedic studies and sacrifices.

Verse 4 introduces a Brāhmaṇa family of Gayā, which is described as *mahā-dvija-rāja-vaṁśa*, probably meant to indicate 'the family of great Brāhmaṇas' or 'the great family of Brāhmaṇas' ostensibly, but 'the family of degraded Brāhmaṇas' really. The following stanza (verse 5) mentions a person named **Paritōsha** born in the said family. He is compared to Śiva and both are described as *dvijarāja-śekhara* meaning 'having the moon on the head' in the case of the god and 'the best of the Brāhmaṇa rulers' or 'one who is respectful towards great Brāhmaṇas' in that of the man. Verse 6 is in praise of Paritōsha while verse 7 mentions his son **Śūdraka** whose vague praise continues in verses 7-8. It seems that the expression *dvijavara* in verse 7 does not refer to Śūdraka as a Brāhmaṇa.

Verse 9 introduces the reigning chief **Viśvāditya** (i.e. Viśvarūpa as he is often called in the other records) as the son of Śūdraka. Verses 10-16 contain vague praises of Viśvāditya with reference to his qualities such as munificence and heroism, while verse 17 states that he built the temple (*kīrtana*) of the god Janārdana (Kṛishṇa-Viṣṇu; cf. verse 17 of No. 4). The next stanza (verse 18) describes the said temple.

Verse 19 mentions *Vāji-caṇḍya* Sahadēva as the author of the *praśasti* and verse 20 the artisan Sattha-sōma, the son of Adhipa-sōma, as its engraver. The last stanza (verse 21) gives the date of the completion of the temple (*kīrti*) as the **fifteenth year** of the reign of **Nayapāladēva**.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 4, 17 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 2-3, 8-11, 13, 18 *Śāridūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5-6 *Vaṁśastha* ; verse 7 *Āryā* ; verse 12 *Śikharinī* ; verse 14 *Upajīti* (*Rathōlḥatā-Snīgatī*) ; verse 15 *Jagatī* ; verse 16 *Lālīnī* ; verse 19 *Svāgutā* ; verse 20 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 21 *Upajīti*.]

1 Siddham² Ō namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya || Unnidra-nīla-kamalākara-kāya-kāntiḥ svarṇa-ābhirāma-ruchira-dyuti-pītavāsāḥ | udbhāsyamāna iṣa chañchalayā ghaṇ-aughō Viṣṇuḥ priyā-dvaya-varēṇa yunaktu yushmān || [1*]

¹ From inked impression. This is No. B 135 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58.

² Expressed by symbol.

- 2 Vyānirmāya samasta-vastu-sukhinō viprān=prajānām patir=yām=adhyāsta iv=ātmān=aiva paritō mūrtti-prapañchaṁ dadhat | uttuṅgaiḥ śarad-abhra-śubhra-śuchibhiḥ saudhaiḥ kṛit-ālaṅkṛitir=mmōksha-dvāram=anarggalam ja-
- 3 gati sā śrīmad-**Gayā** gīyatē || [2*] Vēd-ābhyāsa-parāyaṇa-dvija-gaṇ-ōdgīraṇ-ōgra-pāṭha-kramād=uchchair=uchcharita-dhvani-vyatikarair=yatn-āvadhāryā girah | kiñch=ājasrita-hōma-dhūma-paṭa[la]-dhvānt-āvṛitau sāmpratam dharmmō
- 4 yatramahā-bhayād-iva Kalēḥ kālasya samtiśṭhatē || [3*] Aty-ādṛitair=guṇa-nayai[r=upa]-nīta-padmā¹-niśchhadma-sadmani satām [sata]t-ābhivandyē² | nīhāra-hāra-śarad-indu-vivu(bu)ddha-kunda-sandōha-sundara-mahā-dvijarāja-vañśē(vamśe)
- 5 || [4*] Ajāta-lakshma-dvijarāja-śēkharah samantatō bhūri-vibhūti-bhūṣaṇah | va(ba)bhūva dhanyō Giri[r]āja-putrikā-priy-ōpamēyah **Paritōsha**-samjñakah || [5*] Ananya-sāmānya-diganta-mandiraiḥ(rais)=tri-vargga-samsarggi-guṇ-ā-
- 6 śrayair=jagan(gat) | śarat-sudhādhāma-gabhasti-taskaraiḥ samantatō yasya yaśōbhir=āvṛitam(tam) || [6*] Dvijavara-vinat-ānandana-niranya-gatikah samāśri[t]ō lakshmyā | tasya tad-anu tanu-janmā Muraripur=iva **Śūdrakō** bhūtaḥ || [7*]
- 7 Dūr-ōdyāta-śarat-sudhānidhi-sudhā-kun[d-ā]bhīrāma-chehhavi-chehhāyais=[chha]nnam=a-[bhūd=ya]śōbhir=abhitō yasya [tr]ilōkītalām(lam) | karpūrain=iva pūri[tam] malayaja-kshōdair=iv=ālēpitam kshuvdha(bdha)-kshīra-payōdhi-tuṅga-laharī-lēhair=iv=āplā-
- 8 vitam(tam) || [8*] Satyam Dharmmasutē sthīratvam=achalē [gā]mbhīryam=ambhōnidhau [Karṇē tyā]ga-guṇō³ matiḥ Suragurau tējasvitā bhāsvati | ētē santi guṇāḥ prithak=param=udañchadbhir=jigīṣhā-rasair=**Vviśvādityam**=ajījanat=sutam=a-
- 9 sāv=ēbhiḥ samastaiḥ śritam(tam) || [9*] Yas=tāp-āntakarah sudhānidhir=iv=āp[ūrṇa]ḥ kālānām gaṇair=yas=tuṅg-ābhyuday-āśritō ravir=iva praudha-pratāp-ōdayah | pratyantaḥ-karaṇ-ābhivāñchhita-phal-ājasra-pradāna-śribhiḥ ślisṭō
- 10 jaṅgama-kalpavṛiksha iva yō jātaḥ samast-ārthīnām(nām) || [10*] Dūr-daṇḍa-dvaya-chaṇḍa-vikrama-ka[sā-digvā]ji-sau(śau)ry-ādbhuta-kṛīḍ-ōnmūlita-vairi-vargga-vipina-praudha-prarū[dh-ōda?]yah⁴ | vāry-ālīshu yath=āvdhī(bdhi)r=āpadi tathā pravya-
- 11 kta-dhairya-kramah kiñ=cha prākṛita-sarvva-garvva-vimukhāḥ sampatsv=analpā[sv=a]pi || [11*] [Samā]nō⁵ vyāsa[ūgō] visadṛīsa-samāchāra-vikalō janō madyēn=ēva skhalanam=upahāsañ=cha bhajatē | iyam sā yasya śrīḥ samuchita-vi-
- 12 lās-ābhyudayinī yath-ārth-ālaṅkārah samadhika-jan-ānanda-vishayah || [12*] Yasy=ā —
 ∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ ∪⁶-mahī-paryanta-samvā(samvā)sibhir=nṛity-ārambha-vijṛimbhaṇ-ōddhata-bhujair=udgīyamānā janaiḥ | s-ānand-ōtpulakam vi-
- 13 mānam=asakṛid=dēvair=vvilamvya(mby=a)mva(mba)rē⁷ ślāghā-ghūrṇita-mūrdhabhir=nyapabhayam⁸ kīrttiḥ samākarnṇyatē || [13*] S-ābhyasūya-paritōsha-lēśatō vikṣitāni śanakaiḥ sa-kaṭākshaṁ(ksham) | yasya vidvid-anukūla-kulāni prāpnuvanti nidha-
- 14 nāni dhanāni || [14*] Ninadanti danti-vara-hanti yāni kuchitāni tāni [su]dur-unnayāni | atimanda-mandam=atigahvarāsu nivasanti santi giri-kandarāsu || [15*] Samtatēna tatēna tējasā durnnayasya nayasya vidvi-

¹ Chakravarti reads *uru-nīla-padma*. Maitreya takes *uru-nīla-padma* to mean *Mahānīlasarasvatī*.

² Chakravarti reads *sukṛit-ābhimarśyē*.

³ Chakravarti reads *va(ba)hv-āścharya-guṇā*.

⁴ Chakravarti reads *praudha-pratāp-ārunah*.

⁵ Chakravarti reads *Śriy=ānya*.

⁶ Chakravarti reads *°kṛittrima-mēdur-āśrita*.

⁷ Chakravarti reads *vilamb-āmbarē*.

⁸ Chakravarti reads *°nīpatitam*.

- 15 shān(shām) | ākulāni kulāni durggamād=durggatāni gatāni durggamam(mam) || [16*] Sapt-
 āmvu(mbu)rāśi-visara¹-ślatha- mēkhalāyā asyā bhuvah kati na bhūmibhujō va(ba)bhūvuh
 | siddhim na kasyachid=agād=yad=analpa-kalpais=tēn=ātra kīrttanam= akā-
- 16 ri Janārdanasya || [17*] Kailās-āchala-śrīnga-sambhramam= adhaḥ-kurvātprarūdh-ōdaya-
 prālēya-dyuti-kunda-sundara-yaśaḥ-puñj-ōpamēy-ākṛiti | yatr=ōttuṅga-śikh-āgra-saṅga-
 ta-śarach-chandrāṅsu(ndr-āṁsu)-śubhra-śribhir=mmuñchan=nūtana-mañjarī=iva patā-
- 17 kābhir=nnabhō rājatē || [18*] Vāji-vaidya-Sahadēva-niruktiḥ² tat-praśastir=iyam=astu
 nitāntam(ntam) | prēma-sauhṛida-sukh-aika-dharitrī sajjanasya hṛidayē ramaṇ=īva ||
 [19*] Śrīmatō='dhipa-sōmasya³ ātmajēn=ārjitam yaśaḥ | u-
- 18 tkīrṇṇa-karmmaṇi śrīmat-Saṭṭha⁴-sōmēna śilpinā || [20*] Samasta-bhūmaṇḍala-rājya-bhā-
 ram=āvi(bi)bhrati śrī-Nayapāladēvē | vilikhyamānē **daśa-pañcha-saṁkhyā-samva-**
(saṁva)tsarē siddhim=agāch=cha kīrttiḥ || [21*]⁵ || ⁵ ||

2. Inscription of Viśvarūpa, Year 15 of Nayapāla

This inscription, which contains 15 lines of writing covering an area about 57 cms. in length and 25 cms. in height, begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a *praśasti* composed in thirteen verses. The first of the stanzas is in adoration of the goddess Lakshmī, the consort of the god Purushōttama (Vishṇu). Verse 2 mentions **Gayā**, created by the god Vēdhas (Brahman), as a *brahma-purī* probably in the sense of a settlement of Brāhmaṇas.

Verse 3 introduces an inhabitant of the place, by name **Paritōsha**. He is compared to Vishṇuratha (Garuḍa) both being described as *Achyuta-pāda-sēvin* (worshipper of the feet of Achyuta or Vishṇu) and *dviḥja-rāja-varya* meaning 'the best among the birds' in the case of Garuḍa and 'the best among Brāhmaṇas of the front rank' in that of Paritōsha. The person is thus mentioned as a Brāhmaṇa. Verse 4 speaks of Paritōsha's son **Śūdraka** who is stated to have protected (i.e. ruled over) **Gayā** for a long time by virtue of the prowess of his arms.

Śūdraka's son **Viśvarūpa** is introduced in verse 5 which compares him with the moon and Viśvarūpa (Vishṇu). Verses 6 and 8 contain vague praises of Viśvarūpa, while he is described in verse 7 as having raised up **Gayā** from the impurity of the Kali age.

Verse 9 refers to the temple of Gadādhara (Vishṇu) and other unspecified shrines which **Viśvarūpa** built at Gayā, while the next stanza (verse 10) prays for the long life of Viśvarūpa's temples at Gayā and of Viśvarūpa himself.

Verse 11 states that the *praśasti* was composed by *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi who was captivated by the munificence of Viśvarūpa to do the work and was full of regards for the ruler. It is difficult to say whether *Vaidya* Vajrapāṇi was related to *Vāji-vaidya* Sahadēva who composed the Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription (No. 1). The record is stated in verse 12 to have been 'written' by Sarvānanda who was an expert artisan. It is not easy to say whether Sarvānanda engraved the epigraph or merely wrote the letters on the stone for the facility of engraving. The concluding stanza (verse 13) gives the date of the record. It says that the *kīrti* or temple of Gadādhārīn (Gadādhara) was completed in the **fifteenth year** of the reign of king **Nayapāladēva**.

¹ Chakravarti reads *visarat*.

² Read *nirukti=tat*.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Chakravarti reads *Saṭṭu*.

⁵ There is an ornamental design here.

2. Inscription of Viśvarūpa, Year 15 of Nāvapāla

[The page contains handwritten Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from another page.]

Scale: One-third

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 3-8 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses , 2, 9-10, 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 11-12 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 Siddham² [||*] Lakshmīś=chirañ=ja[ya]ti vārinidhēr=anēka-manth-ākulād=adhigatā Puru-
shōttamasya | snihyat-tirōva[li]ta-sammada-ghūrṇama(mā)na-nētr-āvalōkana-nira-
[sta-sa]masta-vi[ghnā ||] [1*]
- 2 S=ēyam Vra(Bra)hma-purī Gay=ēti jagati khyātā svayām Vēdhasā sthātum vra(bra)hma-
vidām pur=īva ghaṭitā mōkshasya saukhyasya cha | vrū(brū)maḥ kiñ=cha bhavanti
ya[tra] pitarah prēt-ā-
- 3 lay-āvāsinah pāda-sprishṭa-jala-pradāna-vidhinā nāk-āṅganā-nāyakāḥ [||] [2*] Asyām va-
(ba)bhūva puri vakragati-dvijihva-sarppad-bhujaṅga-ripur=Achyuta-[pā]da-sēvī | yō
- 4 nāma Vishṇurathava³d=dvijarāja-varyah prītyā satām cha Paritōsha iti prasiddhah
|| [3*] Tasmād=Vidhēr=iva va(ba)bhūva Sanatkumārah śrī-Sū(Śū)drakō vimala-vu(bu)-
ddhi[r=anēka]-vidyah |
- 5 bhūyō=pi yēna Vidhin=aiva kṛitā Gay=ēyam vā(bā)hvōrva(r=ba)lēna suchiram paripālītā
cha || [4*] Tasmād=ajā[yata] sutah sutavad=dvijānām [yō=bhūt] su-vi[smaya-rasāvaha-
kautu]ka-⁴
- 6 ś=cha | viśv-āpakāraka-nirākṛitayō=vatīrṇah śrī-Viśvarūpa iti kīrttita-Viśvarūpah || [5*]
Yam prāpya ch=ārthi-jana-vṛindam=akalpa-dānam=āpur⁵=bhavat-pulaka-jālam=ana-
- 7 nta-mōdam(dam) | sphīti-sphurad-dhana-kṛitārthatayā durāpa-chintāmaṇi-pra[bhṛi]tikam
na kad=āpi dadhyau || [6*] Yēn=Āsurāri-charitēna mah-ōdayēna yānti rasātalam=i[v]=
āvani-
- 8 r=uddhṛit⁶=ēyam(yam |) śrīmad-Gayā Kali-mala-dvijarāja-paksha-samkshōbha-kampita-
tanur=bhuja-vikramōṇa || [7*] Yasmai viśuddha-charitāya nisagra(rga)-śau[cha-yō]ga-
[kri]yāya vi-
- 9 nay-āmala-bhūshaṇāya | ā vā(bā)lyataḥ prabhṛiti dēva-manushya-lōkō va(ba)ddh-āñjalīś=
chiratarām sprīhayāñchakāra || [8*] Tēn=ēmās=[tu] Gadādhara-ādi-nilaya-vyājēna tāḥ
kī⁷
- 10 kīrttayah śvētāñśō(tāñśō)r=iva rasma(śma)yah sughaṭitā[h*] santāpa-śāntyai sadā | yās=ch=
āmbhōnidhi-vīchi-vad=daśa-diśām prakshālan-aika-chechhaṭāḥ pā[tāla]-prativāsi-ghōra-
timi-
- 11 ra-pradhvansa(dhvansa)-dīpā iva || [9*] Ētāḥ santu Gayāpurī-sutaruṇi-bhūsh-āvali-kīrttayō
yāvach=chandra-divākarau cha gaganam(nē) śrī-Viśverūp-āhvayah | [ka]rtt=āsām
cha tathā pu-
- 12 rāṇa-purushān rājñō=pi dhikkṛitya tad(tān)=yēn=ākasmika-vismay-aika-rasikō lōkō muhur=
mūrchechhitah || [10*] Dākshīṇyād=uparuddhēna prīti-stimita-chētasā | praśastir=ē-

¹ From impressions. This is No. B 130 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ The *akshara* va is written above the line.

⁴ The unnecessary *daṇḍa* put at the end of the line here and elsewhere is ignored in our transcript.

⁵ Read *āpad*^o for *āpur*^o since the subject is in the singular or better read *āvīrbhavat* in place of *āpur-bavah*.

⁶ A redundant *i-mātrā* was incised with the *akshara* *ddhṛi*.

⁷ The *akshara* is redundant.

- 13 shā vihitā Vaidya-śrī-Vajrapāṇinā || [11*] Vijñāna-kausal-ōllāsa-jāta-naipuṇa-karmmaṇā |
praśastir=ēshā likhitā Sarvvānandēna dhīmatā || [12*] Kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-mēkha-
- 14 lā-maṇi-guṇ-ālanikāritāyā bhuvō bharttuḥ śrī-Nayapālādē[va]-nṛipatēr=ājñā-śrī-
yaṁ vi(bi)bhrataḥ | saṁvṛittē taras=aiva pañchadaśamē rājyasya samva(sarhva)-
tsarē kīrttiḥ siddhim=upāgatā bhagavata[h*]
- 15 ¹śrīmad-Gadādhārīṇaḥ || [13*]²

3. Fragmentary Inscription

Only the first five lines of this inscription are available with some traces of the writing at the beginning of line 6. Some letters in the central part of the fifth line are lost. The available section of the inscription contains, besides the *namaskāra*, three complete stanzas and parts of verse 4. As already indicated above, verse 1 is in adoration of the Sun-god and verses 2-4 are the same as verses 2-4 of the *praśasti* by Vaidya Vajrapāṇi commemorating the construction of the temple of Gadādhara or Gadādhārīn by Viśvarūpa in the fifteenth regnal year of Nayapāla (No. 2). But, while there is no *namaskāra* passage in prose at the beginning of that inscription, the present epigraph begins with ' Ō. Obeisance to Mārtaṇḍa (i.e. the Sun-god) '.

As suggested above, apparently the same Vaidya Vajrapāṇi composed this *praśasti* to commemorate the building of a temple or the installation of a deity by Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya who, as the two forms of his name suggest, was probably a devotee of both the gods Viṣṇu and the Sun. It may be pointed out that the inscription of his son begins with adoration to the Sun-god and records, among other pious deeds, the construction of a temple for housing several deities including Maunāditya and Vijayāditya, probably two aspects of the said god. It is thus possible to infer from the present record beginning with an adoration to the Sun-god that its object was to record the construction of a temple by Viśvarūpa alias Viśvāditya for the said god. In this connection, reference may be made to the god Śukla-bhānu (literally, ' the white sun') in verse 19 of the Akshayaṇa inscription of Viśvarūpa (No. 4).

TEXT³

[Metres : verse 1 *Indravajrā* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 3-4 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 Ō namō Mārtaṇḍāya | Jāgartti yasminn=uditē prayāti ch=āstan=tu sētē janatā samastā |
trailōkya-dīpaṁ tam=ananta-mūrttim=avyāhat-ābhaṁ
- 2 śaraṇaṁ prayātā | [1*] S=ēyaṁ vra(bra)hma-purī Gay=ēti jagati khyātā svayaṁ Vēdhasā
sthātum vra(bra)hma-vidāṁ pur¹=īva ghaṭitā mōkshasya saukhyasya cha |
- 3 vru(brū)maḥ kiṁ=cha bhavanti yatra pitarah prēt-ālay-āvāsinaḥ pāda-sprishṭa-jala-pradāna
vidhinā nāk-āṅganā-nāyakāḥ [2*] Asyaṁ va(ba)-
- 4 bhūva purī vakra-gati-dvijihva-sarppad-bhujaṅga-rīpur=Achyuta pāda-sēvī | yō nāma
Viṣṇuratha-vad=dviija-rāja-varyaḥ prītyā satām cha Pa-

¹ The following passage is engraved below the concluding part of the previous line.

² There is a floral design after this.

³ From the facsimile in Banerji's *The Pālas of Bengal*, Plate XXXI(c).

⁴ Pu has got an unnecessary ā-mātrā.

5 **ritōsha** iti prasiddhaḥ || [3*] Tasmād=Vidhēr=iva va(ba)bhūva ◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ —
vimala-vu(bu)ddhir=a-nēka-vidyaḥ | bhūyō=pi yēna Vidhi

6 — ◡◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — — —² [||4*]

4. Fragmentary Inscription of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya, Year 5 of Vighrahapāla

The inscription contains 26 lines of writing ; but a number of letters are lost from the concluding part of all of them excluding the last two lines. The extant part of the record covers an area about 68 cms. in length and 59 cms. in height. It begins with the passage *Ō namaḥ Śivāya* which is followed by twentythree verses forming a *praśasti*. Verse 1, which is damaged, seems to contain a prayer for the purification of the people from sin by the kind heart of Śiva.]

✓ Verse 2 speaks of the creation of the **Gayā tīrtha** by the god Abjajanman, i.e. Brahman, while the next stanza (verse 3) mentions a person named **Paritōsha** who lived there. He is stated to have been respected by the *dviḥjas* (Brāhmaṇas) and seems to have been devoted to the feet of the Brāhmaṇas. He is here not clearly stated to have been a Brāhmaṇa himself. ✓

Verse 4 describes Paritōsha's son **Sūdraka** and the following stanza (verse 5) introduces Sūdraka's son **Viśvarūpa**. Verses 6-13 describe this **Viśvarūpa** who was the ruler of **Gayā**. His name occurs in verses 9 and 13 and verse 11 seems to refer to him as **Aramabharāma**. [Verse 14 tells us how the said chief built and rebuilt the temple (*kīrti*) of the god Prapitāmahēśvara and verses 15-16 continue the description of the glory of **Viśv-ādhipa** (i.e. Viśvarūpa). Verse 17 mentions a number of deities such as Gāthēśa, Kanakēśvara, Ambujabhava (Brahman, probably the same as Prapitāmahēśvara), Viśvarūpēśvara (apparently named after the chief Viśvarūpa), Gaṅgēśa, Gadādharma, Śukla-bhānu, Griddhrēśa, Sujanārdana (i.e. Janārdana ; cf. verse 17 of No. 1) and Vaṭēśa at **Akshaya-vaṭa** (i.e. near the Akshaya-vaṭa). Verse 18 seems to suggest that the temples of the said gods at **Gayā** were built or repaired by **Viśvarūpa**. Verse 19 again refers to the Prapitāmahēśvara temple and verses 20 and 21 to the chief mentioned as **Viśv-ādhipa** (Viśvarūpa) and **Viśvarūpa** respectively. ✓

✓ Verse 22 refers to the **fifth year** of the reign of king **Vighrahapāla** probably as the date of the record or of the completion of the Prapitāmahēśvara temple while the concluding stanza (verse 23) states that the *praśasti* was composed by *Vaidya Dharmapāṇi* who was a friend or subordinate of **Viśvāditya** (i.e. Viśvarūpa). ✓ *Vaidya Dharmapāṇi* was very probably related to *Vaidya Vajrapāṇi*, the author of the Narasimha temple inscription (No. 2). ✓

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 16, *Śikharinī* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 4, 7, 11 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 5-6, 8-10, 12-15, 17-22 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 23 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

1 Ō namaḥ Śivāya || Dayā-bhāṇḍāgāraṁ niravadhi-jagad-dōsha-vijayi sphuraj-jñāna-jyōtiḥ-
prasara-nihata-dhvānta-nichayaṁ || (yam |) kim=apy=antaḥ-śāntaṁ sahaja-sukha-pīyūsha-
laha[rī] ◡ — — — — ◡

* The lost letters are found in No. 2 as *Sanatkumārah śrī-Sūdrakō*.

* The lost letters are °n=aiva kṛitā Gay=ēyam bāhvōr=balēna suchiram paripālita cha. of which traces of the first few are seen in the facsimile.

* From impressions.

- 2 ra¹-hṛidayam=aṅghō haratu vaḥ || [1*] Āsandhāy=ākalankān= p[r]ativapusha iva Vrā(Brā)-hmanān=Avja(hja)janmā svargga-dvār-ādhirōhāma(n=a)m[r]ita-pada-sukha-prā[pta]yē prētya-bhājāḥ(jaḥ) | sākshāt=samsāra-bhūshā-[ma] ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ —
- 3 śrāma²-bhūmim śasvat=trailōkya-lakshmī-nilayam=iva pu[rīm] śrī-Gayām=ēsha chakrē || [2*] Gayāyām=ētasyām puri sakala-saundarya-nilayē(yō) [d]vijātīnam mānyō [dvija-pada]-sarōj-āva ◡ ◡ — [1*] ◡ — —
- 4 ma-prēmṇā parama-paritōshasya janamā(nā)d=abhūd=dhanyaḥ śrīmān=sa khalu Paritōsh-āhvaya iti || [3*] Tasmād=abhūj=jalanidhēr=iva śītaraśmīḥ śrī-Sū(Śū)[dra]kō vimala-kāntir=ananta-lakshmī³ — — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡
- 5 karṇṇa-sudh-ābhirāmam=ānanditāni yaśasā bhuvan-āntarāṇi || [4*] Āsādy=[ā]mararāja-rājya-padavīm dēvibhīr=ākrīditam divy-ātmatvam=anaṅga-darppa-dalan-ōdgār-aika-mōdam vapu⁴ — — — ◡ ◡ —
- 6 rtti⁵-kautuka-rasān=marṭtyē=’vatirṇṇas=tatō jātō dēva-kumāra-mūrttir=asamaḥ śrī-Viśvarūp-āhvayaḥ || [5*] [Yō] vidhvasta-samasta-vairi-nivahaḥ sphūrya(rja)t-pratāp-ānalaḥ saujanya-sya nidhāna — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — —
- 7 ma-kēli-drumaḥ | sā[ndr-ā]nanda-mayō nisargga-madhura-vyāhāra-ra[tnā]karō dīn-ānātha-vipanna-chāraṇa-ga[ṇa]-trā[nā]ya Chintāmaṇiḥ || [6*] Gaṇḍasthalē mṛigamad-āmala-pattra-bhaṅgān=svaira[m] ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ ◡
- 8 lēkhanībhiḥ | ady=āpi yasya sura-kinnara-gīyamānām dēvyāḥ śilāsu vijaya-stutim=ālikhanti || [7*] Dha[r]mm[ē]ṇ=ōtsva(chchhva)sitam mudā vihasivam(tam) sa[l*]-lōka-maryādayā trayyā visphuritām ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — —
- 9 [r]ttibhi⁶r=jjrimbhitam(tam) | yasminā(smin) svāmini [sar]vvataḥ samudayē tē=py=arthinaḥ s-ādbhutam sāndr-ā[na]ndamayāḥ sva-dainya-virahān=nṛityanti pūrṇṇ-āśayāḥ || [8*] N=ōchchais=chaṇḍa-karō na ch=āpi vigata — — ◡ — — ◡
- 10 tē n=āstam yāti jaḍ-ātmabhiḥ pratihatō n=ānyair=apū[rvv-ōdbha]vaḥ [1*] kiñ=ch=[āprēma]-vimā[na]saḥ pratimuhur=nn=āpy=asthirō na grahī n=aiv=āsaṅga-digamva(mba)r=aika-niratō yō Viśvarūpaḥ ◡ —⁷ [1*] — — — ◡
- 11 marādhipō⁸=pi chakitō Vra(Bra)hm=āpi yad=vismitō dēvō Vishṇur=api sphuṭam vihasitō Rudrō=pi rōmāñchitaḥ | uddāma-[pra]sarat-prasanna-va(ba)halē yat-kī[rtt]i-kallōlinī gambhīr-āmbhasi ma[jja] — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — —
- 12 p[i] sanvō(bō)dhitāḥ | [10*] Yad=d[u]rggamaṁ sarati dūratarām durāpam yach=chētas=āpi na dhṛitam padam=ēkam=ā[sīt |] siddha[m] samastam=achir-āhata-vat=tad=asyām=Arāmbharāma iti yaḥ sphuṭatām=upē[ta]ḥ || [11*] Asyām — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡
- 13 yām dharmēṇa maryādayā rājya-śrībhir=alamkṛitāḥ punar=amī bhōg-aikadhā-v[ṛitta]yaḥ | n=āpu[r-ddhā]ma nisargga-[va]rṇṇa-va(ba)hala[s=tyāg]-ōdayēn=ādbhutaḥ śrī-Viśvādhīpa ēsha kīrttana-kathā — — ◡ — — ◡ —

¹ The intended word here may be Śankara or Gaṅgādhara.

² Possibly the word is viśrāma.

³ The original had apparently lakshmīḥ | here.

⁴ Apparently vapuḥ | was engraved here.

⁵ Probably the intended word is kīrtti.

⁶ The intended word may be sat-kīrttibhi^o.

⁷ Probably kṛitī, sudhīḥ or khagaḥ was the intended word.

⁸ Apparently amar-ādhipō is the intended expression.



5. Inscription of Yakshapāla

2	ममप्राप्तं तत्रैव देवीदेवतायाः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		2
4	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		4
6	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		6
8	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		8
10	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		10
12	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		12
14	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		14
16	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		16
18	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		18
20	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		20
22	पद्मसुधातनयः कनकसुयाजितो जगन्नाथः पद्मसुधातनयः सदा सागराग्रासकः पद्मसुधातनयः		22

Scale : One-third

- 14 || [12*] Kīrttir=[la]vdhā(bdha)-sa(su)visma[y-ā]kara ॐ —¹ s=tyāgō=pi śaury-ōdayau(yō)
m[ū]rtti-śrīr=api rā[jas]i [pa]rikha(ga)t[ē] dha[rmē]=pi ya[d-gau]ravaḥ | nirvyūḍhiḥ
punar=īdriśi bhavati kim śrī-Viśvarūpāddhri(d=ri)tē rēkh=ēva pratipa ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — — —
- 15 yath=aish=ādbhutā || [13*] Asy=aiva Prapitāmahasya mahatīm=[u]tthāpya kīrttim [varām]
[tan-mā]dhy-ādriḍhatā[m*] pratītya na chirād=ā[nū]tanah(nam) sō(śō)dhitā | uddhṛity=
ātha nisargga-dharma-niratō yō — ॐ — — ॐ — — — —
- 16 sa va(ba)lēna siddhim=anayat=tām=ēva kīrtti[m] punaḥ || [14*] Kim vrū(brū)mō guṇinō=pi
sadma navam=[āstē] samyatasya stu[ti(tē)s=ta]sy=āyōdha-guṇasya n=āsti maha[ta]ḥ
paryanta-bhū-samstarah | kin=ta — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — —
- 17 rāsiḥ sa **Viśv-ādhipō** yēn=ākasmika-vismayēna mukharō lōkah ka[tha][m*] vā[g]-ya[ma]ḥ ||
[15*] Yad=ēkānta[m*] divyair=mṛidubhir=atichitrair=nnivasanaiḥ sphurad-dhār-āsāram
visṛija ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — — [1*] ॐ — — — —
- 18 vy-āmva(mba)ra-ruchira-vṛiṣṭirvva(r=bba)humatō jagad-dāridry-āgni-prasamana-sudhā-
sāndra-jaladah || [16*] Gāthēsah Kanakēsvarō=mvu(mbu)jabhavaḥ śrī-Viśvarūpēsvarō
Gaṁgēsō=tha śa — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — [1*] — — —
- 19 tya-[Ga]dādharaḥ suvihataḥ śrī-Śuklabhānus=tathā Griddhrēsah su-Janārdanō=**kshayavatē**
dēvō Vaṭēs-āhvayaḥ || [17*] Ity-ādyah s[v]a-manō-nurūpa=rachanā-rēkhā ॐ — — ॐ — — —
— ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — —
- 20 jī² nripaḥ | yēn=ātyadbhuta-vikramēna tarasā śrīmad=**Gayā**-maṇḍanā ā=samsāram=
udagra-dharma-vijaya-stambhā iv=ārōpitāḥ || [18*] Tēn=ā[p]i ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — —
ॐ — — ॐ — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ
- 21 lā vasumatī-hār-āval=iv=ādbhutā | kīrttiḥ śvētagabhasti-hasta-rachit=ēva dhvratihā³ rā-
jatām dēvasya Prapitāmahasya mahatī śrī-[Vi]⁴ ॐ — — ॐ — — [19*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ —
ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — —
- 22 [tī]nām=adhipās=tath=aiva dhaninaḥ kimvā(kim vā) va(ba)hu vrū(brū)mahē | kin=tv=
īdriḥ=yadi kīrttanam bhagavataḥ kēn=āpi nishpāditam śrī-Viśv-ādhi⁵ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — —
— ॐ — — ॐ — — [20*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ
- 23 [sa]ḥ svarggāya mōksh-āptayē yāvach=chandra-divākarau Surasarid=dhātrī nabhō-maṇḍ-
alam(lam) | karttum kīrtti-kadamva(mba)kasya vijayī śrī-**Viśvarūp-āhvay[ō]** — — —
— ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — [21*] — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ —⁶
- 24 [ma]ṇi-[guṇ-ālam]kāritāyā bhuvō bharttur=**Vigrahapāladēva**-nripatēr=ājñā(jñā)-śriyam vi-
(bi)bhrataḥ || samprāptē taras=aiva **pañcha-gaṇitē rājyasya samva(samva)tsa⁷**
— — — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ — — ॐ — — [22*]

¹ These two syllables were omitted through oversight.

² The intended expression may be *sat-kīrtti-bhājī*.

³ The intended word seems to be *dhvāntahā*.

⁴ The word here seems to be *Viśvarūpa*.

⁵ The word here seems to be *Viśv-ādhipa*.

⁶ The first eight syllables of the stanza may have been *kshīr-āmbhōnidhi-mēkhakā* as in the *Gayā* inscription of the fifteenth regnal year of Nāyapāla, which the author has imitated in writing verses 22-23.

⁷ The intended word is apparently *vatsarē*.

25 ¹**Viśvāditya**-guṇ-ōtka[r]sha-prīti-stimita-chētasā |

26 praśastir=vihitā ch=aishā Vaidya-śrī-Dharmma[pā]ṇi[nā] || [23*]

5. Inscription of Yakshapāla

The inscription, containing 22 lines of writing and covering an area about 44 cms. in length and 31 cms. in height, begins with the *maṅgala* : *Ō namaḥ Sūryāya*, which is followed by 14 verses constituting a *praśasti*. There is reference to the person who 'wrote' the inscription in a passage in prose occurring at the end of the document.

Verse 1 is in adoration of the Sun-god. It is interesting to note that, though the *maṅgala* at the beginning and verse 1 of the record refer to the Sun-god, the object of the inscription was to record the erection of a temple for several deities as well as some other pious activities of Yakshapāla (cf. verse 12). But Maunāditya, mentioned at the head of the list of the deities, was probably an image of the Sun-god. The said list of deities contains also a second name ending in the word *āditya*, viz. Vijayāditya.

Verse 2 refers to the flights of steps for reaching [the bed of] the **Phalgu** and [the trunk of] the **Vaṭa** (i.e. the Akshaya-vaṭa) at **Gayā**. In this verse, Kielhorn wrongly read *Phalgu-taṭa* (i.e. the bank of the Phalgu river) in place of *Phalgu-Vaṭa* (i.e. the Phalgu and the Vaṭa). Verse 3 mentions a heroic resident of Gayā, named **Śūdraka** who was honoured by the king of **Gauḍa** with the insignia of royalty (*nṛipati-lakṣaṇa*), i.e. acknowledged him as the subordinate ruler of Gayā. Paritōsha, father of Śūdraka, is not mentioned in this record. Śūdraka's son, the *nṛipa* (ruler) **Viśvarūpa**, is introduced in verse 4 as a successful fighter against his enemies. Verses 5-7 continue the description of Viśvarūpa, the last stanza referring to the numerous temples built by him.

Verse 8 introduces the ruling chief **Yakshapāla** as the son of Viśvarūpa, while the next stanza (verse 9) refers to his physical charm and military prowess. His description is continued in verses 10-11, the first of these referring to Yakshapāla as a *narēndra* or ruler. Verse 12 states that Yakshapāla built a temple for housing the gods Maunāditya (Sun-god), Sahasraliṅga (Śiva), Kamalā (Lakshmi), Ardhāṅgīṇa (Ardhanārīśvara Śiva), Nārāyaṇa, two Sōmēśvaras, Phalgunātha, Vijayāditya and Kēdārēśvara and that he excavated the Uttaramānasa (i.e. a lake of that name) and established a *sattra* or free feeding house at **Akshaya-vaṭa** (i.e. near the Akshaya-vaṭa). Kielhorn read the concluding passage wrongly and failed to recognise the reference to the Akshaya-vaṭa therein. What he read in this stanza as *Dvī-Sōmēśvara*, regarded as the name of a deity, is really *dvi-Sōmēśvara*, referring to two deities called Sōmēśvara. The passage *Kamal-Ārdhāṅgīṇa Nārāyaṇa*, has been taken in Kielhorn's translation as two deities, viz. Kamalā and Ardhāṅgīṇa, Nārāyaṇa being omitted apparently through oversight. It is difficult to say whether the poet intended the expression *Kamal-ārdhāṅgīṇa* to be an adjective of Nārāyaṇa in the sense of 'one half of whose body is Kamalā'. Although such a conception is possible on the analogy of the Ardhannārīśvara form of Śiva in which the right half represents Śiva and the left half Pārvatī, a similar combined form of Nārāyaṇa and Kamalā is not known from sculptures.

Verse 13 prays for the long life of the *kīrtis* (i.e. the temple, the lake and the free-feeding house) of **Yakshapāla** while verse 14, with which the *praśasti* concludes, mentions the Brāhmaṇa Murāri, who was a student of Nyāya philosophy and belonged to a family hailing from **Agī-grāma** as the author of the *praśasti*. A passage in prose at the end refers to the inscription being written by Padmapāṇi. By 'writing', probably the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving was intended.

¹ Lines 25-26 are engraved in the central section.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verse 1 *Āryā* ; verses 2, 4, 7, 9, 11-12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 3, 5-6, 8 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 10 *Sragdharā* ; verses 13-14 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 Ō nama[h] S[ūr]yāya || Vishaya-madh-ūt-kara-p[ūr]ṇaṁ prāṇi-nikāy-āli[m] viśva-śatapa-ttram(ttram) | aṣṭ-āśā-dala-ramya[m] prakāśayann=avatu vō Bhā-
- 2 nuḥ || [1*] Tīrtham **Phalgu-Vaṭa(t-ā)di**²-tīrtha-ghaṭanā-vyājēna sōpāninī ganṭrīṇām paramasya dhautā-tamasām dhāmnō **Gayā** rājatē | śrīmaty=aiva ya-
- 3 yā mahīmaya-milach-chitrasya jīvātmanā śilp-ōtkarsham=amanyat=ātmani Vidhiḥ kṛtvā trilōkīm=api || [2*] Asyām va(ba)bhūva ripu-vṛindam=a-
- 4 nindya-sau(śau)ryaḥ kurvvan=vana-praṇayipatra-nikētana-stham(stham) | śrī-**Śūdrakaḥ** svayam=ap[ū]jayad=Indra-kalpō **Gauḍ-ēsvarō** nṛpati-lakṣhaṇa-pūja-
- 5 yā yaṁ(yam) || [3*] Tasmād=adbhuta-paurush-āmvu(mbu)dhir=abhūt śrī³-**Viśvarūpō** nṛpaḥ kīrtti-śrī-matayaḥ svayāṁvaratayā bhējur=yam=ēkaṁ patim(tim) | a-
- 6 dy=āpi sphurad -ugra-vikrama-kathām=āka[r*]ṇayad=yasya cha sv-āsaṁbhūtim=arāti-chakram =asama-trāsāt=tadā śla(ślā)ghatē || [4*] Lakṣmīm ripōḥ
- 7 sva-bhujā-vīrya-vasī(śī)kṛtām yō bhōgyām tathā vihitavānā(vān) dvija-puṅgavānām(nām) | ēśhām yathā yuvatayō dyutim=ādadhānā nā-
- 8 k-āṅganā iva viri(rō)jur=ilātalē=pi || [5*] yasy=ō[j*]jvalēna yaśasā bhramatā samantāch=chakrē chiraṁ dhavalitē vidīśām di-
- 9 [śā]ñ=cha | lōkēshv=abhiprathayitum mṛgalāñchhanāḥ svam=ēṇ-āṅkam=ulvaṇam=ahar-nni-sam=ātha(da)dhāti || [6*] Yēn=ādy=āpi chakāśa(sa)ti pratidi-
- 10 śam dēvālayāḥ kārītā bhūyāñsō(yāmsō) himadīdhiti-dyuti-mushō mēdiny-alaṅka(ṅkā)-riṇaḥ | mu(mū)[r*]tty-ā[ya](yā)matayā Himādri-śikhara-spa-
- 11 rddh-ōchchhritair=mūrddhabhiḥ kurvvantō viyati skhalad-gati-ratham prasthāna-dustham raviṁ(vim) || [7*] Dharmmasya hṛidya iva sūnur=Ajātaśatrus=tasy=ātha
- 12 dhairya-nilayō=jani **Yakshapālaḥ** | lupta-kratau Kali-yugasya vijṛimbhitē yaḥ kāmān=bhṛīśam kratu-bhujāḥ kratubhiḥ pu-
- 13 pōsha || [8*] Nōshḍa⁴=naṅgatayā parēshv=ayam=ayaṁ bhikṣhā-bhujā nirjjitaḥ Sarvvēṇ=āpy=ava(ba)lā-va(ba)lō=yam=achira-sthāyī Manōbhūr=a-
- 14 yaṁ(yam) | ity=anyō Vidhinā manōjñā-tanubhṛirjjē(j=jē)tā dvisham(shām) yō bhujā-daṇḍ-aika-prava(ba)laḥ sthīrō yudhi sadā Mīnadhvajō nirmmita-
- 15 ḥ || [9*] Bhū-bhārō Rōhaṇō=bhū[d]=itara-taru-tulām=āsritaḥ kalpa-śākhī ki[m]-dhēnuḥ kāmadhēnuḥ kshititala-parikhā kīrtti-
- 16 ⁵pātram payōdhiḥ | ity=āsann=ādi-dātṛin=prati jagati girō giyamānā narēndrē yasminn=abhyarthamānair=vvasubhir=avirata[m] tarppayat=arthi-sā-

¹ From impressions.

² Kielhorn reads *taṭ-ādi*.

³ Read *°bhūch=chhrī*.

⁴ Read *Nashṭō*. Kielhorn doubtfully reads *Plushṭō*.

⁵ The *aksharas* are slightly smaller in size from this line.

- 17 rthān || [10*] Yad-dhṛit-padma-kuṭiraka-praṇayitām=āpāditē Śrīpatau supritē=vyabhichāra-(ri)ṇitva-ratayā bhaktyā parikṛīḍita[m](tam) | arthibhyō vi-
- 18 niyuktay=āpy=anudinam pātrē śuchau jātayā mat-stā(svā)mi-priya-vāsa ēsha iti yaḥ kāmam Śriyā samśī(śrī)taḥ || [11*] Maunāditya-Sahaśu(sra)līnga-
- 19 Kamal-Ā[r*]ddhāṅgiṇa-Nārāyaṇa-dvi-Sōmēśvara¹-Phalgunātha-Vijayādity-āhvayānām kṛitī | sa pra(prā)sādamam(m=a)chikarad=divishadā[m] Kēdāradēva[sya]
- 20 cha khyātasy=Öttaramānasasya khaṇanam satram(ttram) **Vatē** ch=ākshayē² || [12*] Sūryā-chandramasau yāvad=yāvat=kshōṇī sa-sāgarā | tāvat śrī³-Yakshapālasya rā-
- 21 jantām bhuvi kīrttayāḥ || [13*] Nyāya-vidyāvidām śrēyān=**Agī-grāma**-kul-ōdbhavaḥ | śrī-Murārī=dvija-śrēṣṭhaḥ prī(pra)śastim=akarōd=imām(mām) || [14*] likhit=ā[sau]
- 22 [śrī-Padmapāṇinā]⁴ [[]*]

¹ This is metrically defective. Possibly the author was thinking of *dvis-Sōmēśvara* or *dvā-Sōmēśvara*. Kielhorn reads *sō* as *stō*.

² Kielhorn reads *tathā ch=ākshayē*.

³ Read *tāvach=chhri*.

⁴ This is incised in small characters below the concluding part of line 21. Banerji read these *aksharas* which had been left out by Kielhorn.

No. 12—JODHPUR PLATES OF THE TIME OF DURLABHARAJA, VIKRAMA 1069

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 14. 6. 1961)

The two copper plates that make up the land grant edited below are said to be in the possession of Mr. Sampat Singh Jain of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, and were examined by me along with the one odd plate of *Simharāja*, dated Vikrama 1054, published above.¹ As stated there, the find-spot of all the three plates is probably *Bhīnmāl* in the Jalore District of the Jodhpur Division.

The ring and the seal pertaining to these two plates are not forthcoming. Otherwise, the record on them is complete. The first of the two plates measures $21 \times 12\frac{1}{2}$ cm., and the second 21×13 cm. Together they weigh 720 grams. Each of them contains 10 lines of writing engraved thereon. The last line is comparatively very short. The alphabet is *Dēvanāgarī* of the period to which the record belongs. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except for the two customary verses towards the end.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted : as a rule, *anusvāra* takes the place of *para-savarṇa*, the exceptions being as in °*āntahpātī*° in line 3 ; *t* before *r* is in most cases reduplicated as in *Kshattriyapadra*° in lines 3 and 8, *trilōkī*° in line 5, etc. ; a consonant after *r* is very often reduplicated ; *b* is invariably indicated by the sign for *v* ; the sign of *avagraha* is used in *viditv=ā'smad* in line 15. In *anyāms=cha* in line 4 and *yasō*° in line 13, *s* is wrongly used for *ś*. Similarly *yō* is used for *yau* in *yōvanam* in line 7.

The object of the inscription is to register the perpetual gift of a village, called **Kshatriya-padra**, in the district (*maṇḍala*) of **Bhillamāla**, by the illustrious **Kshēmarāja**, *charge d'affaires*² or Chief of Administration (*Tantrapāla*) under *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Durlabharāja**, to the *Brāhmaṇa* *Nannaka*, son of *Gōvinda*, belonging to the *Lōhāyana gōtra*, having three *pravaras*, a student of the *Vājimādhyandina* and an inhabitant of *Bhillamāla*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (*sōma-grahaṇa*), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of the donor's parents and of himself. The donor had had a holy bath and had worshipped *Mahādēva* before making the gift. The date of the record is mentioned at the end as the 15th day of the bright half of the month of **Māgha** in the [Vikrama] year 1069, which corresponds to Thursday, the 29th January, 1013 A.D. when there was a lunar eclipse as stated in line 5 of the record to be the occasion of the gift. It is also stated in the record that *Kshēmarāja* gave away the said village out of his own estate (*sva-bhujyamāna*), comprising the district or sub-division (*maṇḍala*) of **Bhillamāla**. This *maṇḍala* was obviously so named after the chief town of that name, which was also the home-town of the donor, and is identical with the modern *Bhīnmāl*. Again, the gift had the approval of the ruling monarch (*Mahārājādhirāja*) *Durlabharāja*, as specially stated in the conclusion, where his sign-manual was also intended to be put but is absent.

The question arises as to who this *Mahārājādhirāja* *Durlabharāja* was. Considering that the donee in this record is obviously the same as figures in the Jodhpur plate of *Simharāja* and that there is a marked similarity in the script and phraseology of both the records, it is but natural to conclude that *Simharāja* and *Durlabharāja* belong to one and the same dynasty. Unfortunately the present record does not specifically mention the name of the royal family to which *Durlabharāja* belonged. As for the other record, it might have mentioned *Simharāja*'s dynasty in the preamble, but, that part of the record being missing, it was not possible to ascertain his dynasty either

¹ Above, pp. 45-46 and Plate.

² See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1509.

I tentatively identified him with the Chāhamāna Śimharāja. *Prima facie* there is no difficulty in identifying our Durlabharāja also with the Chāhmāna Durlabharāja, who was in fact the second of Śimharāja's four sons, the eldest being Vigharāja and the other two (younger than Durlabharāja) being Chandrarāja and Gōvindarāja. These identifications would, however, upset the hitherto accepted views, regarding the reign periods of some of the Chāhamāna rulers, and certain other historical details. While these we propose to discuss in a separate paper, it may be observed here that the possibility of our Durlabharāja being identical with the ruler of that name belonging to the Chaulukyas of Aṇahilapāṭaka, who was matrimonially connected with the Chāhamāna house, is not precluded.

Curiously enough, another copper charter from Bhīmāl itself, bearing the same date, is known, but that pertains to Dēvarāja who is supposed to be a Paramāra ruler of Mārwar, better known as Mahīpāla.¹ The so-called Paramāra sway around Bhīmāl at the same time adds to our confusion.

TEXT²

First Side

- 1 Om³ svasti || Rājahaṁsa iva vimal-ōbhaya-pakshaḥ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Du-
- 2 rllabharāja-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi tamtrapāla-śrī-Kshēmarājaḥ sva-bhuḥyamāna-
- 3 śrī Bhillamāla-maṁḍal-āntaḥpāti-Kshattriyapadra-grāmē samupagatān=sarvvān=eva
- 4 rājapurushān=brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=prativāsinō janapadān=anyāmscha(ś=cha) bōdhaya-
- 5 ty=astu vō viditaṁ yath=āsmābhiḥ Sōma-grahaṇē snātvā ttrilōkī-gurum Mahā-
- 6 dēvam=abhyarchya matta-kari-karṇa-chamchalām=abhivikshya lakshmīm girinadī-vē-
- 7 g-ōpanam yo(yau)vanam ttri(tri)ṇa-dala-gata-jala-vimdv-ālōla-līlam jivitaṁ=ava-
- 8 lōkya ch=āyam Kshattriyapadra-grāmāḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ sa-kāshṭha-ttri(tri)ṇa-yūti-
- 9 gōchara-paryantaḥ sa-bhāga-bhōgaḥ s-ōparikaraḥ sa-daṁḍa-daś-āparādhaḥ pūrvva-
- 10 datta-dēvadāya-brarhma(hma)dāya-vaḥ(va)rjjah Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-Nannakāya

Second Plate

- 11 Gōvinḍa-sūnavē Vājimādhyam | ⁴ | dina-sa-vra(bra)hmachāriṇē ttri-pravarā-
- 12 ya Lōhāyana-sa-gōtrāya śrī-Bhillamāla-vāstavyāya mātā-pi[ttrō]r=ātma-
- 13 naś=cha puṇya-yaśō(śō)-bhivṛddhayē para-lōka-phalam=aṁgikṛity=ā-chamdr-ā[rkk]-ārṇa-
- 14 va-kshiti-sama-kālinatayā śāsanēn=ōḍaka-pūrvvam parayā bhaktyā
- 15 pratipāditō viditv=ā'smad-vamśajair=anyaiś=cha bhāvi-bhōktribhir=anu-
- 16 pūlanīyaḥ || uktaṁ cha || Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*]
- 17 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || Viṁdhy-āṭavīshv=atō-
- 18 yāsu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinah [*] kṛishṇa-sarpāḥ prajāyamāntē brahmadāy-ā-
- 19 pahārakāḥ || samvat 1069 Māgha-śudi 15 śrī-Durlabharāj-ājñayām(yā)
- 20 dattaṁ sva-hastaṁ cha ||⁵

Bhandarkar (List No. 103; see also p. 398) equates the *sōma-grahaṇa* (lunar eclipse) of Samvat 1069 Māgha-sudi 15 of this charter with Wednesday, the 14th January 1012 A.D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* would, however, show that the correct equation would be Thursday, 29th January 1013 A.D. While this article was going through the press, Dr. G. S. Gai kindly drew my attention to the fact that the said copper charter had subsequently been published under the title 'Ropi Plates of Paramara Devaraja,' above, Vol. XXII, pp. 196-98. Its editor, Pandit B. N. Rau, reads the date as Samvat 1059, and not 1069.

² From the original plates.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ These two single *daṁḍas* indicate the gap caused by the ring hole.

⁵ This is followed by a cross sign.

[illegible]

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॥ त्रैलोक्यं कवचं ॥ १ ॥ (विष्णुसहस्रनाम) ॥ त्रैलोक्यं कवचं ॥ १ ॥
 गन्धर्वगणैश्च ॥ २ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ ३ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ ४ ॥
 कर्णध्वजध्वज ॥ ५ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ ६ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ ७ ॥
 ॥ त्रैलोक्यं कवचं ॥ ८ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ ९ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ १० ॥
 ॥ त्रैलोक्यं कवचं ॥ ११ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ १२ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ १३ ॥
 ॥ त्रैलोक्यं कवचं ॥ १४ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ १५ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ १६ ॥
 ॥ त्रैलोक्यं कवचं ॥ १७ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ १८ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ १९ ॥
 ॥ त्रैलोक्यं कवचं ॥ २० ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ २१ ॥ इन्द्राक्षयिणी ॥ २२ ॥

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(from Photographs)

No. 13—KADALUR GRANT OF MARASIMHA II, SAKA 884

(3 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11. 11. 1959)

The set of copper plates containing the inscription edited below was received in 1934-35 in the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from the Secretary of the Historical Research Society, Dharwar.¹ The set consists of **nine** thick plates, each measuring about 11" by 5.5". They are held together by a ring (5.75" in diameter) passing through a ring-hole (about .8" in diameter) at the left margin of the plates. The circular seal (3" in diameter) bears in full relief and facing the proper right, the figure of an elephant (about .62" in thickness). The thickness of the copper-plates ranges from .12" to .18". The weight of the set, together with the ring and the seal, is 872 *tolas* while the ring and the seal weigh 120 *tolas*.

The first and last plates have been engraved on the inner side only while the remaining seven plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate has 11 lines of writing ; but the remaining 15 sides of the eight plates have 12 lines each. Thus there are 191 lines of writing in all. The engraving is bold, beautiful and neat and there is a flourishing touch to the letters in the last line on each side of the plates. The last three lines (i.e. lines 189-91) which are in the nature of a supplement, have been written in a rather indifferent hand over an erasure. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation.

The **characters** are Telugu-Kannada of the 10th century A.D. and resemble in all respects those of the Kudalur plates² of Gaṅga Mārasimha II who issued the present plates. The initial vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u* and *ē* as well as final *t* and final *n* occur each several times in the inscription. The *Upadhmānīya* sign occurs in line 103. Regarding **orthography**, it is interesting to observe that *l*, when single in the intervocalic position, is written in almost all the cases as *ḷ*. Even initial *l* is likewise written in *Lōkadhūttaḥ* (line 30). *S* for *ś* appears in *Sa.at* (line 82). *B* for *v* in *garbba* (lines 71, 82) and *ri* for *ṛi* in *rishi* (line 157) may be as well regarded as a linguistic feature. Considering the length of the document, it is remarkably free from errors both in regard to orthography and language.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit except in lines 167-77 and 189-91 dealing with the description of the boundaries and a sentence at the end giving the name of the headman, which are written in Kannada with an admixture of Sanskrit. The text is composed in verse and prose in the *champū* style. There are fifty-two verses in various metres which show the poet's predilection for the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. In verse 9, which is in *Utpalamālikā*, the poet has introduced the *Hayaprāsa* of the Kannada prosody by having a similar conjunct consonant in the second syllable of each quarter. The composition is of considerable literary merit and the author has freely indulged in the use of *alaṅkāras* in the verses and of long compounds in the prose-portion. Both the author and the engraver, who have preferred to remain anonymous, have earned the gratitude of scholars by accomplishing their job in a satisfactory manner.

The **date** of the record is given in lines 159-61 and 164, as **Śaka 884, Dundubhi, Pausha ba. 9, Tuesday, Svāti-nakshatra, Kanyā-lagna and Uttarāyana Saṅkrānti**. This would

¹ It is registered as No. 23 of Appendix A in the *A.R. Rep.*, 1934-35, and briefly noticed in the same report, Part II, pp. 57-58.

² *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1921, pp. 18 ff.

regularly correspond to the **23rd December, 962 A.D.** The date is only a few months earlier than that of the Kuḍalur plates referred to above, which are dated Śaka 884. Rudhirōdgāri, Chaitra śu. 5, Wednesday. The cyclic year Rudhirōdgāri corresponded to Śaka 885 expired, the corresponding English date being the 3rd March 963 A.D., though the weekday was Tuesday instead of Wednesday.

The inscription belongs to the **Gaṅga chief Mārasimha II** and, like his Kuḍalur plates, is one of the longest and the latest of the **Western Gaṅga** records. The introductory portion, covering lines 1-122 and verses 1-32, giving the genealogy of the Gaṅga kings from **Koṅguṇi-varma-Dharma-mahādhira** up to **Mārasimha II** is similar in contents to the Kuḍalur plates edited by R. Narasimhachar who has discussed them in details. Verses 33-36, devoted to the description of the donor Mārasimha II, are not found in the Kuḍalur plates while the six verses and the lengthy prose portion describing him in the latter record are not given in our inscription. We learn from verse 33 that Mārasimha II was the son of **Kallabbā** who was the daughter of **Simhavarman** of the **Chālukya** lineage. Verses 22, 27 and 28 inform us that Mārasimha's father **Būtuga II** also married Rēvakanimmaḍi, the daughter of **Rāshtrakūṭa Baddega** (Amōghavarsha III), and had by her a son called Maruḷadēva who married the daughter of **Kṛishṇa III**. Būtuga had a third wife named Paddabbarasi according to an inscription from Naregal in the Dharwar District.¹ Thus he had three wives named Rēvakanimmaḍi, Kallabbā and Paddabbarasi. The Kuḍalur plates inform us that Mārasimha II was crowned as the ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi personally by Kṛishṇa III on the eve of his northern expedition to conquer Aśvapati or the Gūrjara king. We know that Mārasimha was not only the feudatory of Kṛishṇa III but also of the latter's successors Khotṭiga² and Amōghavarsha IV Kakka.³

Verses 37-44 describe the spiritual ancestry of the Jaina teacher Ēlāchārya who was the donee of the gift. Prabhāchandra was the chief pontif of the Digambara sect of Sūrasta-gaṇa in the Mūlasaṅgha. He was well versed in all the *Śāstras*. His disciple was Kalneledēva who was the preceptor of Ravichandra. The latter's disciple was Ravinandidēva, the preceptor of Ēlāchārya.

Verse 45 and the following lengthy passage in prose in lines 151-66 refer to the gift of the village **Kādalūr** in **Koṅgal-dēsa** made to the said Ēlāchārya by Mārasimha II for providing for worship and offerings in the Jinālaya constructed by the chief's mother Kallabbā and also for worshipping of *sulhā-chitra* (stucco paintings) and *chitra* (paintings) as well as for the four kinds of *dānas* to the Jaina deities and ascetics.

The grant is stated to have been made when the military camp (*śibira*) of **Mārasimha** was at **Mēlpāṭi** which is probably the same as Mēlpāṭi in the Chittoor District in Andhra Pradesh. Three years before the date of this grant, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III also encamped at Mēlpāḍi as known from his Karad plates of May 959 A.D.⁴

Lines 167-77 describe the **boundaries** of the gift village as follows : in the east, the big stony hillock to the east of the Keṅgollī lake ; further on to the south, the bank or mound (*dīṇe*) called Sōḍiyāla ; further on, the path of black-stones ; further on, the heap of stones ; further on, [the locality called] **Paṭṭare** ; further on, the bank or mound at the back side of the stony hillock of Belgalla ; further on, the hillock called Eyguyyal ; in the south-east, [the place of] round stones ; further on, in the western direction, the hill called Uḷiyam ; in the south, the hillock of the chips of stones and black-stones ; further on, the bank or mound of Baḷavage ; further on, the

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, App. No. A182 ; *SII.*, Vol. XI, Part. i (B. K. Inscriptions, Vol. I, Part. 1), No. 38.

² Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 61ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 270 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 281.

heap of stones on the road to Maysūr; further on, in the south-west corner, the bank or mound called Kēra; then moving to the north, in the west, the stony hillock called Kosagu; further on, the heap of stones of the bank or mound of Bhagavatī on the road to **Nokkiyūr**; further on, moving straight along the black stones, the hillock of black-stones; further in the north-west, the bank or mound of Bhagavatī; further on, in the north, [the place called] **Tavalikal**; further on, the bank or mound to the north of **Paralikere**; further on, the wall to the north of **Gārvadigere**; in the north-east corner, the junction of the stream coming from the hillock of the black stones with the stream of Keṅgolli.

Verse 46 in lines 177-79 relates to the request of the Gaṅga chief, viz. Mārasimha, made to the future kings of the Gaṅga family to protect the gift. Line 180 states that the subjects of the 96,000-division (i.e. Gaṅgavāḍi) were the witnesses to the gift. Then follow five penedictory and imprecatory stanzas (verses 47-51) in lines 180-86. Verse 52 (lines 186-88) invokes the blessings of Lakshmī on the Gaṅga chief. Lines 189-91 which are engraved on an erasure mention the boundaries of the **Kōgil-nāḍu** and the name of the headman of that *nāḍu* or division. Kōgil-nāḍu is apparently a mistake for Koṅgal-nāḍu or Koṅgal-dēśa in which the gift-village Kādalūr was located. The boundaries of this *nāḍu* are given as follows: in the east, the rivulet or stream of Māṇikavoḷal; in the south, the **Kāvērī** river; in the west, the place called **Bāḷeyapaḷla**; and in the north, the **Pernṇa** (i.e. Pennar) river. The name of the *nāḍu-gāvunḍa* is given as Permāḍi-gāvunḍa.

Kādalūr, the village granted, may be identified with the place of the same name in the Mandya Taluk of the Mysore District. The area round about this place apparently corresponded to Koṅgal-dēśa which extended upto the Kāvērī in the south and Pennar in the north. The place **Maysūru** mentioned in connection with the boundaries is apparently the modern Mysore and the present record supplies the earliest epigraphical reference to this place. I am unable to identify the other places mentioned in connection with the description of the boundaries.

TEXT¹

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 7, 15-16, 18-19, 23-24, 35, 52 *Sragdharā*; verses 2, 5, 12, 22 *Vasanta-tilakā*; verses 3, 8, 10, 13-14, 17, 21, 25, 32-34, 36-37, 41-42, 44-46 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 6, 30 *Mālinī*; verse 9 *Utpalamālikā* or *Kūmalatā*; verse 11 *Śikharīṇī*; verses 20, 39 *Indravajrā*; Verses 26-27 *Āryyā*; verses 28-29 *Praharshīṇī*; verses 31, 38, 40, 43, 47-50 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 51 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² [*] Svasti jitaṁ bhagavatā gata-ghana-gaganābhēna Padmanābhēna [*] Śrīmaj-Jāhnavēya kuḷ-āmaḷa-vyōm-āva-
- 2 bhāsaṇa-bhāskaraḥ sva-khaḍg-aika-prahāra-khaṇḍita-śiḷā³-staṁbha-labdhā-baḷa-parākramō dāruṇ-āri-gaṇa-vidāraṇ-ō-
- 3 palabdha-vraṇa-vibhūṣaṇa-vibhūṣitaḥ Ka(Kā)ṇvāyana-sagōtraḥ śrīmān **Koṅguṇi-varmma**-dharmma-mahādhira-
- 4 jaḥ | tat-putraḥ pitur=anvāgata-guṇa-yuktō vidyā-vinaya-vihita-vṛittaḥ samyak-prajā-pālana-mātr-ā-

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ Some records have *mahā-śiḷā* here.

- 5 dhigata-rājya-prayōjanō vidvat-kavi-kāṁchana-nikash-ōpaḷa-bhūtō nīti-śāstrasya vaktri-prayōktri-kuśalō Datta-
- 6 kasūtra-vṛittēḥ prañētā śrīmān=**Mādhava-mahādhirājah** | tat-putraḥ pitri-paitāmaha-guṇa-yu-
- 7 ktō=nēka-chāturddanta-yuddh-āvāpta-chatur-udadhi-salīl-āsvādita-yaśāḥ śrīmad-**Dhari-varmma**-mahādhi-
- 8 rājah tat-putrō dvija-guru-dēvatā-pūjana-parō Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-ānuddhyātaḥ śrīmān=**Vishṇugōpa**-mahādhirā-
- 9 jah tat-putras=Tryambaka-charaṇ-āmbhōruha-rajah-pavitrikṛit-ōttamāṅgaḥ sva-bhuja-baḷa-parākrama-kraya-kriyita¹-rājyah
- 10 Kaḷiyuga-baḷa-paṁk-āvasanna-dharmma-vṛish-ōddharāṇa-nitya-sannaddhaḥ śrīmān=**Mādha-va**-mahādhirājah | tat-putraḥ śrīmat-**Kadam-**
- 11 **ba-kuḷa**-gagana-gabhastimāḷinaḥ **Kṛishṇavarma**-mahādhirājasya priya-bhāginēyō vidyā-vinay-ātīśaya-paripū-

Second Plate, First Side

- 12 rit-āntarātmā niravagraha-pradhāna-śauryyō vidvatsu prathama-gaṇyah śrīmā[n] **Koṁguṇi**-mahādhirājah
- 13 **Avinīta**-nāmā tat-putrō vijimbhamāṇa-śakti-trayah **Andariy-Ālatūr-Ppurulāre-Pelna-gar**-ādy-anēka-sa-
- 14 mara-mukha-makha-huta-prahata-sūra-purusha-paś-ūpahāra-vighasa-vihastikṛita-kṛitānt-Āgni-mukhaḥ Kirā-
- 15 tārjunīya-pañchadaśa-sargga-ṭikākārō **Durvvinīta**-nāmadhēyah tat-putraḥ durddānta-vimar-dda-vimṛidita-
- 16 viśvaṁbhar-ādhipa-mauli-mālā-makaranda-rajah-puṁja-pimjarikṛi(kri)yamāṇa-charaṇa-yugala-naḷinō **Mushkara**-nā-
- 17 madhēyah tasya putraḥ chaturddaśa-vidyāsthān-ādhipata-vimalamatir=vviśēshatō=navasēsha-
- 18 sya nīti-śāstrasya vaktri-prayōktri-kuśalō ripu-timira-nikara-nirākaraṇ-ōdaya-bhūskarah
- 19 **Śrīvikrama**-prathita-nāmadhēyah tasya putraḥ anēka-samara-sampādita-vijimbhita-dvi-
- 20 rada-nakha-kuḷiś-ābhighāta-vraṇa-saṁrūḍha-bhāsval-vijaya-lakshaṇa-lakshikṛita-viśūḷa-vaksha-sthaḷah samadhiga-
- 21 ta-sakaḷa-śāstr-ārttha [h*]² samārādhita-trivarggō niravadya-charitaḥ prati-dinam=abhivarddha-māna-prabhāvō **Bhūvikra-**
- 22 **ma**-nāmadhēyah api cha ||³ Nānā-hēti-prahāra-pravighaṭita-bhaṭ-ōraḥ-kavaṭ-ōtthit-āsṛig-dhār-āsvāda-pramatta-
- 23 dvipa-śata-charaṇa-kshōda-sammardda-bhīmē | saṁgrāmē **Pallavēndram** narapatim=ajayadyō **Vilind⁴-ābhidhānē** rājā

¹ Read *kṛita*.

² The word *tattva* is found after this word in other records (cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 149, text line 22).

³ The double *daṇḍa* marks here indicate the end of the section in prose.

⁴ In some records, this name is spelt as *Vilanda*; cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 150, text line 24, and the Kuḍalur plates, text line 29.

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2
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2
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ii, a

12
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12
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ii, b

24
 26
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 32
 34

Second Plate, Second Side

- 24 **Śrīvallabh-ākhyas**=samara-śata-jay-āvāpta-lakshmī-viṭāsaḥ || [1*] Tasy=ānujō nata-narē-ndra-ti(ki)rīṭa-kōṭi-ratn-ārka-dīdhi-
- 25 ti-virājita-pāda-padmaḥ [|*] lakshmyā svayamvṛita-patir=**Nnavakāma**-nāmā śiṣṭa-priyō=ri-gaṇa-dāruṇa-gīta-kī-
- 26 rttiḥ || [2*] tasya **Koṁguṇi**-mahādhīrājasya **Śivamār**-āpara-nāmadhēyasya putraḥ samava-nata-samasta-sā-
- 27 manta-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-bahala-ratna-viṭasad-amara-dhanuḥ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍita-charaṇa-na-kha-maṇḍalō Nā-
- 28 rāyaṇa-nihita¹-bhaktiḥ sūrapurusha-turaga-varavāraṇa-ghaṭā-saṁghaṭṭa-dāruṇa-samara-śirasi nihit-ātma-
- 29 kōpō Bhīmakōpaḥ prakāṭa-rati-samaya-samanuvarttana-chatura-yuvati-jan-ālōka-
- 30 dhūrttō Lōkadhūrttaḥ sudurddhar-ānēka-yuddha-mūrdhna(rddhni) labdha-vijaya-saṁpad=ahita-gaja-ghaṭā-kēsa-
- 31 rī Rājakēsari |² api cha ||³ Yō **Gaṁg-ānvaya**-nirmmaḥ-āmbara-taḥa-vyābhāsana-prōllasan-mārttaṇḍō=
- 32 ri-bhayaṁkaraḥ śubhakarāḥ=san-mārgga-rakshākaraḥ | saurājyaṁ samupētya rāja-samitau rājan=gu-
- 33 ṇair=uttamai rājā **Śrīpurushaś**=chiraṁ vijayatē rājanya-chūḍāmaṇiḥ || [3*] api cha || Kāmō rāmāsu chāpē Da-
- 34 śaratha-tanayō vikramē Jāmadagnyaḥ prājy-aśvāryyē Bālārīr=bahu-mahasi Ravi[h*] sva-prabhutvē Dhanēśaḥ [|*] bhūyō
- 35 vikhyāta-śakti sphuṭataram=akhiḷa-prāṇa-bhājām vidhātā Dhātrā sṛiṣṭa[h*] prajānām=patir=iti kavayō yaṁ

Third Plate, First Side

- 36 praśamsanti nityaṁ(tyam) || [4*] sa tu pratidina-pravṛitta-mahādāna-janita-puṇyāha-ghōṣha-mukharita-mandir-ōdaraḥ
- 37 **Śrīpurusha**-prathama-nāmadhēyaḥ **Prithivī-Koṁguṇi**-mahādhīrājaḥ tat-putraḥ pratāpa-vinamita-sa-
- 38 kaḷa-mahīpāḷa-maṇḍi-mālā-lālita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷō nija-bhuja-virājita-niṣita-khaḍga-paṭṭa-sa-
- 39 m-ākṛiṣṭ-āniṣṭa-dharāpāḷa-vallabha-jaya-śrī-samālīṁgitaḥ | api cha || Yasmin prayātavati kōpa-va-
- 40 śaṁ mahīśē yānti kṣaṇād=ahita-bhūmibhujō raṇ-āgrē | antrāvalī-valaya-bhīṣaṇa-
- 41 m=Aṭakasya vaktr-āntaraṁ kṣhataja-karddama-durnniḥkṣaṇ(kshyam) || [5*] sa tu vikhyāta-vimaḷa-**Gaṁg-ānvaya**-
- 42 nabhastaḷa-gabhastimālī **Koṁguṇi**-mahārājādhīrāja-paramēśvara-śrī-**Śivamāradēvaḥ**

¹ Better read *Nārāyaṇa-charaṇa-nihita*.² This indicates the end of the prose portion.³ The mark indicates that the following portion is in verse.

- 43 **Saygoṭṭ-āpara-nāmā** || kanīyān=**Vijayāditya**¹ s=tasy=āsīt=sa jayāṁganā- |¹ saṁśli-
 44 shṭa-vakshāḥ saṁkshipta-|¹ kālēya-charitō=bhavat || api cha || Bharata iva kaṭatram mēdinī-
 45 m=agrajasya prayata-matir=agamyām=manyatē sm=āvagarhyām(rhyām) | sa tu sakala-
 dharāyām dhāriṇī-nātha-saṁsat-
 46 prathita-nija²-guṇō=pi prēmavān sad-guṇ-aughaiḥ |[6*] tat-putraḥ śaśadhara-kara-
 nikara-viśada-vijaya-ya-
 47 śō-rāsi-viśadīkṛita-viśva-viśvambharā-chakravāḷaḥ samadhigata-sakala-rājya-lakshmī-samā-
 ḷiṁgit-ōttumga-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 48 vakshāḥ | api cha | Dānē Kāninam=urvvi-bhara-bharaṇa-vidhau Śēsham=ājau cha Pārtham
 gāmbhīryē Vāhinīsaṁ Kaliyu-
 49 ga-charit-ōdanvataś=śōshaṇē cha [|*] dakshaṁ sad-Bāḍabāgnim śaraṇam=upagatasy=
 āvanē vajra-bandha-prākāram prāṇa-
 50 bhājām sthiti-karaṇa-vidhau yaṁ vadanti Prajēsaṁ(śam) || [7*] sa tu **Satyavākya-Koṁgu-**
nivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhi-
 51 rājō **Rājamalla**³-prathama-nāmadhēyaḥ | tat-putraḥ nija bhuj-ōddaṇḍa-mandar-āchaḷa-
 pramathita-viśva-vidvi-
 52 ḍ-baḷ-ārṇṇav-ōddhṛita-rāja-lakshmī-samāśliṣṭa-samabhirūḍa(ḍha)-vakshāḥ | api cha |
 Chāp-ōnmu-
 53 kta-śar-ōtkar-āgra-prishitē chaṇḍ-āsi-vidyut-tatau |⁴ kōp-ōddāma-gajēndra-nīḷa-jaladē
 54 rakta-pravāhē=samē | bhīmē yuddha-ghan-āgamē haya-mahā-vātē ripūr=ūrjjitān rā-
 55 jā **Rāmaḍi**⁵-nāmni yas=samajayad=rāj-āgraṇir=llīḷayā || [8*] **Pallava-Rāshṭrakūṭa-Ku-**
ru-Māgadha-Mālava-Chōḷa-Lāṭa-Saṁvalla-Chalukya-vaṁśaja-mahānṛpati-pramu-
 khair=adhi-
 57 shṭhitam(tam) [|*] **Vallabha**-sainyam=unnata-mataṁgajavāji-bhay-ākuḷam jayāt=
 tal-lalan-ākshi-vāri-nivahēna samam sama-
 58 rē nyapātayat |[9*] sa tu **Nītimārgga-Koṁgunivarmma**-dharmma-mahārājādhirājō
 bhagavad-Arhad-bhaṭṭāraka-charaṇ-ā-
 59 ravinda-madhupāyamāna-mānasah **Eregaṇḍadēvaḥ** tat-putraḥ samasta-sāmanta-mauḷi-
 māḷā-makaranda-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 60 rajaḥ-sabaḷita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷaḥ samadhigata-samasta-vidyā-vidyōtit-āntarātmā |
 api cha | yaḥ prō-
 61 dyat-kāḷi-kāḷa-vṛitti-vimukhaḥ kāmam guṇānām gaṇair=Mmāndhātṛi-pramukh-ādi-rāja-
 samitau saṁbhūshitas=sarvvathā |

¹ The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

² The Kuḍalur plates have *prithu* instead of *nija*.

³ The Kuḍalur plates read *Rāchamalla*.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁵ The Kuḍalur plates read *Rāvaḍi*.

- 62 kōp-ōtkhāta-kṛipāṇa-khaṇḍita-ripu-kshmāpaḥ kuḷ-ōdyōtakṛitmā(n=Mā)r-ākāratayā manas=
suvicharan=kāntā-janānām bhu-
- 63 vi || [10*] Imē **Varṅgāḥ Paṇḍrā Magadha**-narapāḥ **Kōśaḷa**-nṛipāḥ |¹ amī
Kālī[m*]g-Āndhra-Dramiḷa-naranāthās=sa-su-
- 64 hṛidaḥ [|*] viśīrṇṇāḥ śastr-aughair=nnarapati-vimuktair=iti janāḥ praśamsām² yasy=āḷam
vidadhur=aniśam **Sāmiya**-raṇē || [11*]
- 65 sa tu **Satyavākya-Koṃguṇivarmma**-dharma-mahārājādhirājō **Rājamalla**-pratha-
ma-nā-
- 66 mā || Tasy=ānujō vijita-durjjaya-Rājarājō Lakshmīpatir=Mmuram=iva prathitam Harir=
vvā [|*]
- 67 dviṣṭam **Mahēndram**=ajayad=**Biriyūri Sūrūry**=anyatra Sāmiya-raṇē=py=atha **Būtu**-
gēndrah [| 12*] Kōpē yaḥ pralay-ānaḷaḥ sura-kujas=tyāgē satīshv=Aṃgaḷō vidy-āṃgē
Naḷinātmaḷō gajanayē sā-
- 69 kshāt=Karēṇv-ātmajaḥ [|*] **Koṃgān**=vāraṇa-bandha-vāraṇa-karān jītvā raṇē Pamchavāryy=
ukta-prāktana-yōgatāḥ
- 70 kari-śatāny-ēkō=grahīd=dur-ggrahaḥ | [| 13*] tasya sudūr-ōtsārīta-sakaḷa-kālōya-kāḷam-
kasya nāma-śravaṇa-mā-
- 71 trēṇ=aiv=ōpaśamita-garbba(rvva)-gaḷa-graha-gṛihīta-bhūbhṛin-maṇḍaḷasya samasta-
śāstr-ārtth-ānuśāsi-satya-pa-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 72 ra-vachana-vṛittasya parama-jainasya **Guṇaduttaraṃg**-āpara-nāmadhēyasya svasty=
Amōghavarshadēva-śrī-pri-
- 73 thvīvallabha-sutāyām śubha-lakṣhaṇa-nikhiḷ-āvayava-sōbhitāyām(yām) | api cha |
Āśīrvvāda-paramparā-pariṇa-
- 74 tau kalyāṇa-kuly-ōditau śrī-hrī-kī[r*]tti-viśiṣṭa-śīḷa-samitau nṛity-ādi-vidyā-tatau [|*]
śikṣhā-siddhy-Udayāchaḷ-ōjva(jjva)-
- 75 ḷa-tatau **Chandrobbalabbā**-prithu-śrīmatyām=**Eregamṅa**-bhūtaḷa-patir=jjātaḥ sutō vaḷ-
nidhiḥ [| 14*] sa tu pratipat-ka-
- 76 ḷādhara iva pratidinam=askhaḷad-aḷaya³-pravardhamāna-kāḷābhīr=abhivarddhamānaḥ sva-
pitṛivyēṇa **Rājamalla**-
- 77 **dēvēna** śrīmad-Eṇeyappa-paṭṭa-baddhaḥ | api cha | Yuddhē nṛityat-kabandha-tṛi(tri)-
tayam=anugat-ā-
- 78 śēsha-rakṣaḥ-piśāchē yasy=āsēs⁴=samprahārāt=patita-gaja-tatēr=ddhūta-rakta-prasiktē | jyā-
bhū-
- 79 mau rakta-vṛiṣṭēs=chiram=iva bhavataḥ pāpa-nāsē sma sadyō=dy=āgarjjad-bhūta-varggō
Hari-kulīsa-hatā-

¹ This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

² There is an unnecessary *rēpha* like mark above *sā*.

³ The Kudalur plates read *askhaḷad-udaya*.

⁴ The Kudalur plates read *yasy=āyah*.

- 80 d=bhūbhṛitō=nēkatō vā || [15*] Tasmin=yuddhē Mahēndram Baḷam=iva Baḷabhid=yō jaghān=āryya-vīryyō **Sūrūrā-Nāḍugānīm**
- 81 pṛithutara-**Midigēsy**-ādi-śailēndra-¹durggāna(n | a)nyā[m*]s=**Tippērum**=abhramliham=atisayavān **Perñjar**-ādyān=adhṛishyān vi-
- 82 grāhyān=agrahīd=yō jhaṭiti-parigaḷad-durggavad=garbba(rvva)-jāḷam(ḷam) || [16*] tēna sa(śa)rat-samaya-samudita-viśadatara-śiśirakara-
- 83 kiraṇa-nikarāyamāna-paṭutara-yaśaḥ-payō-nidhi-majjan-ōnmajjan-ōnmūlikṛita-Kaḷi-maḷina-gēya-vādyā-nṛi-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 84 tya-vidy-ōpavidyā-Bharatēna mahā-vaiyyākaraṇa-prāmāṇikēna svasti samast-ābhirāmika-viju(ji)gīshu-
- 85 guṇa-maṇi-bhūṣaṇa-bhrājamāna-nītimārggēṇa samasta-sāmanta-lalāṭa-ghaṭṭita-pādāra-vinda-dvayēna
- 86 dhātṛī niravagrahēṇa paripālītā || Tasya brahma-mahīndra-brīnda-makuṭa-vyāsakta-rakt-ātula-chehbāyā-kumku-
- 87 ma-piñjarikṛita²-pada-dvaṃdvasya dēvyām prabhuh [| *] **Chāḷuky-āmaḷa-varṇśa-bhū-Nijagali**-kshmāpāḷa-putryām=a-
- 88 bhūj=**Jākāmbā**³-vyapadēśa-bhāji tanaya[h*] śrī-**Satyavākya** nṛipah || [17] Rājantīm rāja-vidyām dviradana-turag-ārōha-
- 89 ṇam kandukasya krīḍām nistṛimśa-dhēnum dhanur=asi-latikān=nāṭakam śabda-vidyām (dyām) [|*] vaidyam kāvyam pra-
- 90 māṇam sa-gaṇita-Bharatam s-ētiḥāsam purāṇam |⁴ nṛityam gītam cha vādyam prathama-vayasi yō=
- 91 bhyastavān=iddha-buddhiḥ || [18*] Aṃdhrō raṃdhram⁵ girīṇām pṛithu cha⁶ jālanidhēr=mmaddhyam=īśāḥ **Khasānām** |⁴ **Pāṇḍyāḥ**
- 92 śṛiṅgan=tarūṇām=asura-vivarakam saṃhatis=**Simhaḷānām**(nām) | pātāḷam **Kēraḷēndrō** Yama-mukha-kuharām **Pallavā**-
- 93 s=samśrayantē yasmin samrambha⁷-bhāji kshiti-bhuji bhuja-nirbhāsi-nistṛimśa-yasṭau || [19*] sa tu **Satyavākya**-Koṃguṇi-
- 94 **varmma**-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīman-**Narasimhadēva**-prathama-nāmadhēyaḥ || Tasy-ānujō
- 95 yō=jani **Rājamallō** |⁴ nām=ādinā durddhara⁸-Rājamallah | pūrvv-āvanī-pāḷaka-nītimārggō nām=āparēṇ=ā-

¹ The reading given in the Kuḍalur plates is *Midigē Sūḷisailēndra*.

² The Kuḍalur plates read *mañjarikṛita*.

³ This name has been wrongly read as *Ijākāmbā* in the Kuḍalur plates.

⁴ This *danda* is unnecessary.

⁵ The Kuḍalur plates read *Āndhrā rudram*.

⁶ The reading in the Kuḍalur plates is *pṛithula*.

⁷ The Kuḍalur plates have *ālamḃha* instead of *samrambha*.

⁸ The Kuḍalur plates have *durhṛida*.

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Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 96 pi cha **Nītimārggaḥ** || [20*] Pādātāṃ śara-paṃjarair=aviraḥair=aśvīyam=ugr-āsinā |¹ hatvā
hāstikam=ēka-gandhakariṇā
- 37 mūrtyā **Noḷamb-Āṇṇigam(gam)** | jītvā viśruta-**Kottamarṅgaḥ**-raṇē bāṇais=tribhīr-
mmudṛitaṃ²|¹ kṛitvā bibhyatam=atyuvā-
- 98 ha kṛipayā śrī-Rājamallādhipaḥ || [21*] sa tu **Nītimārgga-Koṃguṇivarman**-mahārājā-
dhirāja-paramē-
- 99 śvara-śrī-**Rājamalla**-prathama-nāmadhēyaḥ || Tasy=ānujō nija-bhuj-ārjji ta-saṃpad-artthī
bhūvallabham samu-
- 100 pagamya **Dahāḷa-dēśē** | śrī-**Baddegan**=tadanu tasya sutām sahaiva vāk-kanyayā vya-
vahaḍ=ukti-vidhis=**Tri-**
- 101 **puryyāṃ(ryyām)** || [22*] Lakshmīm=Indrasya harttum gatavat idivi yad=**Baddegāmke**
mahīśē |¹ hṛitvā **Lallēya**-hastāt
- 102 kari-turaga-sita-chehhatra-simhāsanāni | prādāt Kṛishṇāya rājñē kshitipati-gaṇanāsvā-
(sv=a)gra-
- 103 nīr=yyaḥ=pratāpād=rājā śrī-**Būtug-ākhyāḥ** samajani vijitārāti-chakra-prachandāḥ
|| [23*] Kim
- 104 ch=ātaḥ kin=nu n=āgād=**Achalapura**-patiḥ **Kakkarājō**=ntak-āsyam **Bijj-ākhyō Danti-**
varmmā yudhi nija-vanavāsitva-
- 105 m=ēv=**Ājavarmma** | śāntatvam **Śāntalēśō** **Nuḷuga**-giri-patir=**Dāmari**-darppa-
bhaṃgam |¹ vārdhy-antan=Nāgava-
- 106 rmmā bhaya-matir=abhayād=**Gaṃga-Gāṃgēya**-bhūpāt || [24*] **Rājāditya**-narēśvaram
gaja-ghaṭ-ātōpēna sam-
- 107 darppitam jītvā dēśatay=ēvagaṇḍugam³=ahō nirdhātya **Tamjyā(jā)purinnā(āt | Nā)-**
lkōṭe-⁴pramukh-ādi-durgga-

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 108 nivaha[m] dagdhvā gajēndrān hayān |¹ **Kṛishṇāya** prathitam dhanam svayam=adāt⁵
śrī-**Gaṃga-Nārāyaṇaḥ** || [25*]
- 109 **Ēkānta**-mata-mad-ōddhata-kuvādi-kumbhīndra-kumbha-sambhēdam(dam) [|*] nai-
gama-nayādi-kulīśair=akarōj=ja-
- 110 yad-uttaramga-nṛipaḥ || [26*] Tasya kavi-nikasha-bhūmēr=**Bbaddegadēvasya** guṇa-nidhēḥ
putryā[h*] | Rēvakanimmaḍi-

¹ The *danḍa* is unnecessary.² The reading *dudritam* in the Kudalur plates is wrong.³ The Kudalur plates read *Ēmagandugam*^o.⁴ The Kudalur plates read *Nālkelō*.⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 111 nāmnyās=Chāgaveṇṇ=iti sa[m*]jñāyāḥ || [27*] Tat-putrō **Magadha-Kaṣiṅga-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa**-kshmāpāḷair=abhinuta-pā-
- 112 da-paṁkajasya [|*] **Kṛiṣṇasya** prahata-ripu-vrajasya putrīm līlātō vyavahad=achintya-nītimārggaḥ || [28*] Sa-snēhā-
- 113 t=sakaḷa-mahīsa-Kṛiṣṇa-bhūpātbbhū(d=bhū)nāthaḥ khaḷu Madanāvatāra-samjñam(jñam) [|*] chhatran=tan=na-
- 114 rapatibhir=nna kaischaḷ=āptam¹ |² samprāptō **Maruḷa** iti prasiddha-nāmā || [29*] sa cha Jina-vara-
- 115 charaṇ-āmbhōruha-madhupāyamāna-mānasō|² Mānasa-sarōvara iva samāsri-
- 116 ta-sakala-rāja-haṁsaḥ | haṁsa-dhavaḷāyamāna-diganta-viśrānta-kīrttiḥ | Kīrttimanō-bhavaḥ || api
- 117 cha || Budha³-kamaḷa-hitatvād=**Gaṁgamārttaṇḍa**-bhūpaḥ kavimnuta-charitatvātā(n=Mā) navō Nītimārggaḥ |
- 118 Bali-ripu-daḷanatvād=Gaṁgachakrāyudhāmkaḥ|² Kṛiṣṇa-jana-pri(pi)trivāt⁴ kāmadaḥ kāma-dānāt || [30*] Yasya
- 119 ch=āḷōkanam⁵ prāptō manyatē kāmīnī-janaḥ [|*] mama rām=ēti⁶ samjñ=ēyam samprāpt=ādya kṛitārttthatām|| [31*] Śau-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 120 chaṁ śaucha-mahāvratāḥ kavivarāḥ kāvyam kṛitārtth-ārtthibhiḥ(bhū=) tyāgaḥ **Kēraḷa-Pāṇḍya-Chōḷa**-nivahaiḥ śau-
- 121 ryyan=nayō nītigaiḥ⁷ | dharmm-ādharma-parair=jjanais=subhagatām yasy=ādarād=gīyatē |² sō=yam satya-guṇ-ām-
- 122 budhir=vijayātām śrī-Gaṁgachakrāyudhaḥ || [32*] sa tu Nītimārgga-Koṁguṇivar-mma-dharma-mahārājādhirāja-
- 123 paramēśvara[h*] śrīmān **Kaliyugabhīm**-āpara-nāmā **Maruḷadēvaḥ** || **Chāḷuky-ānvaya-Simhavarmma**-nripa-
- 124 tēḥ putrī matā śrīmatī |² **Kallabbā Jayaduttaramga**-nripatēr=ddēvī mah-ātyuttamā | tat-putrō=
- 125 jani **Mārasimha**-nripatīḥ śrī-Satyavāky-ādhipaḥ khyātaḥ śrī-Maruḷa-sthira-kshitibhu-
- 126 jas=tasy-ānujaḥ sāmjasam(sam) || [33*] Vidviḥ-kshatriya-kumbhi-kumbha-daḷana-prōdbhūta-muktā-pha-
- 127 ḷa-śrī-hāra-praviśōbhit-āmaḷa-jayaśrī-lakshya-vaksha-sthaḷaḥ [|*] kamr-ānamra-surēśvara-
- 128 stuti-vacha-śrīmaj-Jinēndra-krama-śrī-padma-dvaya-mānasō vijayatē śrī-Gaṁgachūḍā-manīḥ || [34*]

¹ The Kuḍalur plates read *narai=chidāptam*.

² This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

³ The Kuḍalur plates read *Para*.

⁴ The Kuḍalur plates read *hitatvāt*.

⁵ The Kuḍalur plates read *yasy=āvaḷōkanam*.

⁶ The reading is *kām=ēti* in the Kuḍalur plates.

⁷ The Kuḍalur plates read *nītipaiḥ*.

- 129 Durvṛitta-kshatra-putra-dvirada-mada-bhara-bhramśa-bāḷa-dvipāriḥ kshmā-chakr-ākrānti-
mādyat-kālī-kālīḷa-
- 130 tamō-bhēda-bāl-āmśumālī | kair=nna stuty-ōdaya-śrīḥ pratidina-bhuvan-ānanda-saṁ-
vṛiddhi-bāḷa |¹ svētāmśur=bbā-
- 131 ḷa ēva kshiti-taḷa-jayinām=agraṇīr=Mmārasimhaḥ || [35*] Pād-āmbhōruha-bhṛimṅa-bhṛitya-
bharaṇa-vyāpāra-chintāmaṇiḥ

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 132 saṁtrāsa-graha-vihvaḷīkṛita-ripu-kshmāpāḷa-rakshāmaṇiḥ [|*] vidvat-kaṇṭha-vibhū-
shaṇīkṛita-guṇa-prōdbhāsi-mu-
- 133 ktāmaṇīr=ddēvaḥ kasya na varṇṇanīya-charitaḥ śrī-Gaṁga-chūdāmaṇiḥ || [36*] sa tu
Satyavākya-Koṁguṇīva-
- 134 rmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrīmān=Mārasimhadēvaḥ || Śailēndrād=iva
Jāhnavī jaḷa-
- 135 dharāt=saudāman=iv=āmbudhēr=mmuktā-paṁktir=iva prakāśita-guṇa-śrī-Mūlasaṁgh-
ānvayāt | divyā
- 136 bhāsura-vṛittir=apratihatā prādurbbabhūv=āvanau |¹ Sūrastā-gaṇa-vṛittir=ujva(jjva)-
ḷa-dhiyām Digvāsasām ja-
- 137 nma-bhūḥ || [37*] Śrī-Prabhāchandra-yōgīśas=tad-gaṇ-ādhiśvaraḥ kṛitī | sarvva-śāstra-
mahāmbhōdhir=vviśru-
- 138 tas=sakaḷ-āvanau || [38*] Tasya Prabhāchandra-muniśvarasya śishyas=tapō-mūrttir=
udātta-kīrttirbba(rttiḥ | ba)-
- 139 bhūva bhavy-ābja-vikāsa-bhānus=satām varaḥ Kalneledēva-nāmā || [39*] Tasya śishyō=
jani śrīmā-
- 140 n Ravichandra-muniśvaraḥ [|*] shaṭ-ṭrim(trim)śad-guṇa-samyuktaḥ śāstra-vārāśi-
pāragah || [40*] api cha || Śrī-Sūrasta-gaṇah
- 141 su-dussaha-tapaḥ-sūrais=tapō-rāśibhiḥ śishyair=llabda-sudhāmśu-nirmmaḷa-yaśō-rāśiḥ
samudbhāsatē | mi-
- 142 thyā-jñāna-tamō-vibhēdana-ravir=vvidvat-sabhā-kaumudī-chandra-śrī-Ravichandra-paṇḍita
iti khyātō yati-grāmaṇī[h*] [| 41*] Tasya śrī-
- 143 Ravichandra-paṇḍita-gurōḥ śishyaḥ satām=agraṇīr=ddin-ānātha-vanīpaka-vraja-manaḥ-
santōsha-sākshān-ni-

Seventh Plate, Second Side

- 144 dhiḥ | bhavy-āmbhōruha-shaṇḍa-maṇḍana-ravir=Jjain-āgamāmbhōnidhir=jjātaḥ śrī-
Ravinandidēva-munipaḥ saujanya-ja-
- 145 nm-āḷayaḥ || [42*] Tasy=ābhavan=munēḥ śishyas=tap-ōnushṭhāna-tat-parah [|*] Ēḷa-
chāryyō yati[h*] śrīmān=āryyavaryyāg(ryyah)

¹ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

- 146 śrut-āmbudhiḥ ||[43*] apī cha || Dāridr-ātapa-tapta-dīna-janatā-saṁkalpa-kalpadrumaḥ |¹
pād-āmbhōruha-bhavya-bhṛīṅga-
- 147 janatā-santōsha-chintāmaṇiḥ | Ēlāchāryya-munīndra ēsha viṣasach-chāritra-ratnākarah
śrīmaj-Jaina-ma-
- 148 t-ōdayāchaḥa-ravir=vvibhrājatē bhūtaḥ || [44*] Koṁgal-dēśa-nivāsinam nirupamam śrī-
Kādalūr-ssamjñakam |¹
- 149 Kallabbā-rachitasya Jaina-nīlayasy=ābhyarchchan-ārttham kṛitī | Ēlāchāryya-munīśvarāya
- 150 vidushē grāman=namasyam svayam ddhā(dhā)rā-pu(pū)rvvam=adāj=jit-āri-narapaḥ śrī-
Mārasi-mhō nṛipaḥ || [45*]
- 151 svakīy-āmbikā Kallabba-rājñī-kāritasya Jinālayasya sudhā-chitra-chitr-ādi-pūj-ārttham
- 152 muni-janēbhyaś=chaturvvidha-dān-ārttham cha | tēn=ābhivandyamānair=bbāḷa-kāḷa-
charitair=apy=akharvva-pratipa-
- 153 ksha-parvvata-paksha-khaṇḍan-aik-Ākhaṇḍalam=ahita-mahīpati-vāhinī-nivaha-gahana-
dahana-hutavaham=atya-
- 154 nta-vikrānta-pratyanta-nṛipa-samīpavartti-samavarttinam=āji-vijay-ōddhura-virōdhi-vasudh-
ādhirāja-rājy-āṁga-grā-
- 155 sa-lāḷas-aika-rākshasa-rājam=avāryya-gāmbhīryya-sāgara-sāmrājya-pāḷan-aika-pāśa-pāṇim=
asi-dhārā-ja-

Eighth Plate, First Side

- 156 ḷa-pravṛiddha-baddha-mūḷa-stabdha-vidviṣṭa-nṛipa-visha-viṭapa-nirmūḷan-ānīlam=**anava-**
rata-pradhāna-vijaya-dhana-sam-
- 157 graha-dhaḷēśvaram=akhiḷa-jagadvartti-kīrtti-Gaṁgōdvahana-Mahēśvaram=anukṛiṣṭat-
āṣṭa²-dik-pāḷam=aśēsha-rājarishi(rshi)-mū-
- 158 rddh-ābhishikṭam pitaram Satyavākya-bhūpatim=anukurvātā Mārasiṁhadēvēna Mēlpāṭi-
śībīram=adhivasati vi-
- 159 jaya-skandbhāvārē **Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-samvatsar-āṣṭa-śatēshu chaturā(ra)śīty-**
abhyadhikēshu Dundubhi-samvatsar-āntargga-
- 160 **ta-Pausha-māsa-bahūḷa-paksha-navamyām Maṁgaḷa-vāra-Svāti-nakshatra-**
garajē-karaṇa³-dhṛiti-yōga-samyōginyām Kanyā-
- 161 **lagnē** | tat-samaya-samāvirbhūta-Jina-savana-janit-ānanda-manuja-munija[na*]-samāja-
kōḷā-
- 162 haḷa-kalakaḷā-pūrita-diśāyām tat-kāḷa-nirākuḷa-samchaḷat-kālī-chaṇḍāḷa-samparkka-pātak-
ātām-
- 163 ka-pamka-kshāḷan-ōḍṣata-jagajjana-majjana-kshōbhita-bhūtaḷa-pratīta-gandhōdaka-pravāha.
- 164 sahitāyām-Uttarāyana-samkrāntiyām tasmai Ēlāchāryya-munīśvaraya **sakaḷa-bhūpāḷa-mauḷi-**
māḷā-makara-

¹ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

² Read *anukṛiṣṭ-āṣṭa*.

³ Read *gara-karaṇa*.

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180	ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು	180
182	ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು	182
184	ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು	184
186	ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು	186
188	ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು	188
190	ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಪ್ರಪಂಚಸೃಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರವಾಹವು ಪ್ರವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು	190

Scale : One-half

- 165 nda-rajah-pumja-pimjarita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷāya | śisira-kara-nikara-viśada-yaśō-rāśi-
viśadikṛita-sakaḷa-ma-
- 166 hītaḷāya | Jin-ābhishēka-gandha-jala-dhārā-purassaram Komgal-dēs-āntarvartti-Kādalūr-
nnāmā grāmō dattaḥ [| *] Asya sīmā |
- 167 Pūrvvasyān=diśi **Kemṅolliya** paḷḷada mūḍaṇa piriya karggalla moṇḍe | allindan=dakṣiṇ-
ābhimukhade sandu Sōdiyā-

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 168 la-dīṇeyē | ante sandu karggalla sarade | ante sandu kal-tippeye | ante sandu **Paṭṭareyē** |
ante sandu Belgalla-mo-
- 169 ṛaḍiya ben-dīṇeyē | ante sandu Eyguyyal-moṇḍiyē | Āgnēyada kōṇoḷ uruṇe-gallē | alli-
- 170 ndam Paśchim-ābhimukhade-sandu Uḷiyam=beṭṭē | ante sandu Dakṣiṇasyān=diśi |¹ kaḍi-
tale-galla-karggalla mo-
- 171 ṛaḍe | ante sandu **Baḷavageya** dīṇeyē | ante sandu **Maysūra**-baṭṭeya kal-tippeyē | ante
sandu nairṛitiya
- 172 kōṇa |¹ Kēra dīṇeyē | allindam=uttar-ābhimukhade sandu | paśchimsyān=diśi | Kosagu-
moṇḍe | ante sandu
- 173 Nokkiyūra baṭṭeya Bhagavatiya dīṇeya kal-tippeyē | ante karggalla-saradu-viḍidu ba-
- 174 nda karggalla moṇḍe | ante sandu vāyavyada kōṇa-Bhagavatiya dīṇeyē | allindam pū-
- 175 rvv-ābhimukhade sandu Nāḍugāṇiya dīṇeyē | mukkūḍal-ālamē | ante sandu | uttarasyān=
di-
- 176 śi |¹ Tavaḷikallē | ante sandu Paralikeṇeya-baḍagaṇa-dīṇeyē | ante sandu **Gāmvadigereya**
baḍaga-
- 177 ṇa-kaḍe-gōḍe | isānada kōṇa-karggalla-moṇḍiyim banda paḷḷam Kemṅolliya paḷḷadoḷ=
kūḍittu² [|*] Yē kēchi-
- 178 t=tuhināchaḷ-ōjva(jjva)ḷa-yaśas-tuṅgē=tra Gaṇṅ-ānvayē |¹ rājāṇaḥ śaśi-kānta-kānta-
charitāḥ ślāghyā bhavishyanti taiḥ [|*] grā-
- 179 mō=yam pratipālvatām=iti jagad-grāmārtthi-kalpa-drumaḥ tān=abhyartthayatē kṛit-āmjaḷi-
putā(ṭaḥ) śrī- Gaṅga-chūḍāmaṇiḥ² [|46*]

Ninth Plate

- 180 asya dānasya sākṣiṇaḥ śaṇ-ṇavati-sahasra-vishaya-prakṛitayaḥ |² Bahubhir=vvasudhā
dattā |¹ rājabhi-
- 181 s=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṇ(lam) [|47*] Svam
dātum sumaṇach=chhakyam duḥkha-
- 182 m=anyasya pāḷanam(nam) | dānam vā pāḷanam v=ēti dānāch=chhrēyō=nupāḷanam-
(nam) [|48*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā |¹ yō harē-
- 183 ta vasundharām(rām) | shasṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi |¹ viśṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih [|49*]
Adbhir=ddattam tṛi(tri)bhir=bhuktaṁ sha-

¹ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

² There is an ornamental design here.

- 184 dbhiś=cha paripāṭitam(tam) | ētāni na nivarttantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha || [50*] Sāmānyō=
yam dharmma-sētur=anṛipā-
- 185 nām |¹ kālē kālē pāṇanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*] sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinah pārtthivēndrān bhūyō
bhū-
- 186 yō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || [51*] Adhyātma-dhyāna-dāna-pramukha-śubha-samārambha-
sambhūta-vṛiddhiḥ(ddhir)=
- 187 dharmmā(rmmaṁ) śarmma-pravṛiddhiṁ janayatu jagataḥ śānta-sarvv-āntarāyah | kīrtti-
kṛiḍ-ādri-bhūp-ākhi-
- 188 la-kuḷa-śikharī śekhara[ḥ*] ksh māpatinām |¹ Lakshmī-liḷā-kaṭākshā(kshō) nanu bhavatu
chiraṁ Gaṁgakandarppa-bhūpaḥ |² [52*]
- 189 Kōḡiḷ-nāḍa-sim(sī)me pūrvvaśyām(syām) disim(śi) Māṇikavoḷala-toṛeyē | dakṣiṇasyām
diśi Kāvēriyē |
- 190 paśchimasyām diśi Bāḷeyapaḷlamē | uttarasyām diśi **Perṇṇa-nadiyē** | ā nāḍa-nāḷ-gāvunḍa
- 191 Permmāḍi-gāvunḍa² [|*]

¹ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

² There is an ornamental design here.

No. 14—BANGKOK MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 17-7-1961)

On my way back from Indonesia to India in December 1960, I happened to stop for a couple of days at Bangkok. While there, I paid a visit to the National Museum of Thailand in company with Mr. Nirmal J. Singh, Press Attaché, Embassy of India in Thailand. We were cordially received and shown round by Prof. Luang Boribal Buribhand, Director of that museum. I was sad to learn that there had recently been a conflagration in one wing of the great museum, causing considerable damage to valuable records and monuments. The gallery of stone inscriptions had also suffered much from that fire. As we were inspecting the exhibits in that gallery, my attention was suddenly attracted by a stone slab with a short early Sanskrit inscription, beautifully engraved in four lines. The same inscription forms the subject matter of the present paper.

The inscribed **slab**, I was told, had been newly acquired by the National Museum of **Bangkok**. I learnt further that it had not yet been published anywhere.

I am editing it at the instance of Mr. Nirmal J. Singh who was to supply me with a facsimile of the inscription as well as with the details as to the find-place and the circumstances of the discovery of the inscribed slab. I received from him an inked estampage of the inscription in February 1961, through the courtesy of Prof. Luang Boribal Buribhand. The accompanying photograph is a reproduction of the same estampage. In July 1961, I received the information that the inscribed slab had been found by Mr. Serie Naenhna, Assistant Curator of the Provincial Museum during his expedition in 1960, in the vicinity of Prasat Khao Chongsia Chaeng, in the Aranya-prades District, about 350 kilometres east of Bangkok.

The inscribed space measures 28 × 30 cm. The four lines of the inscription constitute but one stanza, each line containing one quarter of the verse, the metre being *Anuṣṭubh*. Though the inscription has suffered a slight damage here and there, especially in the first line, there is no doubt about the reading. The upper half of the letter *ma* in the name Mahēndra has been effaced, but the preserved part of the letter and its comparison in the second line confirm it to be Mahēndra-varman. The **alphabet** is a highly ornamental type of what is commonly known as Pallava-Grantha of South India of about the **seventh century A.C.** Although the palaeography does not call for any special remarks, attention may be drawn to the final *m* indicated by the usual *ma* with the *ardha-chandra* mark above it. The **language** is Sanskrit, as already indicated. As to the contents, the inscription records the excavation of a tank, called *Śaṅkara-taṭūka*, by **Mahēndravarman**.

Even though there is no indication in the inscription as to the identity of this Mahēndravarman, it is possible to identify him with the king Mahēndravarman of Kambuja or Kambujadēśa, *i.e.* Cambodia, son of Vīravarman and the younger or youngest brother of Bhavavarman. This last mentioned ruler is reputed to have founded the dynasty of Kambuja kings, having defeated his rivals of the earlier kingdom of Fu-nan.¹ It goes without saying that the present Thailand at

¹ Cf. R. C. Majumdar's *Kambuja-dēśa* (or An Ancient Hindu Colony in Cambodia), Madras, 1944, pp. 47 ff.

that time formed part of Kambuja or Cambodia. Bhavavarman was succeeded by his brother whose name was Chitrasēna and who assumed the second name Mahēndravarman at the time of his coronation.¹ The practice of assuming coronation names was in vogue in ancient India² and was followed also in lands and islands that came under the Indo-Aryan influence. The reign period of this Chitrasēna-Mahēndravarman falls between the closing years of the sixth century and the early years of the seventh century A.C.

It is further of interest to note here that the same Chitrasēna-Mahēndravarman is known to us from two more stone inscriptions that have already been published. The earlier of these two is known so far in three versions and the later in as many as six.³ Again, the earlier one mentions him only as Chitrasēna, indicating thereby that by that time he had not yet come to the throne. The later one expressly states 'that he was formerly known as Chitrasēna and assumed the name Mahēndravarman at the time of coronation.'⁴ Since our inscription makes him already well-known (*viśruta*) as Mahēndravarman, it may be taken to be the latest of the three inscriptions so far known of him. It is quite possible that the present inscription was also made available in more than one version like the other two and that some other version or versions of it may come to light in future.

The two inscriptions already known record each the establishment of a *Śivaliṅga* by the king, which shows that he was a devout worshipper of the god Śiva. His naming the tank, the excavation of which is the object of the present inscription, as *Śaṅkara-taṭāka*, accords well with that.

In order to show the family resemblance between the earlier inscriptions and the present one, I reproduce here the Cruoy Ampil inscription,⁵ in which the last line is missing.

It reads as follows :

- 1 Bhaktyā bhagavataś=Śambhō-
- 2 r=mmātya(tā)-pitrōr=⁶anujñayā [| *]
- 3 s[th]āpitañ=Chitrasēnēna
- 4 [liṅgañ=jayati Śāmbhavam [*]]⁷

It may be observed that the wording in line 1, viz., *bhaktgā bhagavataś=Śambhōr* is exactly identical with what occurs in the third quarter of the last verse in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Virasēna, a minister of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II.⁸ Is this a mere coincidence or are we to infer that the composer of Chitrasēna's inscription had known Virasēna's inscription? This last belongs to the beginning of the fifth century A.C. and to North India.

¹ R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 21.

*śrī-Chitrasēna-namā yāh=
pūrram āhata-lakṣaṇah |
sa śrī-Mahēndravarman-iti
nāma bhējē= bhishikajam*

² For example, Pallavamalla assumed the name of Nandivarman at the time of his coronation. See the Vaikuṇṭhaperumāj inscription, *SII*, Vol. IV, p. 10.

³ R. C. Majumdar *Kambuja-dēśa*, p. 54.

⁴ Ibid.

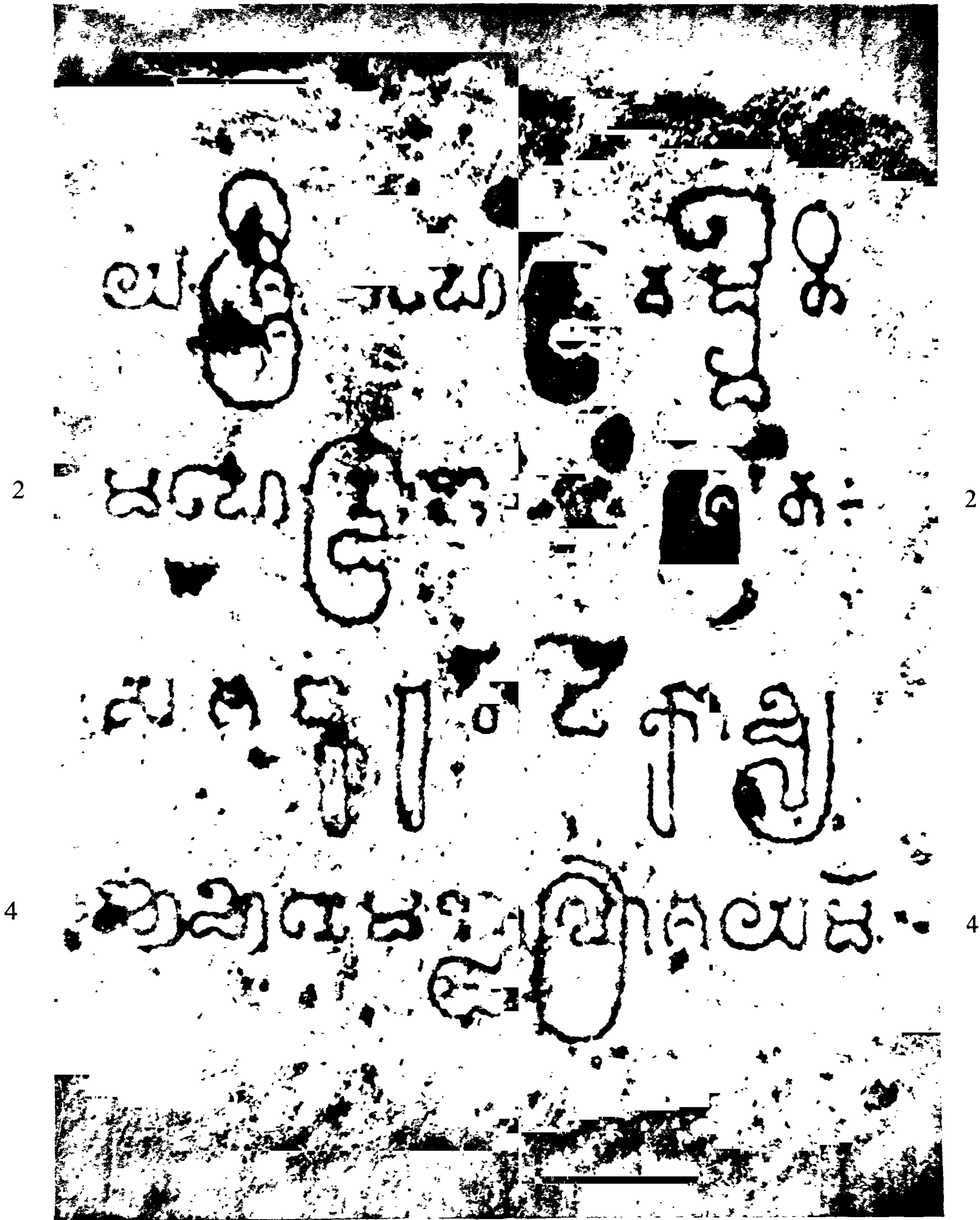
⁵ G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Volume II, Hanoi, 1942, p. 134, Plate LXII.

⁶ [The reading appears to be *r=mmātyā(mātā) pitrōr*—Ed.]

⁷ Restored from the Thma Kre inscription, *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome III (1903), p. 212.

⁸ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 35, Pl. IV-A. The first quarter of the verse occurs also in an inscription of Bhavavarman, the elder brother of Chitrasēna : *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 27, p. 35.

BANGKOK MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN



(from Photographs)



Below I give the text and translation of the present inscription :

TEXT

- 1 Yaś=śrī-**Mahēndravarmmm**=ēti
- 2 Mahēndra iva viśrutaḥ |¹
- 3 sa Śaṅkarataṭāk-ākhyā-
- 4 ñ=chakhān=ōmañ=jalāśayam ||²

TRANSLATION

“He, who is known as the illustrious Mahēndravarman, famous like Mahēndra (i.e. Indra, the chief among the gods), excavated this reservoir of water, named Śaṅkara-tatāka”.

¹ This punctuation is represented by a horizontal stroke in between the two dots of the *visarga*.

² This punctuation is indicated by a small cross.

No. 15—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

(1 Plate)

K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

(Received on 21-7-1961)

Tirupparangunram, a suburb about four miles south-west of Madurai is a well-known centre of pilgrimage for the devotees of Lord Murugaṅ. The hill enshrining this deity abounds in antiquarian relics of considerable historical interest. The Brāhmī inscriptions¹ on the beds in the cavern on this hill are the earliest records available here for study. There are also Jaina sculptures worked on an inaccessible part of the hill.² These inscriptions do not throw much light on the history of the place beyond indicating that the caverns were resorted to by the Buddhist or Jaina mendicants who always preferred such lonely places for their meditation in the early centuries of the Christian era. A later monument on the top of the hill is a building which is believed to be the tomb of a fakir popularly called Sikander.³ During the recent past the hill had been the centre of military activities of the European powers in their struggle for domination.⁴ In Tamil literature the place has been described as a great centre of pilgrimage, as it is today, for the devotees of Lord Murugaṅ or Subrahmanya. The *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of verses grouped with the Saṅgam classics contains graphic descriptions of the place, the deity and also of the people who were attracted to this sacred place from various parts of the country.⁵ The inscriptions published here pertain to the foundation of the rock-cut cave temple on the hill. This rectangular cave-temple facing north contains three cell-shrines respectively for Śiva at the western end facing east, Durgā in the centre of the south wall facing north and Viṣṇu at the eastern end facing west. On the wall behind the *liṅga* in the Śiva shrine is a representation of Somāskanda in bas-relief.⁶ The shrine at the east contains a seated image of Viṣṇu. The scooped spaces on the wall on either side of the shrine of Durgā contain sculptures of Subrahmanya to the east and Vināyaka to the west. There are two pillars at the entrance into the cave temple. Lower down there is an excavated shrine for Jyēṣṭhai reaching to the back wall of the monolithic cave.⁷ The worship of Jyēṣṭhai was evidently very popular in the Tamil country during the period of the inscriptions edited here as images of this goddess are also known to exist at Tiruveḷḷaiyāyil,⁸ Mylapore⁹ and Kumbhakōṇam.⁹

The subjoined inscriptions named A and B are engraved respectively on the lintel of the entrance into the Durgā shrine and on the eastern pillar, both in the rock-cut cave temple of Subrahmanya on the hill. Inscription A is in **Sanskrit** verse engraved in **Grantha** characters.

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1908, App. C. No. 38 ; *ibid.*, 1909, App. B, No. 33 ; 1951-52, Nos. 140-142.

² *Ibid.*, 1909, part ii, para. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, Part ii, para. 156.

⁴ *Palluppāṭṭu, Tirumūrugāṭṭuppadai*, lines 1-77 ; *Paripāḍal*, verse 8, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

⁵ Some cave temples of the Pallavas have similar panels containing sculptures in bas-reliefs. See *Ancient India*, No. 14, pp. 122, 130 and 132.

⁶ *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, pp. 216-18 and n. 1 on p. 218. For further information see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 156-59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

⁸ *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, plate CXXI.

⁹ *Ibid.*, plate CXXIII.

It is dated in the month of **Taisha** of the **Kali year 3874**, equated with the **sixth year**, evidently of the reign of a king whose name is not clear. It records the excavation of a glorious abode for god Śambhu and the consecration of the deity on the said date by **Gaṇapati alias Sāmanta Bhīma** described as a *vaidya-mukhya*¹. Inscription B² which is in **Tamil** engraved in **Vaṭṭeḷuttu** characters of about the 8th century A.D. records the excavation of the sacred temple and a tank by **Śāttan Gaṇapati alias Pāṇḍi-Amiṛta-maṅgalav-araiyaṇ**, who is described as a *raiyya*, a resident of Karavantapura and the *mahāsāmanta* of the king **Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ** in whose **sixth regnal year** the record is dated. It further records that the shrines for Durgādēvī and Jyēshṭhai were caused to be excavated by Nakkaṇ Korri, the *dharmaṇḍi* of Śāttan Gaṇapati³.

The **palaeography** of the two inscriptions may be considered here. A comparison of their alphabet with that of the Āṇaimalai inscriptions, both in Grantha and Vaṭṭeḷuttu—a feature which compares very well with the present records—reveals that the Tirupparaṅgupram Grantha inscription exhibits a more ornamental variety of the alphabet while its Vaṭṭeḷuttu counterpart displays an upright or vertical tendency in the form, whereas in the Āṇaimalai records we find the cursive forms so characteristic of the alphabet. This upright form of the letters with pointed bottoms may be favourably compared with the same feature, despite a few minor differences, in the forms of *ṭa* and *ya*, in the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription⁴ and the Kaḷugumalai record of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ.⁵ A feature of **orthographical** importance is the spelling of the word *āṇa* (lines 6-7) and *kōḷum* (lines 8-9 and 13-14) in which the vowel *i* is used in place of the full consonant *yi*, even though the words *ā* (for *āgu*) and *kō* warrant the use of a hiatus in respect of the syllable *iṇ* and the word *il* respectively.⁶

These two records studied together reveal the fact that they deal with the same subject-matter, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil with some additional details. The shrines for Śambhu, Durgā and Jyēshṭhai having been excavated, the inscriptions point out, the deity Śambhu was consecrated in the month of Taisha (December 22nd-January 19th) in the 6th year of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ which fell in Kali 3874⁷ (773-74 A.D.). Here is yet another important landmark in the chronology of the early Pāṇḍya kings, the one already known being that of the Āṇaimalai inscription⁸ of this king (Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ) dated Kali 3871, Kārttika Pausṇa (i.e. Rōvati), Sunday, regularly⁹ corresponding to 770 A.D., November 4. These two dates enable us to indicate the period when Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ should have ascended the throne. That the later date must have fallen in the 3rd year of reign of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ is obvious when it is construed with the former.¹⁰ This is indirectly confirmed by the identity of the *ājṇapti* Māraṇ-Kāri of the Vēlvikuḍi plates of

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1951-52, No. 142. The interpretation of the text in the remarks column is defective. See text below.

² *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 37. The text has been published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 67. Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ of this record was identified with Jatilavarman of the Madras Museum plates. See *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 3.

³ *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, p. 158, n. 28. The argument given there in favour of making Nakkan-Korri, the queen of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ is untenable. The expletive particle *marra* indicates only the beginning of another sentence whose subject-matter is different. The absence of regal title for the lady also indicates that she was the wife of Śāttan Gaṇapati. *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 and n. Also compare line 3 of Inscription B.

⁴ *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 158.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. XIV, No. 31.

⁶ Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 320, line 11 and plate.

⁷ It may be noted that the date is expressed partly in words and partly in chronograms (*caṇu*, i.e., 8 and *vēda*, i.e., 4).

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff. Here the date is expressed in words.

⁹ *QJMS*, Vol. X, p. 183.

¹⁰ *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 59, n. 2. The statement made there requires to be revised in the light of the present record.

the king's 3rd regnal year and his namesake who figures as the *uttar mantrin* of the king in this (Āṇaimalai) record which states in the Tamil part of its text, that this dignitary having passed away after the completion of the rock-cut temple, his brother completed the consecration of the deity (Narasimha) therein. Now, taking the month Taisha (December 22-January 19) as the last in the 6th year of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan's reign, the exact *tithi* or day being unspecified, and November 4, as the last in the 3rd, it can be shown that this king identified with Varaguṇa I¹ must have commenced to rule sometime between December 22, 767 A.D. and November 4, 768 A.D.

It will not be out of place here to discuss the light that the inscriptions and the sculptures throw on the date of the *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of 22 poems, which is grouped with the Sangam classics and which contains eight verses on Śēvvēḷ or Murugavēḷ or Subrahmaṇya and Tirupparaṇkunram. The original anthology of this work with 70 poems is said to have contained thirty-one poems on Murugavēḷ and Paraṇkunram of which only eight are now extant.²

The poems speak of Tirupparaṇkunru in high praise as the abode of Lord Subrahmaṇya where all gods, not to speak of the people, throng to have his favour. One of the poems (No. 19, line 28) refers to *eludēḷil-ambalam* which was perhaps a hall, the walls of which had paintings drawn on them. This hall is again referred to in another poem (No. 19, lines 48-54) as *eluttu-nilai-maṇḍapam*. This *maṇḍapa* is stated to have been embellished with several paintings (*chittiram*) depicting stories such as that of Ratī and Kāma, Ahalyā who was transformed into stone by Gautama on account of her defilement by Indra, etc. It therefore appears that at the time when these poems were composed the worship of Murugavēḷ at Tirupparaṇkunram was immensely popular. The inscriptions published here, as already pointed out, do not mention Subrahmaṇya at all,³ and the sculpture of Subrahmaṇya occupies a less prominent place, i.e. on the wall to the east of the shrine of Durgā, as a subsidiary deity. If the Śēvvēḷ or Murugavēḷ described in the *Paripāḍal* pertains to this sculpture,⁴ it may be reasonably surmised that the poems of the *Paripāḍal* which describe this god may be assigned to a date much later than the date (773-774 A.D.) of the foundation inscriptions edited here.⁵

Śāttan-Gaṇapati, the founder of the cave-temple is also described as Pāṇḍi-Amirta (Amṛita)-maṇḍala-araiyan and as a *mahāsāmanta* of the king. He is said to be a resident of Karavantapuram which is the well-known Kaḷakkuḍi in Tirunelveli Taluk, Tirunelveli District. He is also described as a Vaidya-mukhya, the chief among the Vaidyas. Māraṇ-Kāri, the *ājñapti* of the Vēlvikuḍi plates also belonged to the Vaidya family of Karavantapuram and bore the title Mūvēṇḍa-maṇḍala-ppēraraian⁶. His brother Māraṇ-Eyinan who succeeded him to the position of *uttara-mantrin* bears the title Pāṇḍi-maṇḍala-viśai-araiyan. Another chief of this family, Dhīrataran Mūrtti Eyinan was the *ājñapti* of the Madras Museum plates dated in the 17th regnal year (784-85 A.D.) of this king⁷. Mūrtti Eyinan is described also as the *mahāsāmanta* of the king. He bears the title Vīramaṇḍala-ppēraraian. Śāttan-Gaṇapati who was the *mahāsāmanta* according to the present record in the 6th year (773-74 A.D.) of this king, bears the title *Pāṇḍi-Amṛita-maṇḍala-araiyan* which has a close affinity with another title *Pāṇḍi-Iḷaṅgōmaṇḍala-ppēraraian* of Śaigaṇ

¹ Regarding the identity of Varaguṇa I with Jaṭila-Parāntaka Neḍuṇjaḍaiyan, see above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 269 ff.

² *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, by Professor S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 26.

³ The only reference to this deity occurs in a late inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No. 251) dated 1792 A.D.

⁴ For a detailed examination of the cult of Murugan, see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII pp. 159-77.

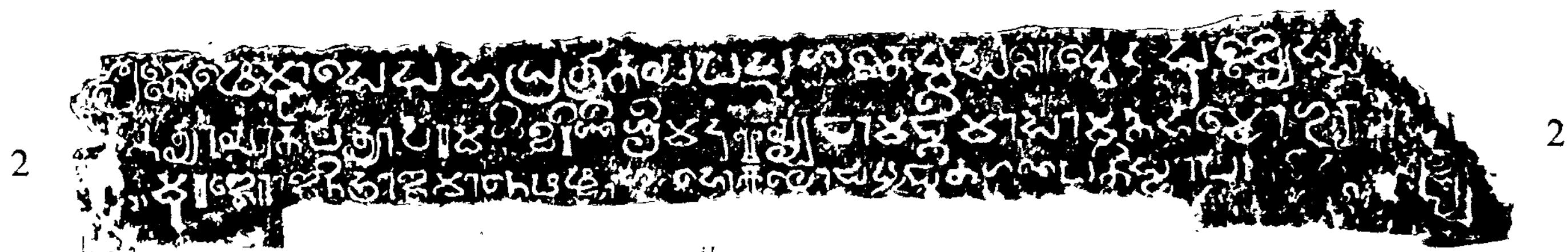
⁵ One of the poems (No. 11) in this anthology on Vaigai furnishes astronomical details which have been equated after an elaborate examination to the 17th June, A.D. 634. *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pp. 100-09.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 318 ff.

⁷ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.

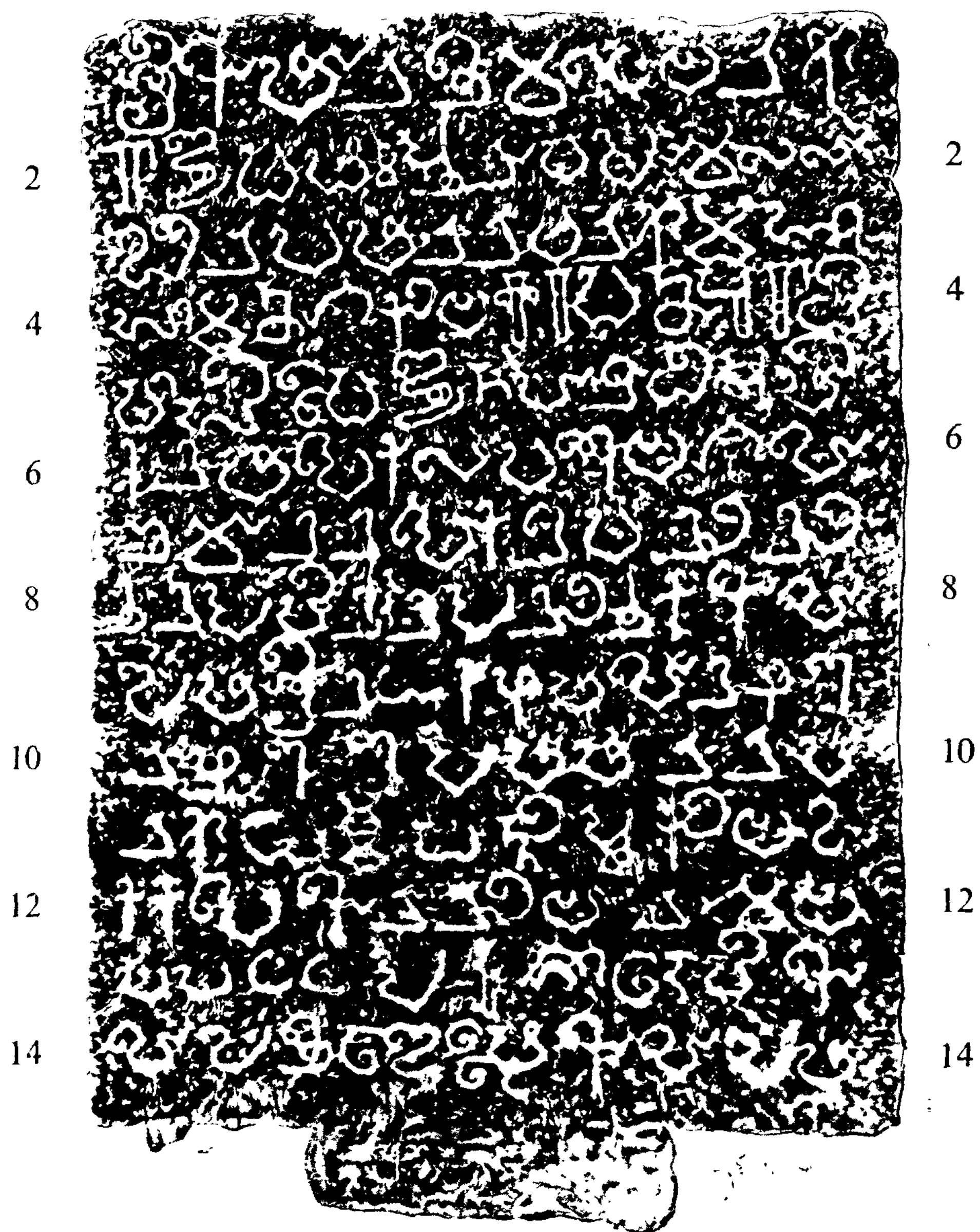
TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

A



Scale : One-seventh

B



Scale : One-fifth

Śīdharan of the Madras Museum plates who held the office of the *mataga-pādhyaḥśabā* (superintendent of proud elephants). The word *matigala* occurs also as part of another title 'Matigala-Ēṇādi of Eṭṭi-Manṇan of Perumachchuram mentioned in an inscription¹ from Kaṭugumālai dated in the 23rd year of reign of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan of the present record. Thus it may be seen that most of these chiefs hailed from the Vaidya family of Karavantapuram and that the words *matigala* and *araiyaṇ* forming part of their titles and occurring as a distinguishing feature with their names are confined to the reign of this Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyan identical with Parāntaka Neduṇjaḍaiyan.

The only place name Karavantapuram occurring in the records has been already discussed.²

TEXT³

A

- 1 Śrī[| *] Taishē māsē **sahasra-tritaya vasu-śatair=vatsarair=vēda-saṁkhyais=sa-**
- 2 **[pta]t-yāyātavatyām=Paramasikhariṇi** Śrīmad=ū[t]kūyya dhāma[| ' |] Dhīmān-Sāmanta-
Bhīmō gu[ru] [.]⁴
- 3 [·]murajā rājani bhrājamānē **shashtyām(ṭhyām)** Śambhōḷi kalau cha vyadhita **Gaṇapati**⁵=
sthāpanām Vai[dyaṁ]khyah [| *]⁶

B

- 1 Śrī [| *] Kō-Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṛku
- 2 rājya-varsham āṛāvadu chellā
- 3 nūpa mair-avaṛku mahā-
- 4 sāmantan-āgiya Karavantapur-āḍha-
- 5 vāsi Vaijyan Pāṇṇi Am-
- 6 rdamaṅgalav-araiyan ā-
- 7 ṇa Śāttaiṇ-Gaṇapati ti-
- 8 ruttuvittadu tiru-kkū-
- 9 lum Śrī-taḍḍagamum idanul=a-
- 10 ram=ulḷadum [| *] mair-ava-
- 11 ūku dharmma-paṇṇi āgiya Na-
- 12 kkaṇ-Korriyār-cheya-
- 13 ppattadu Durggādēvi-kō-
- 14 iluṇ Jēshṭ u-kōilum [| *]

¹ *SIH.*, Vol. XIV, No. 31.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 283 ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ There is a sign of medial *l* over the letter *ra* which may be ignored. The two short syllables needed after *quru*, one in line 2 and another in the beginning of line 3 are damaged. Shri K. R. Srinivasan informs me that the inscription was formerly fully covered by a brass plate. Hence the damage caused to the left is.

⁵ This is evidently governed by Vārttika 4906 *Kharṇaṭ sarvāṇā vasaṅgalōṇā akṣaṇaḥ* as pointed out by Shri V. S. Subrahmanya Sastri.

⁶ Metre—*Sragdharā*

No. 16- BANNIGOL INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 947

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND.

(Received on 30-4-1958)

This inscription, edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a **slab** of stone set up in front of the house of Mukkappa Togalgal at **Bannigōl**, a village in the Lingsugur Taluk, Raichur District, Mysore State. It was copied by Shri Shrinivas Ritti in the course of his epigraphical survey of that Taluk during the winter of 1957.¹ The stone on which it is engraved is broken on the top and at the proper left corner of the bottom. Fortunately, however, the record is well preserved though a few letters in the last but one line are faint and the last letter in the same line is chipped off. A horizontal line across the stone divides the inscription into two portions but the matter runs on from one half to the other.

The **language** and **alphabet** of the record are Kannada. No special remarks are needed so far as the palaeography and orthography are concerned as they conform to the period of the record, *i.e.*, early part of the 11th century A.D.

The details of the date given in the inscription are Śaka 947, Krōdhana, Āśvija /u. Saptamī, Friday. These regularly correspond to **1025 A.D., October 1, Friday**. On that day the *tithi* commenced at '01 and ended on the following Saturday at '05.

The record is a royal decree (*saṁsthā-patra*) enjoining the *śroṭayas* Māramayya, Nāmayya, Sōvayya, Kallimayya and Chāvayya of Bannigōla to collect revenue at specified rates on different types of lands such as *kaṭṭa-keṇī*, *paṭhagandige*, *kisukūḍu* etc., by **Trailōkyamalla Vijayāditya** who is stated to have been ruling from his capital Moraganūr, to the south of Katṭege situated in Knudurage-Seventy division. The record enjoins that the decree should come into force from the Śaka year 948, Kshaya *i.e.*, 1026 A.D., the year next to that in which the record is dated.

The chief interest of the record lies in the mention of Vijayāditya with his title *Trailōkyamalla* and his association with the administration of that part of the country which was, during that period, under the sway of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The fact that there is no mention of the name of his family, gives rise to the question of identification of this Vijayāditya who was ruling from Moraganūr. Moraganūr is the same as Modeganūr which appears in epigraphs in other forms also like Modeyanūr, Mōdanūr and Mōditagrāma. It has been identified with the modern Mādinar in the Koppal Taluk of the Raichur District.²

During the period in question, there was one Vijayāditya who was a contemporary of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II. He was a step-son of Rājarāja I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty who ruled from Vēṅgi. Vijayāditya of our record is evidently identical with this Vijayāditya as will be shown below. Vimalāditya was succeeded on the Eastern Chālukya throne in 1099 A.D.³ by his son Rājarāja I born of the Chōla princess. Vijayāditya was also a son of

¹ It is registered as No. 343 of App. B in *A. R. Ep.* for 1957-58.

² P. B. Desai—*Studies in Epigraphy*, 2. See also his article 'Mimchida Mādinar' in *Prāchīna Karmātaka*, Vol. I Part II (1932); *Q.J.M.S.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 97-98.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, p. 5.

Vimalāditya by his other wife Mēlama or Mēḍama of the Telugu-Chōḍa family.¹ Though several of the inscriptions of Rājarāja I speak of his rule from 1019 A.D.,² his coronation took place only three years later *i.e.*, in 1022 A.D. This was because of the opposition of Vijayāditya, his step-brother, from allowing him to succeed to the throne. Rājarāja I ultimately succeeded in celebrating his coronation with the help of his contemporary Rājēndra Chōḷa of the Chōḷa dynasty. Several inscriptions from Maḍakasira³ and Kottaśivaram⁴ in the Madakasira Taluk, Anantapur District, refer to the battles fought by the Chōḷa general Araiyaṇ Rājarājaṇ with the Kaliṅgas, Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas. Two of these⁵ are dated in the tenth year of Rājēndra-Chōḷa corresponding to 1021-22 A.D. One of these inscriptions⁶ refers to a Veṅgi king who fled away when he heard of the advance of the Chōḷa general mentioned above. It has been rightly surmised that the Veṅgi king who thus ran away was Vijayāditya VII.⁷

It is also well known that Veṅgi was the object of the protracted battles between the Chōḷas and the Western Chālukyas. It is stated in an inscription from Tanjore⁸ that Rājēndra-Chōḷa conquered Iraṭṭapāḍi from Jayasimha, the Western Chālukya king, who turned his back and fled from Muṣaṅgi or Muśaṅgi.⁹ The date of this inscription is also 1021-22 A.D., as that of the inscriptions from Anantapur District referred to above. This clearly indicates that Rājarāja I succeeded in setting aside the claims of Vijayāditya for the throne with the help of Rājēndra-Chōḷa and later in 1022 A.D., had his coronation ceremony celebrated.

But Rājarāja I could not once for all vanquish his rival who was still waiting for an opportunity to hit him. He had quite possibly sought the help of Jayasimha II who had good reason to proceed against the Chōḷa who obviously was supporting Rājarāja. The Miraj grant of Jayasimha II dated 1024 A.D.¹⁰ mentions him as being in the possession of Eḍadore-2000 country and affirms that he regained it after driving out the Chōḷas. From this it is clear that the battle of Muśaṅgi was not a decisive one and the two powerful parties were still at war and did not hesitate to proceed each against the other when an opportunity occurred itself.

The Pāmulaṅka plates of Vijayāditya VII¹¹ assert that after Rājarāja I had ruled for twelve years, Vijayāditya defeated him and got the throne and that his coronation took place in Śaka 952 corresponding to 1031 A.D. Though the Ryāli plates¹² of the same Vijayāditya do not refer to any such event, the undated Kalidūṇḍi plates of Rājarāja I¹³ seem to throw some light on this point. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, while editing this record, states that the battle between the Chōḷas under the leadership of the three Chōḷa generals, and the commanders of the king of Karṇāṭa was fought in 1031 A.D. when Vijayāditya got himself crowned.¹⁴

Now, Vijayāditya of the record under review is, in our view, none else than this Vijayāditya VII of the Eastern Chālukya family. We have suggested above how this Vijayāditya was seeking

¹ *The Eastern Chalukyas of Veṅgi* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, p. 218.

² *Ibid.* p. 216.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, App. B. Nos. 751 and 752. See K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōḷas*, second edition, pp. 204-06 where the activities of the Chōḷas in the Veṅgi country are discussed.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, App. B 1917, App. C. Nos. 23, 24, 30 and 31.

⁵ Nos. 23 and 752 of 1917.

⁶ *Ibid.* B. No. 751.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 62; K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōḷas* p. 205 (Second edition).

⁸ *S. H.* Vol. II, No. 10 pp. 93-95 ff. Also *Ibid.*, No. 17.

⁹ This place had originally been identified with Uchchangidurg in the Bellary District, but has later been identified rightly with Maski. See S.I.I., Vol. II; pp. 95, n. 4; *Aśōkan Inscriptions*, Edited by Hultzsch, pp. xxvii Above Vol. IX, p. 230.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 303 ff.

¹¹ *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. II, pp. 277 ff.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 168.

¹³ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.

¹⁴ [For a different view on this point, see above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 261 ff.—Ed.]

the assistance of Jayasimha II, the Western Chālukya, for overthrowing Rājarāja I. It is not therefore impossible that between 1022 A.D., when the battle of Mu-aṅgi was fought and 1031 A.D., when Vijayāditya got himself crowned, he took refuge under Jayasimha who made the Eastern Chālukya prince the governor of a province befitting his status. After regaining the Eḍdore province in 1024 A.D., from the Chōlas, Jayasimha must have made Vijayāditya the governor of the area round about Moraganūr which was a part of the Eḍdore country.¹

The occurrence of the title *Trailōkyamalla* is very intriguing. An inscription from Tammadhaḍi² attributes the title *Trailōkyamalla* to Jayasimha II. Even though this record is engraved in characters of the 12th century A.D., the title *Trailōkyamalla* mentioned in it might have been borne by Jayasimha himself from whom Vijayāditya of the present record must have taken it.

Of the geographical places that occur in the inscription, Moraganūr has already been identified. The other names are Kundurage Seventy, Kaṭṭege and Bannigōla. Kundurage, which was then a district of 70 villages, may be identified with the present Kundaragi in the Bijapur District.³ Kaṭṭege is perhaps identical with Kaṭṭagēri near Kundaragi in the same district. Bannigōla is obviously the same as Bannigōl, the find-spot of the record, situated in the Raichur District and on the boundary of the Bijapur District.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Śrīmat-**Trailōkyamalladēva**-nāmādi-sama-
- 2 sta-prasa(śa)sti-sahita[in] śrīmad-**Vijayāditya**-dēva-
- 3 r=ssa(śa)ka-varsha 947 neya Krōdhana-saivatsarad=Āśva[yi]ja-
- 4 su(śu)ddha saptami Su(śu)kravārad=andu Kundurag=elpattara baḷi-
- 5 ya Kaṭṭegeya te[in]ka-daḍiya **Moraganūra** neleviḍinol su-
- 6 kha-saṅkha(ka)thā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ geyuttire Bannigōlad=ūroḍeyaṁ Mā-
- 7 ramayya[in]gaṁ Nāmayyaṁgaṁ Sōvayya[in]gaṁ Kallimayya[in]gaṁ Chāva-
- 8 yya[in]gaṁ Sa(śa)ka-varsha 948-neya Kshaya-saivatsaram=ādiy=āgi-
- 9 yāva kālakkam koṭṭa saṁstā(sthā)-patram=ent=endode [*] kariya keyge mattara-
- 10 l aydu paṇaṁ patṭa-gandige mattaraḷ=eraḍu paṇa-va[rddham] kisukāḍu mattariṁge
- 11 paṇa[in] takka-ṭartta-vasha⁵ mattarige pattu vīsavam vaisham-pratiy=o[ndu] paṇaṁ [vṛitti=
- ā]-
- 12 gi yārene-śrāhege kari-keyyol=ūḍuvu[du]. keyi ko[tṭa].
- 13 i[da] | Idam tappade pratipā[li]suvar

¹ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 295-6.

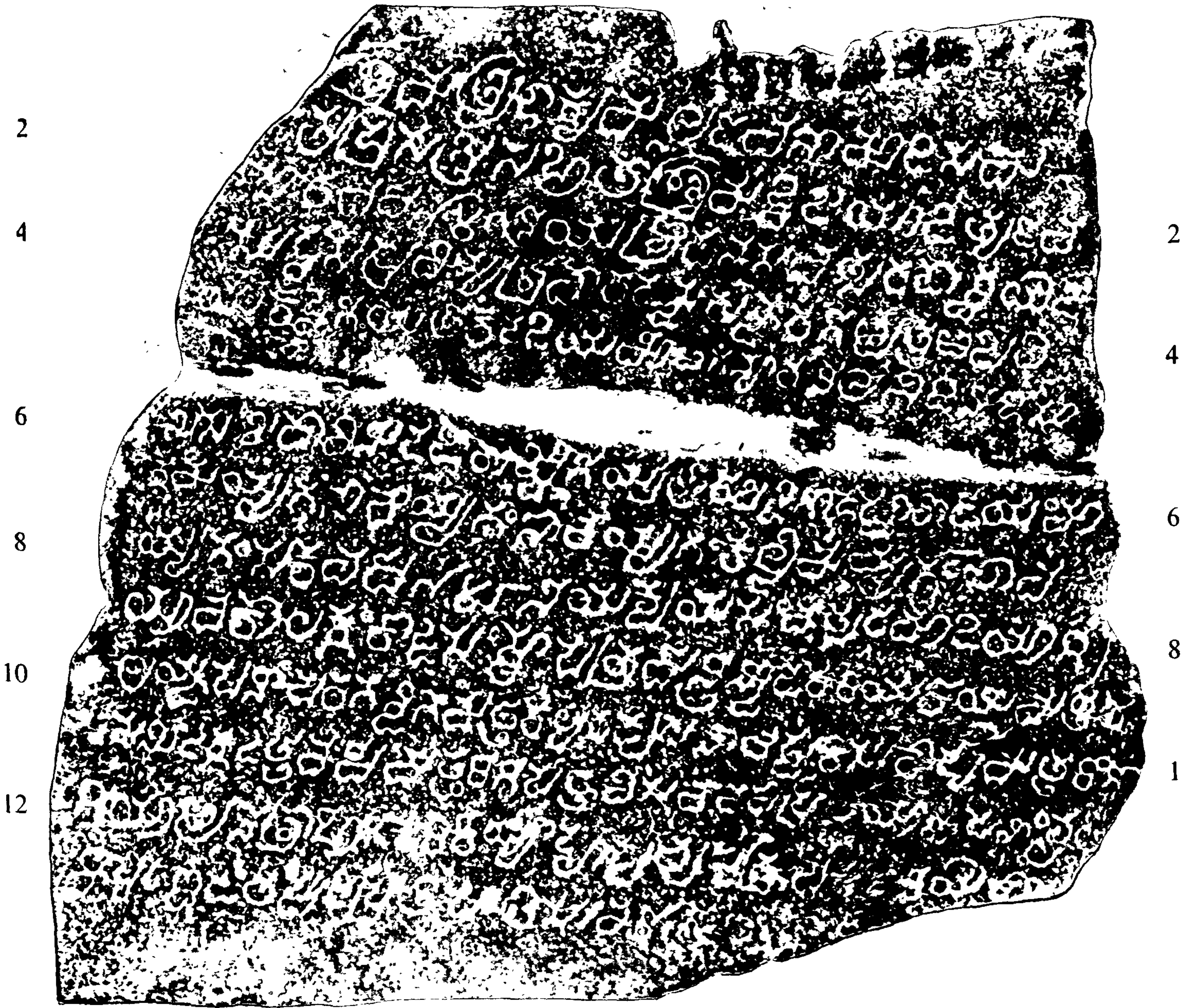
² *SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 68.

³ We are thankful to Prof. C. M. Kulkarni, M.A., of Bombay, who kindly suggested this identification.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ The exact import of this expression is not clear.

BANNIGOL INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA VIJAYADITYA



Scale : One-fourth

No. 17—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAMPURA, SAMVAT 1664

SADHU RAM, NEW DELHI.

(Received on 22nd May 1959)

The two inscriptions edited hereunder are found in the village **Rāmpurā**, Mandasor District, Madhya Pradesh, situated at about 23 miles north-west of Garoth Railway Station. The first inscription (A) is engraved on a **pillar** set up on the north-east corner of a step-well in the village,¹ while the second (B) is engraved on a large **stone-slab** built into the wall of the same well.²

A. The Pillar Inscription.

The inscription occupies an area of about 18" by 9" and consists of thirteen lines, engraved in **Nāgarī** characters. The language of the record is **Sanskrit**, but it is influenced by the local dialect.

After the invocation of the *Siddhas* and recording the details of date this inscription gives the genealogy of the house of a certain **Pāthū** or **Padārtha**, and records the construction of the well which is described as *savyā vāpī* or a step-well on the southern side (of the pillar). It gives the details of date of the consecration (*pratishṭhā*) of the well as Thursday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month **Vaiśākha** of the **Vikrama** year 1664, corresponding to the **23rd April 1607 A.D.**

The genealogy of the house of **Padārtha** (**Pāthū**) as given in the pillar inscription is as follows :

Nāthū
|
Jōgā
|
Jivā
|
Padārtha

The *gōtra* of the family is given as **Baghēravāla** and the name of the architect is **Rāmā**, the same as **Rāmadāsa** of the well inscription edited below.

B. The Step-well Inscription.

The step-well inscription covers an area of about 37" by 21" and contains 31 lines, and is written in **Nāgarī characters**. The first part of the record, viz., lines 1-11 has suffered some damage

¹ A. R. Ep., No. B 193 of 1954-55. An estampage of it was very kindly lent to me by Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Deputy Director, Archaeology and Museum, Bhopal.

² Ibid., No. B 196 of 1954-55. The estampage of this inscription was sent to me very kindly by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

and consequently the number of letters lost in each line ranges from twentythree (in line 1) to five (in line 11). The part succeeding the line 27 is also much damaged, and hence it is difficult to be certain as to the number of lines that were originally there and the number of letters that are lost in line 30.

The language employed in this inscription is **Sanskrit** and the extant portion of the text consists of at least 17 verses besides a small prose passage in the beginning and a few letters in line 30 possibly forming part of a verse.

The **object** of the inscription, as in the case of the pillar inscription, is to record the excavation and the consecration of the well by Padārtha.

The date portion (verse 43) of the record is damaged, and the available details are, the month Rādhas (=Vaiśākha), the *tithi* Bhāsvat, and again, the weekday, Thursday. If *Bhāsvat tithi* is taken to refer to *Pāñcimī*, a sense, which, though unusual, is not impossible, then the nearest possible date would be Vaiśākha su. di. 15, V.S. 1664 corresponding to the 30th April 1607 A.D. And if the statement *pūrvīkṛtya sudūghikām* in the same verse is taken to mean 'after the construction or filling of the *vāpī*' and compared with *vāpī-pratishṭhā kṛitā* in the pillar inscription, we may possibly expect the date of the inscription being later than that of the pillar inscription, say by seven days.¹

The record begins with a small prose passage invoking Gaṇēśa and Bhārati, which is followed by the verses of eulogy. The first verse which is damaged also invokes the same deities again and mentions the son of Jīvā, evidently Padārtha, the hero of the *praśasti*. The extant portion of the second verse appears to invoke the great sages to protect the hero. It may be compared with the invocation of the *Siddhas* in the pillar inscription A. discussed above.

Then commences the description of the genealogy of the house of the hero from its originator who is also named Padārthaka, and who is said to have been born in the *Śrēṣṭhi-gōtra*, the best among the 52 *gōtras* belonging to the twelve and a half² castes of the Vaiśyas (verses 3, 4). After him is mentioned Nāthū, a rich and munificent person who stands in some relationship either of a son or of a younger brother as is indicated by the letter 'ta' (for *tasya=ātmajaḥ* or *tasya=ānujaḥ*) in verse 5. This clearly shows that these Padārthaka and Nāthū are different persons from their namesakes, the sons of Jīvā.³ The occurrence of the same names in later generations is a common practice among all families even to this day. The name of Nāthū's son is illegible in line 4, verse 6. In verse 7, he is said to have enjoyed the patronage and favours of an intelligent master, the lord of the fortress of Āmaṇḍa, who followed a wise course of policy and saw that his subjects were free from distress. In the following verse he (Nāthū's son) is referred to as Yōga. The same verse also says that he was appointed to a responsible post by Achala⁴ who had satisfied himself of Yōga's capacity and skill in doing his duties. Yōga, evidently, is the same person as Jōgā of the pillar inscription. In verse 9, the ruler of Gujārāt (Śakapa) is said to have encountered Yōga on the

¹ [The expression *vāpī-pratishṭhā* includes the filling up of the *vāpī* with water and its consecration. See Hēmadri's *Chaturvargachintāmanī*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 925 ff. (Banaras Edition, 1903). Therefore it appears that the dates of both the inscriptions are one and the same, namely the 23rd April 1607 A.D. It follows, therefore, that the expression *Bhāsvat-tithi* stands for *saptamī*. Cf. *Saptamī-sapta-saptēs=tu*, etc. Ibid., Vol. III, Part II, p. 67. See also, above, Vol. V, p. 168, note 4.—Ed.]

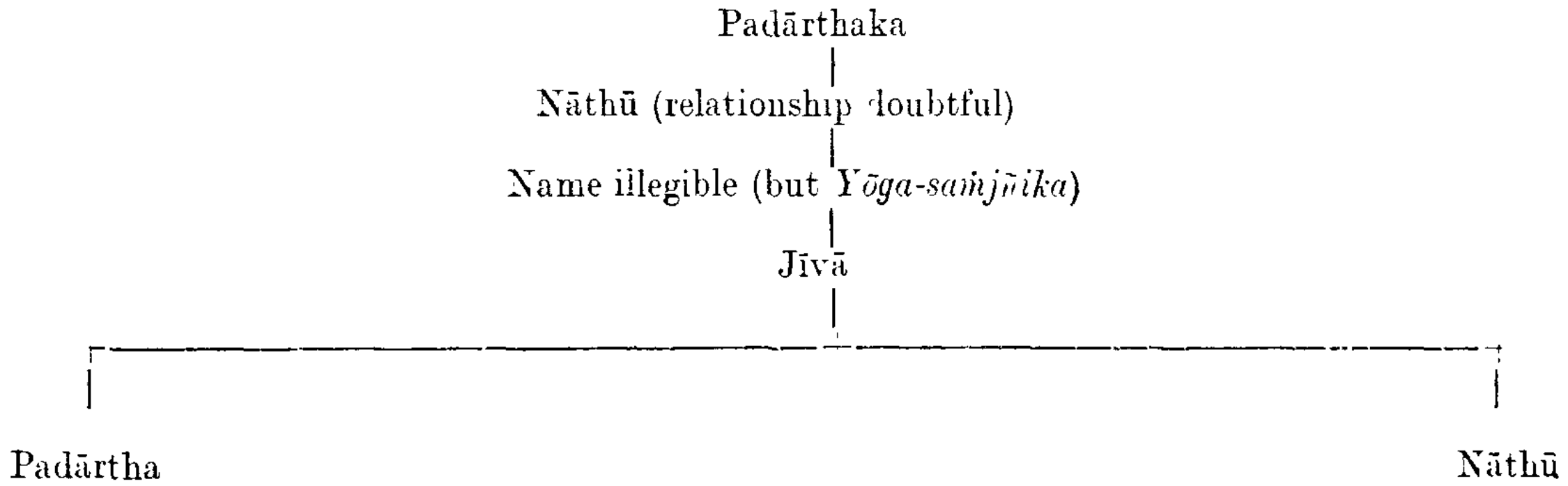
² [The expression *sārdha-dvādaśa* in the context actually means 'eighteen'. See M. Williams *Sans. Enc. Dic.*, s.v. *sārdha*.—Ed.]

³ [It is difficult to be sure on this point. It is equally possible that the original read *tasya=ānuja* *īj khalu pūrvam=āśīd=dāna-pradān-ādhiqatā*.—Ed.]

⁴ [Achala may be identified with Achaladīsa, grandfather of Durga.—Ed.]

border of Mēdapāṭa (Mēwīr,) but fled and sought refuge with Pratāpa¹. Verse 10 appears to describe his (Yōga's) faith in Jainism which he appears to have professed as we shall see below. Verse 11 appears to attribute the building of a Chaitya to Yōga while verse 12 introduces his son Jīvā who seems to have effected some improvements, or created an endowment (verse 13), for the same Chaitya mentioned above and who seems to have been held in high esteem (verse 14).

Verse 15 introduces Jīvā's two sons, named Padārtha, the elder, and Nāthū, the younger. Thus the genealogy of the house may be indicated thus :



A comparison of the two tables of genealogies described in the two inscriptions, makes it clear that Padārtha, the son of Jīvā and the elder brother of Nāthū, who had the well excavated, cannot be identical with Padārthaka, the founder of the House.²

The above section is followed by an account of king Durgabhānu, evidently of the Chandrāwat family.³ Verse 16 compares his kingdom with that of Rāma of the epic fame. The next verse describes Durgabhānu as the son of Pratāpa, while verses 18-19 vaguely praise the former's rule. The next verse (verse 20) speaks of a beautiful *śarōvara* in Rāmapurā dug by Durgabhānu which may be identical with Durgasaras⁴ mentioned in verse 39. Verse 21 praises him as a subjugator of several kings and territories.

¹ This *Śakapa* may be Muzaffar Shah III of Gujarāt; but who this Pratāpa was, is not clear. He cannot be Rānā Pratāpa. Because Muzaffar never sought refuge under him. Nor can he be Durga's father; because he was dead and Durga succeeded his grandfather. He must be only some chieftain in Gujarāt or Kāthiāwār. [This incident appears to have taken place during the time of Achaladāsa. (See Note 4 on p. 172) It is therefore doubtful whether Muzaffar Shah of Gujarāt whose accession took place in 1562 A.D. (*CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 344-45) was a contemporary of Achala. Hence the identification of *Sakapa* requires further evidence. Verse 9 appears to mean that *Sakapa* while on this flight took refuge in the valour of Yōga who was camping on the border of Medapāṭa.—Ed.]

² [See note 3 on p. 172.—Ed.]

³ The history of Chandrāwat family of Durga is given by Shri Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojhā in his *Udayapur Rājya kī Itihās* (pp. 1372-73). Śivā, the great-great-grand father of Durga, having saved the *Begum* of Sultān Hoshang from drowning in a boat-wreck received the title of *Rao* from Hoshang and a Jāgir of the Parganā of Āmad together with 1400 villages. Śivā's son was Rai Mal and grandson, Achaladāsa. Achaladāsa's son, Pratāpasimha was the father of Durgabhānu. He died (perhaps in a battle-field) and Durga succeeded his grandfather and founded the city of Rāmpurā. It was destroyed by Āsaf Khān, a general of Akbar during the latter's siege of Chittor and Durga was compelled to owe allegiance to Akbar. He served Akbar for more than 40 years and was raised to the rank of Commander of Four Thousand (*Āin-i-Akbarī*, Eng. trans., Blochman, pp. 459-60). He lived to the age of 82 and died on December 20, 1607 A.D. (See also *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Eng. Tr., p. 134). In the list of possessions of Durga, as given in *Rāmpurā kī Khyāt*, there is the mention of Āmadgarh Havēlī, i.e., the lands under the Āmad fort. According to the *Indore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1931 edition, pp. 559-60, "Eleven miles to the west of Rāmpurā lies the ruined fort of Āmad (Āmandagarh), a former stronghold of the Chandrāwats, its main gate still standing in a state of fair preservation." That is why Durga is called "Āmamda-durgādhipati", in verse 7.

⁴ [The reference here is to a well dug at *nijavūmi-pura*, meaning Delhi. The *Durgasaras* referred to in verse 39 may not be this well.—Ed.]

Verses 22 and 23 respectively speak of the construction by Durgabhānu of a lotus-pool to the east of Ujjayinī by damming up the river Piṅgalikā¹ and to his performance of *tulādāna*² together with rich gifts to the Brāhmaṇas at the holy place of Piśāchamōksha.³ He is said to have brought glory to the emperor of Delhi (i.e., Akbar) by his capture of the fortified village Ahillaka (modern Alhad) and to have put to flight the advancing hordes of the Sultān of Gujarāt (verses 24-25)⁴. He made a gift of a thousand cows to the Brāhmaṇas at Rāmpurā (verse 26) and proceeded to the city of Madhu (i.e., Mathurā) to distribute more gifts to the Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of a solar eclipse (verse 27).

Verses 28-31 describe Durga's greatness in valour, devotion to god Viṣṇu, etc., and inform us that, having appointed the loyal Padārtha as his Finance Minister, Durga enjoyed the favour of the lord of Delhi and got *jāgirs* from him. Verse 32 praises Padārtha's virtues.

In the next section (verses 33-36) Durga's son, Chandra⁵ is introduced. He is said to have raised Padārtha to the status of his Prime Minister, to have fought against and defeated a Moham-madan king Turatī⁶ and also to have conquered the hostile kings of the West and several Moham-madan generals and thus to have earned great fame.

This section is followed by an account of the activities of Padārtha who had, by now, gained a position of power and influence as Prime Minister. He was greatly devoted to the Tīrthanīkaras (verse 37). He made gifts of food and clothes to the *saṅgha* while setting out to see the festival in the Jaina temple probably referred to in verse 11 above (verse 38), made a pilgrimage to the Durgasaras (a pond excavated by Durga), gave away gifts of different kinds for eight days and made some *hōma* in 'this place', viz., the place near the step-well (verses 39-41). The present step-well excavated by him is said to have been furnished with several rest-houses (*saudha-śata*) for the comfort of the travellers (verse 42).

Then come the details of date in verse 43 which we have already discussed. The same verse says that Padārtha got the tank filled up (with water) and made gifts of money to the Brāhmaṇas. It is interesting to note that the well is still known as *Pāttū Shāh kī Bācarī*, i.e. 'the step-well of the minister Pāttū' (corrupt form of Padārtha).⁷ Verse 44 informs us that the well was constructed by the architect (*Sūtradhāra*) Rāmadāsa, the son of Shētā (= Khētā), who boasts of the excellence of his work as a challenge to the pride of other architects. Verse 45 introduces Kēśava

¹ This river cannot be the Chambal which does not flow to the east of Ujjain, nor even the Siprā which also flows to the west. It may possibly be some minor tributary of Siprā which may be flowing to the east of Ujjain. In [?] maps there are a couple of tanks on the eastern side of Ujjain formed by building of dams, but their history requires investigation.

² *Rāmpurā kī Khyāt* mentions a *Tulādāna* by Durga's queen there on a lunar eclipse occurring on Kārttika Pūrṇimā.

³ Dr. Trivedi has informed me that it is the same place known as Śankhōddhāra on the bank of the Chambal. The Piśāchamōksha rite is still performed when a fair is held there twice a year on the full-moon days of Vaiśākha and Kārttika. This place is 10 miles from Rāmpurā. [The expression *Piśāchamōksha* reminds us of the story of the emancipation of *Piśācha* at Prayāga (*Padmapurāṇa*, VI, 250) and of *Piśāchamōchana-tīrtha* as the name of a sacred bathing place—see M. Williams *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *Piśācha*.—Ed.]

⁴ [Probably the reference here is to the war of Gujarāt in 1584 in which Durga is said to have distinguished himself (*Āīn-i-Akbarī*, op. cit., p. 459).—Ed.]

⁵ *Mānsabdar-ul-Umārā* (p. 506) mentions that Durga's son Chandra had, in the beginning of Jahāngir's reign, the rank of 700. Gradually he attained a higher rank and held the title of *Rao*. Being an imperial *Mānsabdār*, he could appoint Padārtha to be the minister of his own affairs and holdings as well (vide, *Udayapur Rājya kā Itihāsa*, pp. 1062-63).

⁶ Could it be a corruption of Turbatī? Turbat is the name of a tribe (*ulās*) in Khurāsān (Blochman, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, p. 373). He may have been a petty chief of that tribe ruling over some principality in that region.

Pāttū Shāh may stand for Pātisāh, 'the king'.—Ed.]

as a very learned Brāhmaṇa. He may have been the composer of the *praśasti*. In line 29, only the words *saugata-dharma-vēttā* (i.e., one conversant with the religion of Sugata) are legible. Sugata is primarily an epithet of the Buddha, but here it seems to have been used for the Jina, Jainism having been then very popular at Rāmpurā and in the adjoining region. Buddhism had long disappeared from this region.¹

The geographical names occurring in this record, viz., Dūṣhaṇāripura *alias* Rāmpurā, Delhi, Ujjayinī, and Mathurā are well known and we have tried to identify the river Piṅgalikā.

A

TEXT²

- 1 ॥ ओं नमः[*] सिद्धे(द्धे)भ्यः । स(सं)वत्
- 2 ॥ १६६४ वषे(षे) वसाष(वैशाख)मास-
- 3 ॥ शुक्लपक्षसप्तम्यां गुरौ पुष(ष्य)-
- 4 ॥ नक्षत्र(त्रे) एतस्मिन् दिन(ने) सं-
- 5 ॥ गइ³ श्रीनाथु[*] तस्य पुत्र[*]
- 6 ॥ सं जोगा तस्य पुत्र[*] सं
- 7 ॥ जीवा तस्य पुत्र[*] संग-
- 8 ॥ इ श्रीपदारथ[*] पा[थु]
- 9 ॥ ज्ञाता(तिः) व(ब)घेरवाल-
- 10 ॥ गा(गो)त्रं [तेन*] सन्यावापा(पी) प्र-
- 11 ॥ तिष्टा(ष्ठा) कृता[*] सु(शु)भ(भं)
- 12 ॥ भवत्रु(नु)॥ स(सू)त्रध(धा)रः
- 13 ॥ रामा ॥ श्रीः

¹ This is what Dr. H. V. Trivedi, wrote to me.

² From impressions.

³ The word *Samgāi* and its contraction *Sam*² in the succeeding lines stand for the Sanskrit *Saṅghaśālin* or *pati*.

B

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 44 *Śālinī* ; vv. 2, 6, 7, 10-14, 18, 27, 29, 32, 38 39, 47(?) *Upajāti* ; vv. 3, 34, 42, 43, 45, 46 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4, 16, 20, 26, 28, 30, 35 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 5, 15, 22, 24, 31, 37, 40, 41 *Indravajrā* ; verse 8 *Vaitālīya* ; verse 9 *Āryāgītī* (defective, with one *mūtrā* too much in the 2nd *pāda* and one too short in the fourth *pāda*) ; verse 17 first half *Udgīti* while second half is damaged ; verse 19 *Scāgata* ; vv. 21, 23 *Upēndravajrā* . verse 25 *Gīti* ; vv. 33, 36 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 ॥ [श्री]गणेशभारतीभ्यां नमः । नत्वा देवं विघ्नराजं गणेशं देवीं वा[णीं] दिव्य-
मिहासनस्थां(स्थाम्) ॥ जीवासूनोर्द ७ — — [दशायां] — — लोके [कल्पवृक्ष] ७ — —²
[॥१॥] ७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — ७ — ७ — [भ्रा]जितपादपद्माः ॥
- 2 ॥ [सम]स्तसंदर्शितमोक्षमार्ग[ः] विद्वन्प्रियं पान्तु पदार्थकं ते ॥२॥ सार्द्धद्वादशजातयो
निगदिताः श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठा) विंशं भूतले तन्मध्ये [प्र]थिता[ः] सु[धर्म]निरता व — ७ —
— ७ — ॥ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ ७ — धर्मे स्वकीये स्थिता मि-
- 3 ॥ [थ्यास्थावि]निर्वर्जितानिनिपुणा[*] पण्ये स्थितानां शुभे ॥३॥ नेत्रवाणेषु गोत्रेषु
श्रेष्ठि(ष्ठि)गोत्रं शुभं मतं(तम्) ॥ तस्मिन् पदार्थको जातः सर्वगोत्रप्रकाशकः
॥४॥ त — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — — [प्र]दानाधिगतप्रतीतिः ॥
- 4 ॥ [व्या]पारदक्षो निजवं(वं)धुमुख्यः(ख्यो) नाथूधनाढ्यः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) ॥५॥
तस्यात्मजोभूत्सु[हृदाप्न?] — — रत्नाकराद्धी(च्छी)तकरः कलाढ्यः ॥ य[था] जनानंद-
[ऋरः*] ७ — — ७ — ७ — — ७ [मुदग्र]कीर्तिः ॥६॥ आमंददुर्गा-
- 5 ॥ धिपतिं प्रजानां दूरीकृताधि सुनयेन³ दक्षं(क्षम्) ॥ प्रभुं गुणाढ्यं समवाप्य शस्वत्
(श्वद्) धर्मार्थकामान् वु(वु)भु[जे]धिकथ्रीः ॥७॥ अचलः⁴ किल यो[ग]संज्ञिकं
७ ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ — ॥ अधिकारिपदे नियु(यु)क्त-
- 6 ॥[वान्] निजकार्यक्षमं⁵ पाटवं(वम्) ॥८॥ गूर्जरदेशाधिपतिः शकपो यं प्राप्य
मेदपाटसंधिस्थं(स्थम्) ॥ गतभीः पालयमानो(नः) गरुणं यत्प्रतापमंजिकं कृतवान्
॥९॥ ७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ नीयः⁶ सुगुणाभिरामः यो

¹ From impressions.

² The original probably had *kalpa rikshasya tasya*

³ Better read *sunayē cha dakṣam*.

⁴ The name Achala here refers to Durgabhānu.

⁵ This sign indicates an omission which however is not found supplied in the portion available. Read *kṣhamatāṃ cha pāṭavam*.

⁶ This may be conjecturally restored as *yō darśanīyah*.

- 14 ॥ ण्यदानं बहु चान्नदानं(नम्) ॥२३॥ श्रीदुर्गभूपः किल दक्षिणस्यां सोहिल्लकं
वारणदुर्निवारं(रम्) ॥ जित्वाहवे सैन्यपती(ती)श्च हत्वा दिल्लीश्वरं कीर्त्तिपरं
चकार ॥२४॥ गूर्जरदेशाधिपतिर्सु(तिः सु)दुष्करः स्वं जयं ध्रुवं मेने ॥
विलो-
- 15 ॥ क्य दुर्गनृपतेना(र्ना)गीरं गजपुरत्स(स्स)रं भग्नः ॥२५॥ गोसहस्रमहादानं
विधिवद्दीनवल्लभः ॥ दूषणारिपुरे दुर्गो ददौ कल्पद्रुमोपमः ॥२६॥ मधोः
पुरीं प्राप्य जगत्पवित्रां सूर्योपरागे हि ददौ महान्ति ॥ दानानि चान्यानि
त्रयो-
- 16 ॥ दशानि¹ श्रीदुर्गभूपो द्विजपुंगवेभ्यः ॥२७॥ क्षात्रं दयालुं(लु)तां दानं विनयं
धर्मरक्षणं ॥ विज्ञानं विष्णुभक्तिं च वर्णितुं तस्य क[:*] क्षमः ॥२८॥
तस्य प्रभोदु(र्दु)र्गनराधिपस्य मान्याग्रणीग्रा(ग्री)ह्यगुणो वदान्यः ॥ परोपका-
रेवज-
- 17 ॥ निधिः पदार्था(र्थः) प्रीत्या जनानन्दकरः कृपालुः ॥२९॥ दयया दानमानाभ्यां
नयेन प्रश्रयेण च ॥ पदार्थः प्राप्तसंकल्पो(ल्यः) सर्वलोकप्रियोभवत् ॥३०॥[कृ]त्वा-
(त्वा)धिकारं² विपुले धने स्वे सेवापरं दुर्गनृपः पदार्थ(र्थम्)॥ दिल्ली-
- 18 ॥ श्वरात्प्राप्तनिजोरुमानो देशाननेकान् वु(बु)भुजे तदात्तान् ॥३१॥ विश्रामभूमिः
किल सज्जनानां पदारथः पुण्यनिधिः गुणज³ ॥ समाश्रिताः सत्फलमाप्नुवन्ति
निदाघतप्ता इव कल्पवृक्षं(क्षम्) ॥३२॥ विविधमंत्रप-
- 19 ॥ हुं हि पदार्थकं मकलकार्यधुराधरणक्षमं(मम्) ॥ हृदि विचित्र्य सुधा-
निधिसंजिको(कः) सकलमंत्रिजनेष्वकरोद्विभुं(भुम्) ॥३३॥ श्रीमदुर्गनरेश्वरस्य
तनये(य)श्चन्द्रा⁴न्वयद्योतकश्चन्द्रः क्षात्रगुणान्वितो निजजनानन्दप्रद[:*] कर्त्ता(कां)तिमान्
- 20 ॥ संग्रामे तुरतीं विजित्य सहसा म्लेच्छा(च्छा)धिपं दुस्सहं ॥⁵ नीत्वा
दुन्दुभिवाजिराजिमतनोत् कीर्त्तिं जगद्विश्रुतां(ताम्) ॥३४॥ दिशि मंदायते यस्यां
भानो[र्*] भान्सहस्रकं(कम्)⁶ ॥ तस्यामेव तु चंद्रेण प्रतापैररयो जि-

¹ The reading may have to be corrected as *trayōdaś-ānyāni vihāptāni*.

² *Adhikāram* in the sense of *adhikāraṇtam*.

³ Read *nidhir-guṇajñah*.

⁴ This Chandra was a remote ancestor of Chandra, the son of Durgabhānu.

⁵ These vertical strokes are redundant.

⁶ For influence of Kālidāsa, compare *Rājharṣa*, IV. 49, *diśi manīgyatē tējō dīkshinasyaṁ rāṇē=api*.

- 21 ॥ ता[:*] ॥३५॥ समरभूमिगतः सुतरां वभौ नृपतिपूजितदुर्गतनूद्भवः ॥
 यव[न*]सैन्यपतीनहनत्परात्(न्)¹ विजयिवीरकुमारसमप्रभः ॥३६॥ इ(ई)दृग्विधा-
 च्चंद्रमसोधिकारं लब्ध्वा वितेने विपुलं यशः स्वं(स्वन्) ॥ देवा[ल]-
- 22 ॥ यं तीर्थकृतां च भक्तिं कुर्वन् पदार्थो दयया च दानं(नम्) ॥३७॥
 देवोत्सवं तस्य जिनालयस्य द्रष्टुं प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)वसरे हि संघः ॥
 सन्मानभोज्य[ग]न्नदुकूलवस्त्रै[:*] समर्पितः सद्बचनैरिहाप्तः ॥३८॥ रथं
 विधायामर[या]-
- 23 ॥ ७ —²[ल्पं] तत्रोपविश्यायजनैः पदार्थः ॥ दानं ददत्पौरजनैः सहर्षैः जनैर्ययौ
 दुर्गसरःसमीपे ॥३९॥ यात्रां विधायानु जलस्य दत्त्वा(त्वा) वस्त्राण्यनंतानि
 सुवासिनीभ्यः पूगीफलानां निज(च)यं जनेभ्यो
- 24 ॥ — — ७ ति³ प्राविशदालयं स्वं(स्वम्) ॥४०॥ घस्राष्टकं वर्णचतुष्टयेभ्यो(भ्यः)
 प्रीत्या ददन्नित्यमवारितान्नं(न्नम्) ॥ कृत्वा शुभं मंडपमत्र होमं संपूज्य संघं
 विससर्ज पूर्ण(र्णम्) ॥४१॥ जीवासूनुरकारयन्नजकुले भास्वत् ७ — —
- 25 ॥ ७ —⁴रथ्यासौधशता(तां) गवाक्षरुचिरां शस्ताकृतिं दीर्घिकां(काम्) ॥ दूरादागत-
 शर्मदां दृढशिलाव(व)द्धां पुरात्पश्चिमे पूर्णा(र्णा) शीव(त)जलेन भव्यरचना-
 सोपानपंचत्यन्वितां(ताम्) ॥४२॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमभूमिपस्य समयात् प-
- 26 ॥ ७ — — न्मिमे मासे राधसि⁵ वत्सरे गुरुयुते भास्वत्तिथौ चोज्व(ज्जव)ले ॥
 विप्रान् वेदविदः सुवर्ण ७ ७ —⁶वस्त्रादिभिः(भि)स्तोपयन् चूणी(र्णी)कृत्य सुदी-
 र्घिकां च वितरन् वित्तं पदार्थोधिकं(कम्) ॥४३॥ षे(खे)तासूनुः सूत्रधा[र]-
- 27 [श्चकार] शस्ताकारां दीर्घिकां रामदासः ॥ शिल्पं तस्या वीक्ष्य शिल्पी मनोज्ञं
 कश्चि[च्चित्तेनादधात् शिल्प]गर्व(र्वम्) ॥४४॥ भारद्वाजकुलोद्भवो [द्विजवरः]
 श्रीकेशवः पुण्यकृत् वेदव्याकरणागमार्थवि[द]-
- 28 ॥ — — ७ — — ७ ॥ — — — ७ ७ — ७ नः सुधि ७ — — — ७ — — ७ —
 ॥४५॥ — — — ७ ७ पारगः सुचरितो गौ(कौ)सल्यगात्र भवद्भदे[व]-

¹ Read °patīn=avadhūt=parān.

² The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored as naka.

³ Originally °bhyaś=chandra-dyutiṁ.

⁴ The lost word may be pratāpānvitō.

⁵ This name of the month is usually akārānta.

⁶ This may be restored as raśanā.

29 ॐ - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - - - ॐ - ॐ - ॥ - - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - - - ॐ
 - - ॐ - - - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - ॐ ॐ ॐ - - - ॐ - ॐ - ॐ - [॥४६॥] ॐ - ॐ -
 - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - सौगतधर्मवेत्ता ॥ स्वे-

30 ॐ - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ - ॐ - - ॐ ॐ - ॐ - - [॥४७॥]
 [श्रीभावहां(हाम्)] ॥ यस्य-

31

No. 18—ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL

(2 Plates)

K. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS AND P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 20-6-1961)

The inscriptions dealt with here are found in the rock-cut cave temple dedicated to the god Raṅganātha¹ at **Nāmakkal**, a large town in the Salem District of Madras State. Of these, Inscription A² was discovered only recently by K. R. Srinivasan and copied by P. R. Srinivasan. The rest were copied by the Epigraphist in 1906³ but only cursorily examined by him. Fresh copies of these also were taken by P. R. Srinivasan. They are edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. We are thankful to Pandit V. S. Subrahmanya Sastri for his assistance in deciphering the inscriptions.

Nāmakkal seems to have been known by this name only from the late Nāyaka period.⁴ It is not known how and why the place came to be so called⁵. The earlier Tamil name of the hill of the place is Tiruvāraikkal (Tiru-Āraikkal or Āraikkal with the honorific prefix *Tiru*) in Ēlūr-nādu of North Koṅgu.⁶ *Ārai* means a fort wall (*Tamil Lexicon*, s.v.) and *kal* refers to the rock; hence *Ārai-kkal* may be taken to mean the fortified rock. *Tiru* denoting its sacredness because of the two cave temples and a structural temple on top.⁷

The inscriptions are found engraved in two places in the cave temple which has two parts, namely a rectangular sanctum with a high floor level with two pillars and two pilasters on the front line and containing the huge two-armed reclining rock-cut sculpture of god Raṅganātha with a number of attendant figures⁸ carved on the walls, and a verandah in front of the sanctum with two pillars and two pilasters on its facade but with a lower floor level. Inscription A is engraved on the east face of the two-armed corbel over the northern pillar of the verandah⁹. Inscription B is engraved on the beam cut above the corbels of the pillars of the sanctum while Inscriptions C and D are engraved on the eastern faces of the corbels of the southern and northern pillars of the sanctum respectively. There are nine single-line inscriptions of *birudas*, found here, and they

¹ It has been called also Paḷḷiṅṇḍaperumāl (*vide* *A. R. Ep.*, No. 10 of 1906). There is another cave temple here dedicated to Lakshminarasimha known as the Śingaperumāl temple (*ibid.*). These two cave temples have been noticed by the Epigraphist in the Annual Report for 1906. For further inscriptions from the place *vide* Nos. 328-29 of 1938-39 and Part II, p. 71 of the Report for 1938-39.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 291.

³ *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 7 and Part II, pp. 57-59.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 12.

⁵ Perhaps the place was named Nāmanūr after a certain Nāman, and the rock came to be called Nāmanūr-kal or Nāmakkal. Tiruchendūr or Śir Alaiyāy in the Tiruchelveli District had an alternative name of Nāmanūr. (*See Tirumukārruppadaḥ*, line 125, commentary, Dr. V. V. Swaminatha Iyer's Edition).

⁶ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 5 and 11.

⁷ There are a number of names of towns and places in South India ending in *kal*, as for instance Vāṅgal, on the South bank of the Kāvēr near Karūr; Diṇḍukkal in Madurai District; Orungal (Warangal) in Andhra Pradesh; Tōraṇakal (Tōraṇagallu) in Mysore, etc.

⁸ For particulars see *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Part II, p. 58, para. 35.

⁹ The corbel over the southern pillar seems to have borne an inscription. Unfortunately it is completely effaced except for traces of some letters.

occur as follows : three on each of the pilasters of the sanctum ; one at the top of each of the pillars, just below the corbel. all these on the sanctum facade ; and one on the northern pillar of the verandah, at its top, just below the corbel.

The **characters** are Grantha and they are akin to those in which some of the inscriptions of the Pallava kings that ruled after Pallava Narasimhavarman I (c. ca 630-668 A. D.) are written, and they bear a special resemblance to the Grantha characters of the inscription in the Atirāṇa-chaṇḍa-maṇḍapam at Śāḷuvaṅkuppam¹ belonging to the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rājasiṃha (circa 700-728 A. D.). Some of the letters *e.g.*, *gu* and *gu* (Ins. A) and *bhṛi* in *bhṛigu* (Ins. B, line 1) of the inscriptions dealt with here are nearly identical with the respective letters occurring in the Śāḷuvaṅkuppam inscription. The letters *u* and *bh* of the present inscriptions have two forms (Ins. B) of which the looped variety of *u* is interesting because of its rarity in the period to which these inscriptions are assigned. The presence of this type of *u* here and in the Śāḷuvaṅkuppam inscription, might suggest that the inscriptions under review are nearer in point of time to the Śāḷuvaṅkuppam record. The characters of these inscriptions when compared with those of the Sanskrit portion of the Ānaimalai lithic record of 770 A. D. belonging to the time of Pāṇḍya Māraṇjaḍaiyaṇ,² show that they are definitely earlier. Thus palaeographically the position of these inscriptions may be said to be somewhere between 720 and 750 A. D. It must, however, be stated that these are the only inscriptions written in this early Grantha script known so far from the Koṅgu country.

As regards **orthography** some points deserve mention here. There is the doubling of the consonants after *r* *e.g.*, *darppaṇam*³ (Ins. A, line 1), *Māḷkkaṇḍēga* and *paṇṇa* (Ins. B, line 1), *ṛpūreō*⁴ (Ins. C, line 2) and *Utpalakaraṇṇika* (*biṇḍa* on the southern pilaster of sanctum). In *Dakṣaś=śaśi* (Ins. B, line 1) the *visarga* has been changed to the following consonant. In *griham=Viṣṇuōḥ* (Ins. A, line 1) the *anusvāra* is compounded with the following letter. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in *sahitāḥ-katrē* (Ins. B, line 2).

The four main inscriptions are in **Sanskrit** verse but their style is, however, defective and errors of spelling too occur. Owing to this, and to the peeling away of some parts of the surface of the rock on which they are engraved, the full purport of two out of the four verses is not clear. The labels are also in Sanskrit.

The inscriptions do not contain any date. But each one of them is important in its own way. Inscription A, discovered recently, is important not only because it is a foundation inscription³ mentioning the excavation of the cave temple called the Atiyanātha-viṣṇu-griham, but also because it contains the name of the king (*nṛpatiḥ*), who caused the work to be done, as Guṇaśīla⁴ which was not known from the other inscriptions examined in 1906. The purport of Inscription D

¹ Above Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

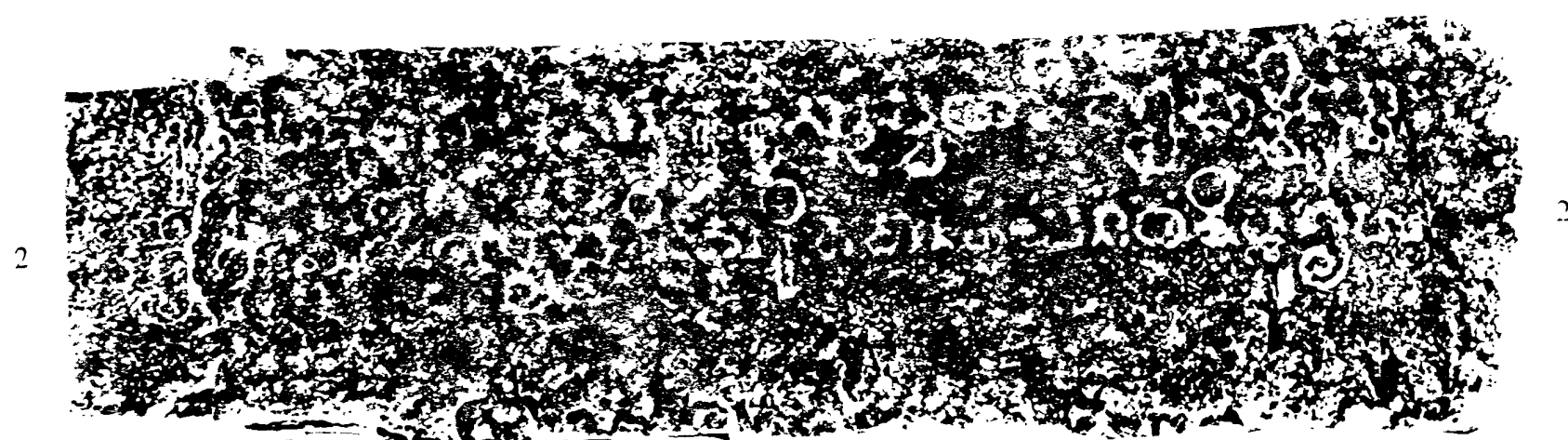
² Above Vol. VIII, Plate facing p. 320.

³ A number of such foundation inscriptions are known from South India, belonging more or less to the period to which the inscriptions discussed here are to be assigned *e.g.*, the Tirupparankunram (Madurai District) inscription (A. R. Ep., 1951-52, No. B 143), the Malaiyaḍikkurichchi (Tirunelveli District) inscription discovered by K. R. Srinivasan (ibid., 1959-60, No. B 358) and the famous Maṇḍagappattu (Chingleput District) inscription of Pallava Mahēndravarmān I (ibid., 1905, No. 56) and similar but earlier ones in many of the Mahēndravarmān cave temples in Tondaimaṇḍalam and Tiruchirapalli (Upper Cave-Laṭṭānkura Pallaveśvaragriham).

⁴ A place (an important Vaishṇavite pilgrim centre) on the north bank of the Kāvēri (north of the Upper Anicut) in the Tiruchirapalli District is named Guṇaśīlam perhaps an abbreviation of Guṇaśīla-chaturvēdimangalam which is referred to in an inscription (A. R. Ep., 1953-54, No. 377) from Śīrangam dated in the ninth year of the reign of Vīra-Rāmanātha (i.e., 1264 A. D.). It is about ten miles from Tiruchirapalli on the Tiruchirapalli-Nāmakkal road. The place was evidently named after this Atiya king, when his territories perhaps reached up to this place at the height of his power.

ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL—Plate I

A



Scale : One-sixth

B



Scale : One-sixth

seems also to have been similar to that of Inscription A, but as it is damaged, its full import cannot be easily made out. However, it mentions the name of the temple as Atiyēndra-vishṇu-gṛīham, and seems to refer to its author who could no doubt be identical with him of the Atiyanātha-vishṇu-gṛīham of Inscription A, i.e., Guṇaśīla. Inscription C is interesting in that it gives some details about a king. But unfortunately it is difficult to make out with certainty to which particular king these details refer as that quarter of the verse which should furnish the connecting links of these details is damaged beyond redemption. However, the extant portion of the record appears to refer to Sōma of the Atiya family who is described as the senior (*pūrra*) among the daughter's sons of a person whose name is lost.¹ From the prominent mention of the king's name as Guṇaśīla in Inscription A we are tempted to attribute the descriptive details of the king in Inscription C also to Guṇaśīla and therefore construe Sōma as an *alias* name of this king. Inscription B contains a list of the names of gods, demi-gods and *asuras* associated with the principal deity. They are, in the order in which they are mentioned in the inscription, Mārkkandēya, Parṇṇa (for Suparṇṇa i.e., Garuḍa), Varuṇa, Brahmā, Īśa, Daksha, Śaśī, Sūrya, Tumburu, Nārada, Guru, Bhṛigu, Śārṅga, Kaupōdaki, [Chakra], Nandaka, Pāñchajanya, Śrī, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. These names when checked with the figures carved on the walls of the sanctum round the reclining Viṣṇu seem to tally almost, except for slight variations. There is hardly another iconographic inscription of this kind relating to this period and so the importance of this inscription needs no stressing. It is valuable in another respect also, as it contains the interesting architectural expression namely *śayyā-gṛīham*, meaning literally the sleeping-apartment, but here the abode for the *śayana* (reclining) form of the deity. This term is perhaps the precursor of the later-day expressive Tamil term *paḷḷiyarai* in temples. Texts on architecture (e.g. *Vaikhānasāgama*) speak of *śayana* forms of *vimāna* (temple), one of the three types of *vimānas*, which is essentially rectangular with *śāla-śikhara*, or oval, and intended for *śayana-mūrtis*. The *Mānasāra* calls it a *śayana-prāsāda*.² The occurrence of this term in this technical sense here, therefore, may be said to be the earliest.

In the four main inscriptions the word Atiya occurs at least five times, of course in compound forms, e.g., Atiya-(kula?) and Atiyanātha-vishṇu-gṛīham (Ins. A), Atiyēndrāṇām (Ins. C) and Atiy-ānvavāya and Atiyēndra-vishṇu-gṛīham (Ins. D). Obviously the king who was responsible for engraving these inscriptions was proud of his lineage, the Atiya line or the Adiyamāṇ family which ruled over this part of Tamilnad, for some centuries. The word Atiya may be said to be the Sanskritised form of the Tamil word Adiyaṇ. From three verses of the Saṅgam classics³ it is known that an Adigaṇ, as an able subordinate of Paśumpūṭ Pāṇḍiyaṇ was killed in the battlefield of Vāhai by the Koṅgar who celebrated the event with great eclat and that the Pāṇḍya, perhaps in retaliation routed the Koṅgar and overran their country and celebrated the victory in his capital town Kūḍal, (Madurai). The battlefield of Vāhai is perhaps the same as the battlefield of Karikāla Chōḷa referred to by the same Paraṇar in *Ahanāṇṇūru*, 125. The *Paḍiṇruppattu* ("Ten-tens") in its 4th decade by the poet Kāppiyārruk-Kāppiyaṇār on the Chēra king Kaḷaṅgāy-kkaṇṇi Nārmuḍichchēral refers to the defeat of a chieftain called Neḍumiḍal, explained by the commentators as the real name of Aṇji or Adiyamāṇ Neḍumān Aṇji of Tagaḍūr in verse 32. The 10th decade of the same work by the poet Ariṣilkiḷār, eulogising the Chēra king Peruṇ-Chēral Irumpoṇai "who

¹ This individual was perhaps a very high personage to merit special mention in this inscription.

² *Mānasāra*, Ch. XIX, 11.7-9. See also Dr. N. V. Mallaiyya's *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture* pp. 285-86. The term *śayyā-gṛīham* occurs in the invocatory verse of the Cambodian inscription of Kulaprabhāvatī, queen of Jayavarman (5th and 6th centuries A. D.) which is as follows :

yuṇjan yōgam=atarkitan=kam=apiya(h) kshīrōḍa-śaiyyā-grihē śētē Śēsha-bhujāṅga-bhōga-rachanā-paryyanka-prishth-āśritak | (Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 1; Coedes, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. IV, p. 117).

³ *Kuṇṭokai* 393 and *Ahanāṇṇūru*, 162, both by poet Paraṇar and *Ahanāṇṇūru*, 253, by Nakkīrar. See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 97-98.

sacked Tagaḍūr" refers to the well-fortified and strongly garrisoned Tagaḍūr in verse 78 and its sack by the Chēra king: and the colophon-like *padigam* at the end (of apparently later date than the compilation, and earlier to the commentaries) states that the Adigamāṇ who had a great army and was the lord of Kolli-kkūrṇam (the country around Kolli hills) was defeated along with the two great kings (Chōla and Pāṇḍya) and the drums, royal parasols and ornaments of the latter were captured and the fortress of Tagaḍūr sacked by the Chēra king, Peruñ-Chēral Irumporai. This event formed the theme of a poem of later times, the *Tagaḍūr Yāttirai*, now lost but known only from quotations in other works. Nachchinārkkiniyār, the great Tamil commentator in his commentary on the *Tolkāppigam-irupattinai sūtram* 7, on the material theme of *uḷiṇai* (or the theme of besieging a fortress wearing the *uḷiṇai*—a parasitic herb—*cuscuta*) cites as example the incident of the Adigamāṇ's staying inside Tagaḍūr fort till the Chēra king Peruñchēral Irumporai advanced, laid siege and took it. The colophon of *Puṇanāṇūru*, 50, calls this Chēra king *Tagaḍūr-crinda* (he who took Tagaḍūr) Peruñchēral Irumporai and the verse in praise of him was by the poet Mōṣi Kīraṇār. The Adiyamāṇ is also called Neḍumāṇ Añji or Añji or Eḷiṇi, in *Puṇanāṇūru* verses 158, 230, and 392; and verse 138, enumerating the various liberal patrons, curiously enough, mentions Eḷiṇi as the lord of Kudiraimalai (also *Ahanāṇūru*, 372) and Ōri, another patron as the lord of Kollimalai (also *Narṇipai*, 265). *Puṇanāṇūru*, 22, *Paḍiṇṇappattu*, 73 and also *Śilappadikāram*, 24, *pāṭṭumaḍai*, attribute the overlordship of Kolli to the Chēra king. *Ahanāṇūru*, 209 and *Narṇipai*, 320 state that Ōri was defeated by the Malaiyamāṇ chieftain of Muḷḷūr, Kāri by name, and the Kolli hills were transferred to the Chēralar (Chēra). Adigamāṇ or Adiyamāṇ Neḍumāṇ Añji was a patron of the celebrated poetess Auvaīyār who has praised him in many songs and his son Pohuṭṭeḷiṇi, in some. It was this Adiyamāṇ who presented to her the fruit of longevity, a black *velli* or *āmalaka*, a story alluded to in the *Śirupāṇāṇṇuppaḍai* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* collection, (11. 99-102) and in later works as well in the context of enumerating the seven *Vallals* or liberal patrons (11. 84-113). She calls him the leader of the Maḷavar, *Maḷavar Perumakaṇ*, *Maḷavar Kōmāṇ* (*Puṇanāṇūru* 88, 90) and is said to have gone on a diplomatic mission to the Toṇḍaimāṇ ruler of Kāñchī (identified by some as Toṇḍaimāṇ Ilantiraiyaṇ) on Adiyamāṇ's account (*Puṇanāṇūru*, 95). In *Puṇanāṇūru*, 99, she relates many facts about the Adiyamāṇ, her patron. According to her, the Adiyamāṇ was born of a family which as a result of their worship, sacrifices, and offerings of *āhutis* (oblations) to the gods, brought the sweet sugarcane to this world, and ruled the world with great ability for a very long time. Adiyaṇ fought successful battles against seven opposing kings and destroyed among other rebellious strongholds, the fort of Kōvalūr (which is mentioned in his praise by poet Parṇar) and possessed all the seven *poris* or *lāñchanas* (royal insignia).¹ In *Ahanāṇūru*, 142, an Adiyaṇ, leader of a great army, is said to have been killed in battle by Miṇḍi or Nūṇiḷ, the intrepid general of the chieftain Naṇṇaṇ. Eḷiṇi (Adiyaṇ) was one of the seven foes (the two kings and five *vēls* or chieftains, *viz.*, Chēra, Sēmbiyaṇ or Chōla, Titiyaṇ, Eḷiṇi, Erumaiyāraṇ, Vēṇmāṇ and Porunaṇ) of Talaīyālaṅkānattu-ch-cheruvenṇa Neḍuñcheliyaṇ, *i.e.*, the great Pāṇḍya, who gained a victory in the battlefield of Talaīyālaṅkānam, (*Ahanāṇūru*, 36; *Puṇanāṇūru*, 76).²

The name Sōma of the Atiya king in Inscription C has a curious parallel with three early Cambodian inscriptions in Sanskrit, one of them referring to a Koṅgavarman born of that lineage.³

¹ The seven *lāñchanas* or *poris* as enumerated in a later work, the *Kalṅguttu-parani* (*kadavul*, 18) are *kēḷal* (boat), *mēḷi* (plough), *kālai* (deer or crescent moon), *ṇēḷi* (lion or tiger), *ṇāṇi* (lute), *śalai* (bow) and *kēṇḍai* (fish).

² The other verses in *Puṇanāṇūru* which refer to Adiyamāṇ and his other names are 87, 89, 93, 94, 97, 98, 103, 104, 206, 208, 231, 232, 235, 310, 315, and 390. See also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India* (1958), p. 118.

³ Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 26-A; Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff; see also *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 2 (B E F E. O. XXXI, 1) referring to the king Guṇavarman, the donor, as born of the family of Kaṇḍiṇya and the line in verse 6 reading *Kaṇḍiṇya-kaṇḍiṇya-saṇḍiṇya*. A Jayavarman (*Śaka* 890 and 892) refers to a Bālāditya belonging to the lineage of Sōma and Kaṇḍiṇya. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kamboja*, No. 111 (A, vv. 5 and 6); Barth and Blugaigne, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, No. 77 and Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris), II, 494-497—the text reads *Sōma-Kaṇḍiṇya-raṇḍiṇya*.

This inscription records gifts to god Utpannēsvara by King Bhavavarman, descended from the Kaṇḍinya and Sōma family. 'Koṅga' or 'Koṅgu' in the name Koṅgavarman is a characteristic Tamil name not met with elsewhere in Kambuja or other places in the far east.

The later Adigamāṇs were Chōḷa feudatories and fought against the Hoysalas, in whose inscriptions the name is further changed into Adiyama (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 495). Some later Adigamāṇs like Eḷiṇi and Viḍukādaḷagiya-Perumāḷ claimed to belong to the Chōra dynasty (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 332). And one Adigaṇ (abbreviated form of Adigamāṇ) is said in the *Periṇapurāṇam* (verses 3947, 3987) to have fought against the Chōḷa king, Puḷaḷ-chchōḷa (*ibid.*, p. 66) who died in Karuvūr (Karūr).¹

Now, regarding the date of the king. Obviously, King Guṇaśīla of these inscriptions was a member of this ancient Adiyamāṇ family, although no king of this name belonging to this family is known from other sources, literary or epigraphical.² That he was endowed with independent authority, power and resources is clear from the fact of his having excavated the large Raṅganātha cave temple, perhaps also the Lakshmī-narasimha cave temple, adorned with bas-reliefs noted for their beauty, and by his affecting the style of the imperial Pallavas in his inscriptions, especially in the *birudas*. In order to undertake such magnificent works of art, the king must have had a fairly long, authoritative and comparatively peaceful reign.³ That there is no mention of any overlord in these inscriptions points to the fact that the king enjoyed independence, although it is difficult to say exactly for how long his independent rule over this area lasted. This independent reign of the king could have been possible only when the political conditions of South India, as computed from contemporary sources were favourable to him. It is known that for nearly half a century in the middle of the 8th century A. D., the Pallava authority over South India had waned due to the dynastic revolution at home and change over of the administration from the main line to a member of a collateral line⁴ in c. 730-732 A.D. The earlier part of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign was occupied by internecine wars and in conflicts with the Chālukyas in the north. He had in fact to flee Kāñchī when Chālukya Vikramāditya II entered the capital in force before his 8th year (741-42 A. D.). He had also to face Pāṇḍya Rājasimha in many fields of battle according to the Pāṇḍya inscriptions.⁵ Pallava authority or influence did not extend to the banks of the Kāvērī (Chōḷa and Koṅgu-maṇḍalams) for some time between c. 742 and 780 A.D. as could be seen from the absence of Pallava inscriptions of this period in this area. Nor do the Pāṇḍyas of the period seem to have had a peaceful time, because, of the two Pāṇḍya kings of the period, namely, Kōchchadaiaṇ (c. 710-743 A.D.) and his successor Māra-varman Rājasimha (c. 730-765 A.D.), the former was often engaged in warfare with his neighbours⁶ while the latter waged war with Nandivarman Pallavamalla⁷ and obtained victories at several places. Thus it may be presumed that neither the Pallavas nor the Pāṇḍyas, the two imperial powers of South India, had occasion to divert their attention towards the growing Adiyamāṇ power and their territory in and around Tagaḍūr, which included Nāmakkal. The Pāṇḍya king Kōchchadaiaṇ Raṇadhīra (c. 700-730 A. D.) is called *Koṅgar Kōmāṇ*, the Lord of the Koṅgar, in the Vēlvikkūḍi plates⁸. His successor Pāṇḍya Māra-

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, p. 57, para. 34.

² See note on Guṇaśīlam, *ante*.

³ The time taken for the excavation of a cave temple like the Nasik cave No. 3 was twenty years; started by Gōtamiputra in the 24th year or last year of his reign it was completed only in the 19th year of his successor Pulamāvi. See above, Vol. VIII, pp. 60-74, ins. nos. 2-5. More or less the same time if not more, should have been necessary in this instance also, considering the greater hardness of the rock.

⁴ *Mem. ASI.*, No. 63, Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ Temple, Kāñchī, pp. 37 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff. and *I.A.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pandyan Kingdom*, p. 56.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 291 ff.

varman Rājasimha I (c. 740-765 A. D.), in the same grant, is said to have crossed the Kāvērī, subjugated the country of Maḷakoṅgam¹ and proceeded to Pāṇḍikkoḍumuḍi where he worshipped Śiva-Paśupati. His successor, Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ (c. 768-815 A. D.) is stated, in the Madras Museum plates (Śrīvaramaṅgalam plates)² dated in his 17th year (c. 784 A. D.), to have defeated the Atiyaṇ and made him flee the field of battle at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr on the north bank of the Kāvērī and Puḡaliyūr, and, advancing further defeated also the Pallava and the Kēraḷa (Chēra) armies which came to Atiyaṇ's aid by deploying forces to both the fronts, east and west, captured the king of Kuḍakoṅgu (Western Koṅgu) with his elephant and imprisoned him in Madurai and subdued the *Koṅgu-bhūmi*. It is to be noted that the exploits against the Koṅgu country or the Atiyaṇ are not mentioned among those of Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ in his Vēlvikkuḍi plates dated in his 3rd year (770-71 A. D.). The Pallava ally of Atiyaṇ was evidently Nandivarman Pallavamalla (731-796 A. D.). The Pāṇḍyan war with Atiyaṇ and the battles of Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaliyūr must have been fought after 770 A. D. and before 784 A. D. perhaps closer to the latter date. It is significant to note that Koṅgu engaged the attention of three successive Pāṇḍya kings of whom the second is said to have overrun Maḷakoṅgam, and the third and most powerful, perhaps, is said to have defeated the Atiyaṇ and the allied Pallava and Chēra armies. Here perhaps we get a hint of the rise into prominence of the Koṅgu area and the Atiyamāns to significant power between c. 700 and 784 A. D.—(the date of accession of Kōchchhaḍaiyaṇ and the date of the Madras Museum plates of Neḍuṇḍaiyaṇ) and the encouragement they had from Pallava Nandivarman and the Chēra rulers, perhaps as a foil to the Pāṇḍya imperialistic expansion resulting in the wars mentioned above. The wars of the two earlier kings were evidently punitive, their hold over the area not very lasting. But the wars of the last of the three Pāṇḍya kings, including the defeat of Atiyaṇ at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaliyūr³ were apparently the most decisive, and therefore it is very likely that Guṇaśīla of the present record flourished at a time before the period when the regions under the Atiyas became the bone of contention between the Pallavas under Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Pāṇḍyas under Māravarman Rājasimha and his successor, i.e. sometime before c. 750 A. D.

As has been said above, the fact that the palaeography of the inscriptions is very much nearer to that of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman II and far earlier than that of the Ānamalai inscription (770 A. D.) of the time of Pāṇḍya Māraṇḍaiyaṇ, goes to

¹ Malakongam, which included Koḍumuḍi (in the Erode Taluk of the Coimbatore District) was evidently the Kongu part of Malanāḍu (Malavar-nāḍu) or the Kongu area adjoining Malanāḍu, which is the territory on either bank of the Kāvērī in its eastern course through the Tiruchirapalli District and the western part of the adjacent Tanjavur Taluk of the Tanjavur District. It perhaps extended from Koḍumuḍi on the west where the hitherto south-flowing Kāvērī takes a sharp turn and thence flows east to the sea. This area included Nāmakkal, the Kollimalai and Pachchaimalai hills. An early Chōla inscription from the Koranganātha temple at Śrīnivāsanaḷḷūr, a part of the ancient Mahendramangalam (which is named after Mahendra Pallava I and, perhaps, like the cave temple at Tiruchirapalli, marks a point in the southern limits of the Pallava empire of his times) states that it was situated in *Vaṇḍakarac-Maḷanāḍu* (north bank Malanāḍu) implying that a stretch on the south bank of the river formed the southern *Maḷanāḍu*. (See culture and Heritage Number of the *Q. J. M. S.*, pp. 225 ff).

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

³ Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Puḡaliyūr are very near Nāmakkal. 'Āyiravēli' seems to be more an adjunct of Ayirūr (meaning Ayirūr of 1000 *vēlis*). Ayirūr is the modern Ayilūr, now called also Śrī-Rāmasamudram on the north bank of the Kāvērī near Kāttuputtūr in the Musiri taluk of Tiruchirapalli and on the traditional ferry line across the river from the south from Madurai, *via* Dindigal. Puḡaliyūr is modern Puḡalūr, 10 miles north-west of Karūr on the south bank of the Kāvērī, also on another traditional ferry across from the Nāmakkal side to the south and recently bridged up. It is a modern township with a sugar mill, and its antiquity is evidenced by the rocks containing natural caverns and Brāhmī and Vatteluttu inscriptions. The same place Puḡaliyūr is mentioned in a Chōla inscription at Tiruchengōḍu, *A.R. Ep.*, No. 631 of 1905. It comprises the villages of Puḡalūr-agrahāram, Puṇḡai-Puḡalūr and Naṇḡai-puḡalūr. The Railway Station is called Puḡalūr. The Pāṇḍya after crossing the river from south to Ayirūr must have recrossed the river further west to fight the battle at Puḡaliyūr.

ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL--Plate II

C



Scale : One-fifth

D



Scale : One-fifth

BIRUDAS

Nos.

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8



Scale : One-seventh

confirm this attribution. The style of the sculptures and architecture¹ is also characteristic of this period.

The nine single-line inscriptions mentioning as many *birudas* or epithets are interesting for their originality because from among the countless *birudas* of the Pallava kings, the only other dynasty which specialised in having a string of *birudas*, we find only one or two of them repeated here. The *birudas* are as follows :

Utpala-karṇṇikah (One who has lilly in the ears) ; *Nara-vāhanaḥ* (One who is like Kubēra in riches whose vehicle is man) ; *Madana-vilāsaḥ* (handsome like Cupid) ; *Māna-sāraḥ*² (essence of standards or rich in honour) ; *Naya-parah* (inclined towards gentility) ; *Nara-dēvaḥ* (king or god amongst men) ; *prakṛiti-priyaḥ* (delighting in nature or simplicity or delightful to the subjects) ; *Udāra-chittaḥ*³ (noble-minded) ; and *Vimala-charitaḥ* (possessing blemish-less character).

TEXT⁴A⁵

- 1 **Atiya** [kula] nu[h] kakubhān=darppaṇam=idam griham=Vishṇōḥ [| *]
2 śrī-**Guṇasīlō** nripatiḥ kārītavān=**Atiyanātha**-vishṇu-griham [|| *]⁶

B⁷

- 1 O⁸ [|| *] Ma[r*]kkaṇḍēya⁹-maharshi-¹⁰Parṇa-Varuṇa¹¹-Brahm-Ēsa-Dakshāś=Śasī Sūryas=
Tumburu-Nāradau¹² Guru-Bhrīgū Śārṅgañ=cha Kaupōta(da)kī [| *]
2 ¹³[Chakraṁ] Nāntaka¹⁴- Pāñchajanya-shahitaḥ¹⁵=kartre diśa[ntu] śrīya[m*]¹⁶ bhrāja[ntē]
Madhu-Kēṭabha¹⁷-kshayikṛita[ś*]-śayyā-grihē-drēr-vṛitāḥ [*]¹⁸

¹ For an exhaustive account of the cave temples, see K. R. Srinivasan's monograph on the *Cave Temples of the Pāndya and Kongu countries* to be published in the *Indian Temple Architecture Series*, by the Archaeological Survey of India.

² It is of interest to note that this *biruda* which is similar to the title of the famous text on architecture, seemingly suggests that the king intended to convey through this title the idea that his work, namely the magnificent cave temple was excavated according to architectural canons.

³ Cf. *Vachitra-chitta*, (curious-minded), one of the titles of Pallava Mahēndravarmar I.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 291.

⁶ Metre. *Āryā*.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61 No. B 292.

⁸ There is a symbol like this here which may stand for an auspicious word like *Om*.

⁹ Read *Mārkkandēya*.

¹⁰ The word stands for *Suparna* (i.e., Garuda).

¹¹ The *na* has a hook to its left which is to be ignored.

¹² The following two names are also compounded with a dual ending.

¹³ This line appears to be a palimpsest traces of earlier writing being visible in the super- and subscript-like marks which have to be ignored.

¹⁴ Read *Nandaka*.

¹⁵ Read *sahita*. The words Śārṅga, Kaupōdakī, Nandaka and Pāñchajanya denote the names of the bow, mace, sword and conch respectively of Vishṇu. Sudarśana, the name of the discus simply mentioned here as *chakraṁ*, is not given.

¹⁶ Read *śrīya[m*]*.

¹⁷ Read *Kaṭabha*.

¹⁸ Metre : *Śāndūlarikṛīṭa*.

C¹

- 1trashu² yasy-ādyēshu yaśasvishu [| *]
 2 **Sōma**[ḥ*] pūrvvō=³tiyēndrāṇām dauhitrēshv=anvaya(ē)=sthitaḥ [| *]⁴

D¹

- 1 Atiy-ānavāya-guruṇā narapatinā⁵.....[ti][| *]
 2 **Atiy-ēndra-vishṇu-griham**=iti..mamu[nā]⁶ kāri[tam] kṛi[tī]nā [| *]

BIRUDAS⁸

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Southern pilaster of sanctum | 1 | <i>Utpala-karṇṇikāḥ</i> |
| | 2 | <i>Nara-vāhanaḥ</i> |
| | 3 | <i>Madana-vilāsaḥ</i> |
| Southern pillar of sanctum : | 4 | <i>Māna-sūraḥ</i> (below Ins. C) |
| Northern pillar of sanctum : | 5 | <i>Naga-pāraḥ</i> (below Ins. D) |
| Northern pilaster of sanctum : | 6 | <i>Nara-dēvaḥ</i> |
| | 7 | <i>Prakṛiti-priyaḥ</i> |
| | 8 | <i>Udāra-chittaḥ</i> |
| Northern pillar of facade : | 9 | <i>Vimala-charitaḥ</i> |

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. 1: 293.

² Read ²*trēshu*.

³ Metre: *Annshubh*.

⁴ *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 7.

⁵ The portion after this reads ⁵*“nagnava”* which is not quite intelligible.

⁶ The form of this *nā* is not satisfactory. It seems to have been inserted later.

⁷ Metre: *Āryā*.

⁸ These are engraved at different places as indicated but illustrated one below the other in the plate.

No. 19—PANCHALINGALA INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA, SAKA 999

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9-5-1959)

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a **stone** near the Nāgalakāṭṭa (platform with snake-images under a peepal tree) in front of the Pañchaliṅgēśvara temple at **Pañchaliṅgāla**, a village in the Kurnool Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription is noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1953-54 as No. 50 of Appendix B, and reviewed in the same Report in the Introduction (pp. 4-5). On the top centre of the record is depicted in relief a pedestal with five *liṅgas* (the *pañcha-liṅga*), a couchant bull facing the pedestal and a cow with its calf on the opposite side. Right above the cow is the representation of the sun and in front of the calf an upright dagger with a curved blade. Above the bull is the crescent moon.

The record is engraved in Kannada **characters** and except for the two imprecatory verses at the end, the **language** of the record is also Kannada. As regards the **palaeography** and the **orthography**, there is nothing of special interest. The characters of the record are regular for the period to which they belong. Attention may, however, be drawn to the use of the second case-ending in place of the seventh in the words *Rāmēśvara tīrthavaṃ māṇḍu* in line 8. *Ba* is used for *va* in *dhārāpurbhakam* (lines 19-20) and *Śrīparbbatam* (line 24).

The record belongs to the reign of the Western Chālukya king **Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara (II)** and is dated Śaka 990, Kīlaka, Pushya, bahula pañchamī. Sunday, Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti. The details of the given date are irregular. In the Śaka year 990 corresponding to 1068 A. D., the Uttarāyana-saṃkrānti occurred on December 24, Wednesday, whereas the given *tithi* corresponded to December 16, Tuesday. The intended date may perhaps be **1068 A.D., December 24.**

At the time of this record the king is stated to have been camping at Berkkemōkshad-*appayaṇavīḍu* to the north of the Kṛishṇā river in Kandūr-nāḍu. The term *appayaṇa-vīḍu* stands for a temporary camping place as opposed to *nelerīḍu* which denotes the capital.¹ It is difficult to identify the place called Berkkemōksha. It cannot be Pañchaliṅgāla itself, for, this place is situated to the south of the river Kṛishṇā. I am, therefore, inclined to identify it with the village Bargedinni in the Jatprol Taluk, Mahbubnagar District, which is to the north of the Kṛishṇā. There is another village named Barkapalli in the Kalwakurthi Taluk of the same District. But the former is to be preferred because of its proximity to the river Kṛishṇā.

The purpose of the record is to renew a gift made earlier by Vinaya-Satyāśraya (i.e., Vinayāditya Satyāśraya) to god Pañchaliṅgādēva, and recorded on copper-plates. It appears to have comprised of the village Guḍigēri which was probably a hamlet of Kālpalli and formed part of the *ṭaḷa-vṛitti* (*sthaḷa-vṛitti*) of Pañchaliṅga. This *sthaḷa-vṛitti* is stated to be 1400 *matṭa* in extent spread over the two *ārumbāḷas* (groups of six villages) one in Nalavāḍi on the Southern bank and the other in Yaḍe-nāḍu on the Northern bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra. For this purpose Kāśmīrapaṇḍita, the *mahāsthānādhipati* of the temple of Pañchaliṅga was sent for by king Sōmēśvara who, after laving the feet of the priest with the water of Kṛishṇavenṇā made over the gift for the upkeep of the various shrines within the compound of the Pañchaliṅga temple and for offerings to the deities therein.

¹ In this record both these terms occur. Line 3 says that the king was having Kalyāṇa as his *nelerīḍu*.

The composer of the record is stated to have been Nāgachandra Kavīndra. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar refers to a poet Nāgachandra who is said to have been the author of *Rāmachandrarīta-purāṇa* and *Mallinātha-purāṇa*.¹ He assigns this poet to about 1105 A.D., on the basis of an inscription of Vikramāditya VI dated Śaka 1027 and says that he might have been a poet in the court of Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana (1104-1141 A.D.). Nāgachandra Kavīndra of the present record may possibly be the same as this poet Nāgachandra. If this is so, his date will have to be pushed back to 1068 A.D.²

The record throws welcome light on the political career of Sōmēśvara II. Studied together with the other records of this king, it gives us quite a good picture of his movements. The Chōla records state that Vīra Rājendra defeated Sōmēśvara II before the latter had time to take off his necklace (*kanthikā*), burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karaḍikal, a place situated in the Raichur District.³ As opposed to this, a record from Beḷagāmi⁴ states that immediately after the death of Sōmēśvara I, the Chōla king took the occasion as opportune for invading the Chālukyan territory and laid siege to Gutti and that Sōmēśvara II met his opponent with might and defeated him. This battle must have been fought sometime between the months of April and August in the year 1068 A.D., the former being the date of his coronation and the latter the date of the Beḷagāmi record. While it should be admitted that there is an element of exaggeration in the narration of these events in the Chōla records, it may be inferred that the encounter at Gutti put an end to the Chōla incursions in the north.⁵ A record from Chinnatumbulam⁶ dated the 15th of August 1068 A.D., refers to Jayasīṃha III, the younger brother of Sōmēśvara II as governing at Kampili. It is not unlikely that Jayasīṃha was posted to watch the southern frontiers during Sōmēśvara's campaigns in the north as will be described in the sequel.

After thus putting down the Chōla menace, Sōmēśvara II seems to have turned his attention towards the North. The record under study states that the king was camping at a place near the Kṛishnā river on his campaign of *digvijaya*.

During this period Māḷava was passing through a crisis because of the dispute for succession after the death of Paramāra Bhōja. Bilhana tells us⁷ that the Māḷava king sought the aid of Chālukya Sōmēśvara I who, being a shrewd diplomat, agreed to help him and sent his son Vikramāditya VI, with whose help the Māḷava king gained the throne. This Māḷava king referred to herein is Paramāra Jayasīṃha. This was sometime before 1055 A.D., which is the earliest known record of Jayasīṃha⁸ as the Paramāra ruler. But Jayasīṃha's troubles were not over with this. In the latter part of his reign he had to face the invasion of his enemies who completely overthrew him. The Nagpur stone inscription⁹ states that Udayāditya, the successor of Jayasīṃha, had to overcome the troubles that had befallen the realm of Bhōja and to free the land from the dominion of Karṇa who, joined by Karṇāṭas, had swept over the earth like a

¹ *Karnāṭaka-Kavi-Charite*, Vol. I, pp. 80 ff.

² It may be incidentally noted that a record from Daṇḍāpur (*A. R. Ep.*, B. K. No. 64 of 1933-34) belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI and dated 1078 A.D. mentions Ūrodeya Nāgadēva as the composer, and another record of the same king from Sōmāpur (*ibid.*, No. 75), dated 1080 A.D., states that Nāgavāra Kavīndra corrected the composition of Mallikārjuna.

³ Above Vol. XXV, pp. 241 ff.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 136.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXV, p. 249.

⁶ S. I. I., Vol. IX, No. 133.

⁷ *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, Sarga III, vv. 67-68.

⁸ Above, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 180 ff.

mighty ocean. This is a reference to the alliance of king Karna with Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, the then Karnaṭa ruler. The Dōngargaon inscription of Paramāra Jagaddēva¹ states that at this time Mālava was invaded by a confederacy of three kings. Regarding the two kings that allied with Sōmēśvara II scholars differ in their identification. While Prof. Mirashi holds² that the two kings who joined Sōmēśvara II were the Kalachuri king Karna and the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya, Dr. Majumdar thinks that they were the Chaulukya Karna of Gujarat and the Kalachuri king.³ To this we shall come again.

It is now clear that Sōmēśvara II had to involve himself in a battle with the Paramāra and according to the Dōngargaon inscription he seems to have taken the offensive. When exactly this invasion took place has been a matter of conjecture. Prof. Mirashi has surmised that it might have been between 1069 A.D. and 1075 A.D., the latter being the date of the Sūḍi inscription⁴ of Sōmēśvara II which refers to him as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Mālavayas. But the record under review enables us indirectly to narrow down the limits for the date of this invasion.

On the date of this record, *viz.*, the end of 1068 A.D., Sōmēśvara was already on the north of the Kṛishṇā river. He is stated to be on the march against an unnamed enemy. The next engagement in which he was known to have been busy was his participation in the campaign against Mālava according to the Dōngargaon inscription referred to above. In the absence of any other clue to the contrary Sōmēśvara's *digvijayayātrā* mentioned in the present record may be connected with the campaign against Mālava since he had already repelled the forces of the Chōla king, his only other enemy on the southern front, before August 1068 A.D. It may therefore be surmised that Sōmēśvara had commenced his *digvijaya* presumably in the northern direction before the date of the record, *i.e.*, December 1068 A.D. The earliest reference to his successful completion of the northern expedition is obtained in an inscription from Guḍigēri⁵ dated in December 1072 A.D. Therefore Sōmēśvara's campaign in the north against Mālava may be considered to have taken place sometime between December 1068 A.D. and December 1072 A.D.⁶

In this campaign Sōmēśvara II seems to have been helped very much by two of his subordinates, Hoysala Eṛeyaṅga⁷ and *daṇḍanāyaka* Udayāditya of the Gaṅga family.⁸

Besides these two, some other subordinates of Sōmēśvara II also seem to have taken part in this battle, for, the inscription from Guḍigēri referred to states that *maneverggaḍe, daṇḍanāyaka* Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya defeated the kings of Lāṭa, Mālava, Saurāshṭra, Gauda-vishaya and others of the North and brought back with him presents to the king. This being the case, it is difficult to agree with Prof. V. V. Mirashi who says that Udayāditya was one of the two 'kings' who joined Sōmēśvara II in defeating the Paramāra king. It cannot be explained why Udayāditya, a *daṇḍanāyaka* of Sōmēśvara II could have been mentioned as a member of the confederacy of three 'kings'. On the other hand we may, perhaps rightly, surmise that the two other kings were the Chaulukya Karna and Karna of the Kalachuri dynasty as Dr. Majumdar has pointed out.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 106-07 ff.; *CII*, Vol. IV, Introduction p. xcvi-xcvii.

³ *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 57-59.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 96 ff.

⁵ *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, B. K. No. 110.

⁶ There is however a record from Kākhandki (*A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, B. K. No. 172) dated 1069 A.D., December, 24, which states that Sōmēśvara was ruling from Samkanakereyūr, a village possibly in Bijapur District. It is not known whether Sōmēśvara's camp at Samkanakereyūr was enroute to his Mālava campaign.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak 102a and 117; Vol. VIII, Ch. 64.

⁸ *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 164. It is interesting to note that of these two, the former subsequently turned against his overlord and supported the claims of Vikramāditya VI for the throne. (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ak 102 a).

Of the places mentioned in the record, Kalyāṇapura is the same as Kalyāṇa in the Bidar District of the present Mysore State which was the Chālukyan capital. Berkkemōksha is, as already indicated above, possibly Bargedinni in the Jatprol Taluk of the Mahabubnagar District in Andhra Pradesh. Naḷavāḍi-nāḍu is the same as Naḷavāḍi-vishaya mentioned in the Dayyamdinne plates of Vinayāditya. This has been identified by Dr. Fleet with parts of the Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.¹ Yaḍe-nāḍu must be the same as the Eḍedore-naḍu identified with "a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛishṇā on the north and Tuṅgabhadra on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur District; probably in fact, all of that district from about long. 76°15' to the confluence of the two rivers some sixty miles east-by-south beyond Raichur."² Paṇchaliṅga is the same as the village Paṇchaliṅgāla, the findspot of the record. Guḍigēri, if it is a village, might be identified with the village Guḍipāḍu in the Kurnool Taluk of the same District. Kandūr-nāḍu is the area situated to the north of the Kṛishṇā river as stated in the record. I am unable to identify Kālpalli. It may be noted, however, that there is a village by name Kālava in the Kurnool Taluk.

TEXT³

- 1 Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-Śrī-pri(pri)tkvi-vallabha-mahārāj-ādñirā-
- 2 ja-paramēśvaram parama-bhaṭṭa(tṭā)rakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tīlakam chālukyā-
- 3 bharaṇam śrīmad-**Bhuvanaikamall**adēvar=kKalyāṇapurada nelevīḍinoḷ=su-
- 4 ka(kha)-saṁkathā-vinōdadin⁴ rājyam geyyuttam=iḷdu dig-vijaya-yātrā-nimittadin⁵=etti-
- 5 baṁindu(ndu) Kandūr-nnāḍ-olagaṇa Kri(Kṛi)shṇavennā(nṇā) nadiya baḍaga-daḍiya
Berkkemōksha-
- 6 d=appayaṇavīḍinoḷ Saka(Śaka) varsa (sha) 990 tteneya Kīla(la)ka-saṁvatsarada Pushya
- 7 bahuḷa paṇchamiy-Ādityavāradamin⁶=Uttarāyana(ṇa)-saṁkrāntiyol=alli-
- 8 ya Rāmēśvara-tīrthavam mindu yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-
- 9 mōn(maun)-ānushṭhāṇa(na)-parāyaṇa-japasta(-ta)pa-samādhi-guṇa-saṁpannar=anēka-ta-
- 10 rkka-śāstra-vēdānta-siddhānta-pārāvāra-pāragam kshāma-kālāṇaḷa durita-
- 11 viḷay-āṇaḷan=annā[lu]-samudram⁷ pratyaksha-Rudran=enisida śrīma-
- 12 t-Paṇchaliṅga-mahāsthān-ādhipati Kāśmīra-paṁḍita-dēvaram piriya rājā[dē]-⁸
- 13 sa(śa)man=aṭṭi barisi Kri(Kṛi)shṇavenna(nṇā)-nadī-hrada-dibya-tīrth-ōḍaka[ma] tarisi
pāda-
- 14 prakshāḷanam geydu munnam Vinaya-Satyāśraya-dēvam Paṇchaliṅga-dēvam-
- 15 ge bṛṭṭa tāmbra-[sa](śā)[sa*]nada Tuṅgabhadra-nadiya temka-daḍiya Naḷavāḍi-nāḍ=ola-
- 16 gaṇ=āṇumbāḍadolam baḍaga-daḍiya Yaḍenāḍ=olagaṇ-āṇumbāḷa(ḍa)d-olav-antu pannes
- 17 raḍu-[bāḍada] modala Paṇchaliṅga-grāmada taḷa-vri(vṛi)ttiya sāsirada nāl-nūru ma-

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 363.

² Above, Vol. XII p. 296.

³ From impression.

⁴ The *anuvāra* is engraved above the previous letter.

⁵ The meaning of this expression is not clear.

⁶ The bottom portion of letter *dē* is broken.

- 18 ttar=olagaṇa Kālpalliya Guḍigēriyaṁ Pañchalīṅga-dēvara gōpurad=olagaṇa dē-
- 19 vālayaṅgaḷa khampa(ṇḍa)sphuṭita-jirṇnōddhāraṇa dēva[bhōg-ā]nnadāna-nimittadīn
dhārā-
- 20 pūrbba(ṛvva)kaṁ mmā(mā)ḍi tri[bhō]tō(g=ā)bhyantara-siddhi-yind=adaṇa chatus-
simeyind=olage
- 21 puṭṭida nidhi-nidhāna-nikshēpaṅgaḷ=modalāg=ellaṁ dēvar-arttham=āgi biṭṭu samasta-
rājya-
- 22 chihnaṅgaḷumaṁ koṭṭar=ī(r|Ī)dharmaḱk=ārānuṁ kāḷaṁ(kāḷa)kā-lāntaradoḷ nānā vupa
(upa)dravam=māḍi-
- 23 doḍe tappidoḍaṁ Prayāgeyoḷaṁ Bāṇarāsiyoḷaṁ va(a)rgghyatīrtthadoḷaṁ Ku-
- 24 rukshetradoḷaṁ Gaṁgā-sāgi(ga)radoḷaṁ Śrīparbba(ṛvva)tada pātāḷa-gaṁgeyoḷav endu ge-
- 25 yda laksha-gō-vadheyuṁ Brāhmaṇa-vadheyuṁ bhrūṇa-hatyamuṁ pañcha-
- 26 mahāpātakamuṁ mma(mā)ḍida dōshakke salvar ||
Asy=aiva [kula]-saṁ-
- 27 bhūtāḥ Pañchalīṅga-maṭh-āśramē[*] ādhipatyam kurushvēva¹ yāvaścha(ch-cha)ndr-ārka-
- 28 tāraḱaṁ || Svadattaṁ(ttāṁ) paradattaṁ(ttāṁ) vā yō harēti vasum̐dharā[n̐ | *]
shashṭir=vvarsha-sahaśrāṇi(srāṇi) vi -
- 29 shṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimi[h̐] || Ī sa(śā)sanamaṁ Nāgachandra-kavīndraṁ baredaṁ ||

¹ Read *kuryur-ēṭa*.

No. 20—THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33

(3 Plates)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS.

(Received on 27-10-1958)

This set¹ of nine copper-plates is reported to have been unearthed sometime in May 1939 by the villagers of **Pullūr** in the Polur taluk of the North Arcot District, Madras State, while excavating the *ardha-maṇḍapa* portion of the small Viṣṇu temple there, now dilapidated and in ruins. It is learnt that along with this set of plates were found a metallic image of Viṣṇu about 2 feet in height, a *Sudarśana* and a goddess nearly of the same size, another smaller image of the goddess and one or two conches which may all be assigned to about the 12th century A.D. The plates measure each about $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches and are written on both sides, except the first one the outer face of which is left blank. The outer face of the last plate bears faint traces of writing. They are all strung together with a copper ring about $\frac{3}{8}$ inch thick and $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal about $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches in diameter. The seal is completely worn out except for the faint traces of a couchant bull facing the proper right. The left hand corner of the first plate is torn off including the ring-hole. Consequently the first plate is found loose and a few letters at the beginning of the first three lines of the inscription are lost. Portions of the first side of the seventh plate have been erased and re-written. The latter writing seems to have been done after the set of plates had been strung and sealed as the particular plate bears traces of having been torn off from the set and re-inserted after re-writing as the twist in the plate has only been levelled up and not soldered. Palaeographically the letters themselves seem to be of a little later period, as may be seen from a few of them such as *kku* (lines 104 and 105), *ta* (line 105), etc. The whole set weighs 329 *tolas* with the ring and seal and 240 *tolas* without the ring and seal. The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation except where small portions of the sheets are broken and lost in plates I, III, VIII and IX. The portions damaged and lost in the last three plates are not much, being only one or two letters on each side of them and these letters can be restored without much difficulty.

As is usual with most copper-plate grants of the Tamil country, the record consists of two parts. The first one is in **Sanskrit**, written in the Grantha **script** (lines 1-17) and the second in the Tamil **language and script** (lines 17-132). The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit at the end are again in the Grantha script followed by the signatures in Tamil. The Grantha script is also used in writing some of the Sanskrit words which occur in the Tamil portion of the record.

The script used for writing the record is of an ornamental variety though not highly florid, and palaeographically may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., to which period the inscription belongs. In the Grantha script the symbol for medial *ā* and also for *ō* is not written in the form of a downward stroke on the right of the consonant, but as a zig-zag line going upwards and slanting to the right with its upper end slightly thickened. This is seen adopted even in the Grantha

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, App. A, No. 9. This is the fifth copper-plate charter of King Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the other four being the Udayēndiram plates dated in his 21st year (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 74), the Kaṭākkudi plates of his 22nd year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 73), the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of his 58th year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 99) and the Pattattālamangalam plates of his 61st year (above, Vol. XVIII, No. 14).

letters used here and there in the Tamil portion. This form of the symbol for medial *ā* is found, though in a more ornamental form, in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarmān¹, of Rājasimha² and even of Paramēśvaravarmān I.³ But this is found used alongside the normal form of the vertical stroke with a *talaikkattū* in them, while this is the only form in the Pullūr plates. The use of dots (*pulli*), though not uniform is noteworthy. The doubling of the consonants after *r* like *varmma* in line 7 is a peculiarity usually met with in inscriptions from the south and this is probably due to the influence of the Dravidian languages. Another peculiarity is the letter *tsha* in places where it should be *ksha*; and considering that invariably in almost all the copper-plate inscriptions in the Grantha script of the period this peculiarity is found it would be right to read it only as *ksha*, taking this as its form even though it is found also correctly written occasionally.

There are a few words in the inscription which are of lexicographical interest. One such is *Bappa*.⁴ The Sanskrit portion of the grant narrates the gift of the villages as *drījavara-bappa-bhaṭṭārakānām=ashta(ashṭōttara)-śatāya salilapūrcan dattacīm* (lines 16 and 17) "gave with the libation of water to one hundred and eight *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakas* (who are) the best of the twice-born". The very fact that the grant registers the gift of the villages as *brahmadēya* would show that the word *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* denotes a *Brāhmaṇa* and this is confirmed by the Tamil portion of the grant wherein this is translated as *nūṟṟeṇmar nalgūr naṟ=pp[ṛ]pp[ṛ]kka brahmadēyam aruḷicheche[y]ta* (line 102) "pleased to grant as *brahmadēya* to one hundred and eight *Brāhmaṇas* who are good or pure and poor".⁵ In early Tamil literature the *Brāhmaṇas* are generally referred to only by the term *pārppār*. The use of this term *pārppār* in the Tamil portion as against the word *Bappa* in the Sanskrit portion seems to suggest a possible connection of the one with the other, though the process of their derivation cannot be determined. *Bhaṭṭāraka* means a chief; and *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakāh* means evidently chief *Brāhmaṇas*.

The term *paradatti* (line 112) is another word of interest. It occurs as *paradatti śeydadu*, meaning *paradatti* was made. The term *paradatti śerrala* occurs in the Bāhūr plates of Nīpatuṅga,⁶ wherein it has been translated as "the grant was made". The same term slightly changed into *paratatti* is used in the Kaśākkudī plates of Nandivarman II⁷ and the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates of Nandivarman III⁸ as also the Anbil plates of Sundara Chōla,⁹ in the last of which it is written as *paradetti*. The word *paradatti* would mean either a gift to a third person or a gift made by a third person. It is used in the latter sense in the imprecatory verse '*sradattām paradattām vā*,' usually found in many of the records. The copper plates mentioned before wherein the word *paradatti* occurs also appear to record the gifts made by the subordinate chiefs of village within the region over which they were holding sway, and the orders of the monarchs were more or less in the nature of ratification of these gifts. As such the word *paradatti* may be taken as a gift made by some person other than the king.

Another word of interest that occurs in the plates is *cattaran* which is prefixed to the name of all the donees of the grant after the mention of their respective *gṛhas*, *sūtras* and villages. In

¹ Inscriptions at Mahēndravāḍi (above, Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 152), at Dalavānūr (ibid., Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 226) and at Śīyamangalam (ibid., Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 320).

² Kailāsanātha Temple inscriptions (Text *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24 : Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 249).

³ Kūram plates (Text *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 151 : Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 342).

⁴ For the use of the words *Bappa* and *Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka* see Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 351. Also see C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, pp. 6-8.

⁵ The same expression *nalgūr naṟ=ppār* occurs also in the Pattattālmangalam and Tandantōttam plates of the monarch. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 119; *S. I. I.*, III, p. 521, l. 37.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 12.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, l. 133.

⁸ Ibid., p. 509, text, l. 63.

⁹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text-line 180.

Tamil literature the word is used in the sense of a resident of the Vatsa country.¹ But it is not used in that sense here. A reference to the context would show that it is a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *vāstaryā* meaning 'a resident of'.²

The Sanskrit portion of the record commences with an invocation to Śiva (verse 1). It then goes on to praise in general terms the Pallava kings who came in the lineage of Pallava whose ancestry is traced from the *Brāhmaṇa* Bharadvāja through Drōṇa and Drauṇi or Aśvatthāman (verses 2 to 4). Nandivarman born of that line became king (verse 5). He is described as Vishṇu, being the lord of the wealth (Śrī) and of the earth, as Svāmi (Mahāsēna or Kumāra) being the bearer of *Śakti* (power), as the sun with lustre though his rays were soft, and his rule is stated to have extended as far as the sea. This verse which is in double entendre may be interpreted as follows: He was (or bore the name) Śrī Vallabha; he obtained his kingship with the might of his arm, [he was acknowledged as (suzerain) king by others because of his power] and his taxation was mild.

The next verse (verse 6) says that his orders were obeyed by the Kēraḷa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Maḷava Kaḷabhra, Bāṇa, Āndhra, Saindhava, Śāntavaṃkuravara,³ Gaṅga and Kadamba kings. Then follows a prose passage in Sanskrit which mentions that once when the king was seated in the audience hall surrounded by courtiers and princes, at the request of **Avanichandra Yuvarāja**, the lord of Vilvalapura and devoted to the Pallava, the king made the grant of four villages Nelli, Pullūr, Kuḍiyūr and Takkār, situated on the southern bank of Cheyāru in the Palkuṇḍa - kōṭṭaka and Kīlavēṇāṭaka, clubbed together into one unit and renamed Navadhīramaṅgalam after the king's surname *Navadhīra* to one hundred and eight Brāhmaṇas, making his minister Nāgaśarma Brahmādhīrāja, the executor of the grant. The minister is described as the Bṛhaspati in person and well versed in the science of weapons and warfare.

The Tamil portion of the grant says that in the **thirty-third regnal year Vijaya Nandivarman**, on the petition of **Avanichandra-Iḷavaraśan** the king granted as *brahmadēyam* the four villages of Nelli, Pullūr and Kuḍiyūr of Kīl-vēṇāḍu and Takkāru of Maṇalai-kuḷa-nāḍu in Palkunra-kkōṭṭam with Brahmādhīrājan as executor (*āpati*) to one hundred and eight poor and good (or pure) Brāhmaṇas (pā[r*]ppār) whose names are mentioned therein (see table below).

The boundaries of the gift villages according to the headman (*vīgaravan*) of the *nāḍu* or the district are then given.⁴ This is followed by the *parihāras* or exemptions granted to the donees to be enjoyed by them. The date of the grant, 33rd year, 330th day (in the reign) of the king is then given. The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit are then found, followed by the signatures of those responsible for the drafting and execution of the document on copper.⁵

It is generally considered that Nandivarman was a great devotee of Vishṇu.⁶ But this grant begins with an invocation to Śiva. Of his other grants the Pattattāḷmaṅgalam plates⁷ open with an invocation to Vishṇu, while the introductory portion is lost in the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates.⁸

¹ Cf. *Manuśikalai*, Canto. XV, line 62, where the king of the Vatsa country is referred to as *Vattavan*.

² The term *vattavan* is found mentioned in similar context in the first few names of the donees of the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates of Nandivarman II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 507). The editor of the plates has taken the word to mean "a resident of the Vatsa country". But a careful perusal of the text would show that there also it would mean only a "resident of" thus making it a tadbhava form of *vāstaryā*.

³ It is not clear whom this expression refers to.

⁴ The portion of the grant has been erased and rewritten and as such the reading adopted here is tentative.

⁵ A few more names of Brāhmaṇas written by a different hand follow the signature of Navadhīra-Peruṅgāṭṭu-kāran. These names were perhaps left out of the main list of donees and were resorted later.

⁶ R. Gopalan, *A. History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, pp. 127-8.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 120.

⁸ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 520.

The Udayēndiram grant,¹ which, like the present one, records the grant by Udayachandra, Lord of Vilvalapura, opens with an invocation to Sadāśiva residing on Mount Meru, i.e. Śiva. In the Kaśākkudī plates² the invocatory portion contains nine verses of which the first one is in praise of *Parabrahman*, the next of Trivikrama i.e., Viṣṇu, the third of Hara (Śiva), the fourth of Trivikrama and Hara jointly, the fifth of Padmā (Lakshmī), the sixth of Āryā (Pārvatī) and the seventh of Vināyaka. The eighth verse refers to the two-fold gods, i.e. the gods in heaven and the gods on earth (Bhūdēva) i.e. the Brāhmaṇas, while the ninth and the last verse of the section introduces the king Nandivarman, without mentioning his name but by epithets which are at the same time surnames of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The same grant in another verse (verse 30) mentions that he worshipped the feet of Hari (Viṣṇu) while the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates state that he never knew of bowing down to others excepting to the pair of the worshipful feet of Mukunda (i.e. Viṣṇu). In consideration of the above it will not be quite correct to conclude that the invocatory verses of the grants are indicative of the religious leanings of the monarchs who issued the respective grants, as has sometimes been supposed. Possibly the rulers were worshippers of all gods without any distinction or more probably the invocation found in a grant depended on the nature of the gift recorded therein. The present inscription is more in the nature of a confirmation of the grant made by the heir-apparent of the chief of Vilvalapura. In view of the fact that the Udayēndiram grant registering a similar gift of *brahmadēya* on the request of the chief of Vilvalapura also begins with an invocation to Śiva, we may possibly conclude that Śiva was the deity worshipped by those chiefs and that was probably the reason of the invocation to Śiva in the grant.

The inscription records that the orders of Nandivarman were obeyed by the Kēraḷa, Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Māḷava, Kaḷabhra, Bāṇa, Āndhra, Saindhava, Śāntavāṇkuravara,³ Gaṅga and Kadamba kings. This is but a conventional account given by the court poet. The Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates⁴ mention that the kings such as Vallabha, Kaḷabhra, Kēraḷa, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, Tuḷu, Gongana (Konkana) were waiting at king Nandivarman's gate for an opportunity to see him.

Nandivarman had a long reign of sixty-five years. This period witnessed the downfall and disappearance of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, the inveterate and hereditary enemies of the Pallavas, as a political power to be reckoned with and the emergence of the Rāshtrakūṭas in their stead. His reign which overlapped the duration of rule of more than one generation in the contemporary ruling families of the neighbouring kingdoms, was eventful and involved him in frequent warfare; and in these wars he was ably supported by his famous general Udayachandra.

The grant was made at the request of Avanichandra, the *Yucarāja*, referred to as *Iḷavaraśar* in the Tamil portion, and the lord of Vilvalapura. The Udayēndiram grant of the same king⁵ dated in his 21st regnal year, and thus twelve years earlier than the present one, registers the gift made by the king at the request of Udayachandra, his famous general and lord of Vilvalapura. Evidently Avanichandra was the son and heir-apparent of Udayachandra mentioned above; and his father was still ruling the principality at the time when this grant was made. An inscription from Kāñchīpuram⁶ dated in the 17th year of the reign of Dantivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman mentions one Avanichandra who is obviously the same as the *Yucarāja* of the present grant. If this identity is accepted, it follows that Avanichandra who was a *yucarāja* on the date

¹ Ibid., pp. 365-66.

² Ibid., p. 346.

³ See note 3 p. 196.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 116.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, No. 74.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 132. See also C. Minakshi, op. cit., p. 51. Also *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 48; *A.R. Ep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, pp. 229-30.

of the present grant continued to serve till after the 17th year of the reign of Dantivarman. If the reigns of Nandivarman Pallavamalla who ruled for 65 years and his successor Dantivarman who ruled for more than 50 years do not overlap, it may be surmised that Avanichandra served the Pallavas for not less than 50 years. Evidently Avanichandra was young and had been installed as *gurarāja* just before the date of the present grant.

The inscription registers the grant of the village of Nayadhīramaṅgalam which was newly created by clubbing together the four existing villages as a *brahmadēya*. It is generally taken that the term *brahmadēya* stands for a tax-free gift of land and village to Brāhmaṇas. But among the *parihāras* or immunities granted to the donees of the present grant there occurs the term *paṇṇīr-ūṭṭai-kkaṇai-guṇāmeyam*, i.e. the non-payment of the tax (*kaṇai*) for (a period of) twelve years.¹ The word *kaṇai* evidently is derived from the Sanskrit *kara* and means the land-revenue as distinct from the other taxes and fees payable for citizenship (*kuḍi-irai*), as will be evident from the Śilapadikāram.² From the above it has to be presumed that a *brahmadēya* village also had to pay some tax, though not from its inception, at least after some years.³ Evidently such villages had ordinarily to pay only the land-revenue due to the state and not the other dues payable to the local authorities or assemblies. They were free to conduct their own affairs without any interference from others; and this will become clear from the prohibition contained in the present grant (lines 120-21) that the district officer *nāḍukāppāṇ* (literally protector of the *nāḍu*), and the headman (*viṇṇaṇ*) should not enter the village, and the stipulation that the functions of such officers should be performed by the donees and their descendants. It is also stated therein (lines 123-25) that the *brahmadēya* was formed after proclaiming the villages as belonging to them (i.e. the donees) after removing the wheel (*ālī*, i.e. the wheel of authority) fixing (the boundary-stones) and planting *kūṇai* or the East Indian Arrow-root (*Curcuma angustifolia*). The Paṭṭattāmaṅgalam plates⁴ employ in this context the expression *kōṭṭam paṇṇuṇ tirandu* meaning 'having removed the authority of the king and his officers'.

The usual formula of circumambulating the gut village with a female elephant in fixing boundaries found in other documents is not found in this record. The marking of the boundaries is usually expressed '*ṭallam kaḷḷuṇṇam nāṭṭi*' 'planting stones and milk bush'. The Kaśākkūḍi plates have *kaṇṇō*, i.e. *karuśālākaruṇi* (*Eclipta prostrata*), a useful medicinal plant known as *Bhriṅgarājah* in Sanskrit. The present plates mention the planting of the East Indian Arrow-root along the boundaries (line 121).

¹ The term *paṇṇīr-ūṭṭai-kkaṇai*, literally meaning twelve-year-tax, may also be interpreted as a tax payable every twelfth year or the tax consolidated for twelve years. But they are constrained interpretations and do not fit in.

² *Kūḍai* 23, line 127. *Kaṇṇōḍu* = *sequoia*. See also *Manimēkalai*, *Kūḍai* 19, line 161. *Kaṇaiyōr=illā=chchiraiyōrkōṭṭam*.

³ This view is in a way strengthened by the Tirumūlputam inscription of the time of Madhurāntaka Uttamachōla (S. I. I., Vol III, No. 142). Some land in Sirriyānūr, in Manayil-nāḍu, a sub-division of Manayil-kōṭṭam was granted in the 21st regnal year (891-92 A. D.) of Tondaimān-Ārrū-t-tuṇṇa Uḍaiyār (Āḍitya I) as a *dēva-dāna-brahmadēya* to the *sabha* of Pūduppākkam, another *brahmadēya* village in the Purīṣai-nāḍu of the same *kōṭṭam* with the stipulation that the latter should remit annually the produce and gold due from them as tax to the temple of Mahādēva at Tirumūlputam. Though a *sōṣṭam* was drawn up in the next year, no entry was made in the accounts as such, which mistake was rectified in the 4th regnal year (910-11 A. D.) of Parakēsarivarmaṇ who took Madurai and Īḷam in the Parāntaka I. In the 36th regnal year (942-43 A. D.) of the latter, the dues from Pūduppākkam were increased as a result of a new grant. The village assembly did not remit the new items regularly and so the temple authorities lodged a complaint with Uttamachōla when he was at Kāñchīpuram, who after due enquiry, fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple in the 14th year (983-84 A. D.) of his reign. From this inscription which registers the course of one transaction during the period of nearly one century it will be seen that payments were being made even by *brahmadēya* villages.

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 122, ll. 36-37.

⁵ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 352, line 110. The editor has corrected the reading into *kaḷḷu* and translated it as *milk-bush*.

The manner in which the *brahmadēya* is said to have been granted is described as *sāmānya irañḍu-paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl* (lines 110-11 and 125). This term occurs not only in the Kaśākkuḍi plates¹ but also in the Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates of the king.² That *paṭṭi* is a term of land measurement will be clear from the facts that the Kūram plates³ of Paramēśvaravarman I refers to the sale of five and a quarter *paṭṭi* of land (*ayindickāl paṭṭi nilamum viṛṇakonda* in l. 62) and that one *paṭṭi* measured one thousand two hundred *kūlis* of land (*āyiractiṇunūṛṇu-kkūlippaḍiyāl viṛṇu-lkonda nilam* in ll. 59-60). Thus the term *sāmānya irañḍu-paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl* occurring in the present grant has to be translated as "measured (as having) two ordinary *paṭṭis* (per share)". This would mean that each share consisted of two thousand and four hundred *kūlis* of land.⁴

It is also stated in lines 111-12 that the '*paradatti* was made by the king who was pleased to order that the *pārchāttu* and the *paradatti* should proceed according to the measure'. The compound *pārchāttu*, not found elsewhere, is made up of two words *pāl* and *śāttu*. The word *pāl* is used in Tamil literature in the sense of a share, portion or division and even apportionment while the other *śāttu* in the sense of put on, wear, or bear. Evidently the word *pārchāttu* should be taken to mean the effecting or entry of the division or apportionment of the land and village granted.

As usual the grant of the village as a *brahmadēya* is said to have been made inclusive of all *parihāras* or immunities and a large number of such *parihāras* are also mentioned. Of the seven copper-plate grants of the Pallava kings so far obtained having both Sanskrit and Tamil portions, with the exception of the Bāhūr plates which record the gift of the village as *brahmadēya* for the benefit of an educational institution, all the other six⁵ register gift to the Brāhmaṇas, and everyone of them contains a list of *parihāras* granted to the donees. But no two lists agree, even though we have quite a number of names common to them. Of the *parihāras* mentioned in the present grant many are found in the Kaśākkuḍi plates of the same monarch. There are also a few new ones.

The first item among the *parihāras* granted is *kōḡil-vastu-chehekku* (line 113). The term oil-mill (*śekku*) is usually found separately or along with the term handloom (*taṇṇi*). But here it forms part of the compound as will be evident from the addition of the consonant *ch*. The word *vastu* in the compound is evidently the other form of *cāstu*, meaning a building site. Thus the entire term would mean the oil-mill put up on the temple site.

The list contains another word similarly ending with *vastu*, occurring in line 115, *ulavai paḷḷi-vastu*. In the Kaśākkuḍi plates we have the term *ulayray-paḷḷi-vattu* (line 129). Hultzsch left the term untranslated with a foot note⁶ stating that the term 'contains the words *ulayray*, a servant, *paḷḷi*, a temple.' Minakshi suggested⁷ that the term "would signify a tax in kind due to the king from the servants of the temple" taking the word *vastu* as meaning "moveable property". But she

¹ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 351-2, ll. 107-8.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 122. The editor has read line 37 as '*kudināḷ sāmānya kūrut-paḍi-ppaḍiyār*' with a footnote that the reading in brackets is tentative, the text being badly damaged in the original. The correct reading *kudināḷ sāmānya paṭṭi-ppaḍiyār* as given by Shri T. N. Subrahmanyam (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 129) is also supported by the original which I consulted at the Government Museum, Madras. See also *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 359, n. 12.

³ Ibid., Vol. I, No. 151, pp. 154-55.

⁴ Even to-day in some villages especially in the Tanjore District (e.g. Udayalūr in the Kumbakonam Taluk holdings in the land property of the village are referred, though not officially in the records, but among villagers in terms of *paṇḡus* (shares) each *paṇḡu* comprising 2400 *kūlis* (or 8 acres).

⁵ Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I. Kaśākkuḍi plates. Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam plates, Taṇḍantōṭṭam and Pullūr plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Bāhūr plates of Nripatunga and Vēlūrpāḷaiyam plates of Nandivarman III. The Udayēndiram plates are only in Sanskrit, and not in Sanskrit and Tamil.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 361, n. 3.

⁷ C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social life under the Pallavas*, p. 80.

was more inclined to take the word *ulayray-pallī* as the name of "a hamlet of the main village which was granted" thus making the term refer "to all kinds of income from the hamlet". The word *pallī* is generally taken to mean the temple of a faith other than Brahmanical. If *ulayray* occurring in the Kaśākkudi plates and *ulavai* occurring in the present record can be taken as a corruption of *ulaivai* which is probably connected with the word *ulai* meaning suffering and pain, the term *ulaivai-ppallī vastu* may be taken to mean 'the site for the Jaina temple' as suggested by the *Tēvāram* hymns which always deride the Jainas as those who undergo unnecessary suffering and pain.¹ This interpretation is perhaps closely connected with the statement in the Udayēndiram plates,² of the same monarch wherein he is said to have made a gift expropriating the land from those "whose observances were not in accordance with the law (*anḡān-adha[r*]mma krityān-vināśya*)."

Two other terms, *urikkāṇam* and *paṇikkāṇam* (line 116), closely following the above also appear to have something to do with the heterodox religious faiths. The word *uri* means a sling made up of ropes or strings to carry utensils, etc.; and the *Tēvāram* hymns contain references to the practice of the Jaina monks carrying their water pots *kuṇḍigai* in such slings.³ The other word *pari* means to pluck out as of a leaf. The practice of the Jaina monks performing the ceremony of plucking out the hair from their bodies periodically is well-known; and it is also referred to in the *Tēvāram* hymns in which the word *parattu* is used to indicate this practice.⁴ Thus these two terms should refer to the taxes payable by the Jaina monks for carrying their water pots in slings and for performing the ceremony of plucking out their hair respectively.

Two other terms *aṇappirāt-taṇḍam* and *śeḡivu-pōgach-chiṇḍa poṇ* which precede the two terms discussed in the last paragraph are found after the term *ulavai-ppallī vastu* (lines 115-16). The first term means the fine (payable) by those who transgress the *dharma* or remain outside the pale of the law. The terms *upakaraṇat-taṇḍam* and *adhikaraṇat-taṇḍam* are found mentioned separately in the same grant (lines 114-15). These two terms are also mentioned in the Kaśākkudi plates⁵ and they are taken to refer to judicial fines. As such the term *aṇap-pirāt-taṇḍam* may be interpreted either as indicating the fine on those who transgress the social or religious law or as the tax payable by a heretic. It is found at times in the imprecatory portion of the Tamil grants that those who hinder or obstruct the continuance of the grant so made, go outside the pale of the "āṇam or dharma (*arattukku-ppirattai āṇam*)" in which context it will only mean heretics. Here also probably the term means a penal levy or impost payable by a heretic. The other term *śeḡivu-pōga-chiṇḍa poṇ* would mean "the superior gold exclusive of the making". Probably the word *śeḡivu*, meaning the making would indicate the process of refining gold and the wastage incurred thereby. Probably gold refining was done at the place in those days. The mention of this item along with the other taxes payable by those professing faiths other than the Brahmanical one may be taken to indicate that those engaged in the profession were also Jains.

It may appear rather strange that such taxes on people of a heretical faith should figure in a grant registering the gift of a *brahmadēya*. Possibly the tenants of the grant-villages included also people professing the heretical faiths. By the *parihāras* bestowed on them, it looks as though the donees were also entitled to collect the taxes, etc. payable to the king by the existing tenants.

Śūḍippon is another term (line 114) mentioned among the *parihāras* granted. The word *śūḍi* was used in those days to denote an earthen vessel, a jar. The tax being payable in gold (*poṇ*)

¹ *uri tākki ulavāḍal*.

² *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 368, l. 75.

³ Appar, *Tirumalaḡai-āṇṇāṇam*, 6th *Tirumalaḡai*, *Ēḷaittiruttāṇḍaḡam* v. 8; see also, Sambandar, 3rd *Tirumalaḡai*, Tirumalapāḍi, v. 10.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, v. 11; also Sambandar, 1st *Tirumalaḡai*, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai, v. 10.

⁵ *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 353. ll. 128-29; p. 361, n. 2.

it cannot be taken to mean an ordinary mud-pot, but one with some special significance. Evidently it denotes the *mudu-makkaṭ-chāḍi*, the jar or *urn* of the old people. It appears from classical Tamil literature that in the early period the entombing and burying the body in an earthen vessel (*tāḷi*) was one of the methods of disposing the dead.¹ Tamil literature of the mediaeval period shows that very old and feeble people were kept in the *mudu-makkaṭ-chāḍi* and cared for.² The commentary of Nachchinārkiṇiyār on the *Tolkāppiyam* attributes to the Ājivikas the practice of 'entering the *tāḷi* for penance until death'.³ Very likely *śāḍi-ppon* of the present grant indicates the tax in gold payable on such jars.

Another of the *parihāras* mentioned in the record is *birāmaṇichcha-kkāṇam* (line 117). The same is found as *birāmaṇa-rāśa-kkāṇam* in the Kaśākkuḍi plates.⁴ This was interpreted by Hultzsich as 'the share (*kāṇam*) of the Brāhmaṇas and of the king'. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar explains the term as 'the tax of (one) *kāṇam* on the profits of the Brāhmaṇas' taking the word as made up of the words *Brāhmaṇar* and *āśakkāṇam*.⁵ Minakshi explains it as 'the tax payable by the Brāhmaṇas (priests) of the king', taking the compound word as indicating both the payer and the payee.⁶ But it is to be noted that no other example can be cited for this practice of using such an expression to indicate both the payer and the payee. On the other hand it is found from the Kaśākkuḍi plates that the grant of the Koḍukolli village as *brahmadēya* was made by the king on the petition of a person who is described as *Brahmayuvarāśaṇ* in Tamil (line 106), and *Brahmayuvarājan* in Sanskrit (line 103). This name which appears more as the designation of an officer than as a personal name would suggest the existence of another office with the name *Brahmarāja*. It may also be noted in this connection that the executor (*āṇatti*) of the grant now under publication was *Brahmādhirāja*. It is also seen that a certain *Brahmādhirāja*, evidently the executor himself, figures among the donees and got four shares, the largest number, in the grant village. But what exactly was the status of the person or the nature of the office is not known. In later days, especially during the period of the Imperial Chōḷas of Tañjāvūr and the Pāṇḍyas of Madurai, this title was borne by the Brāhmaṇa ministers of the kings who were holding responsible military offices. Very likely they were also ruling over some fiefs. It is possible that the term under consideration may be taken to indicate a chief among the Brāhmaṇas. Therefore if the terms *Brahmarāja* and *Brahmādhirāja* can be connected with *birāmaṇarāja-kkāṇam* as discussed above it may be taken to mean the tax payable to such a person.

The term *pattūr-chchāṇru* occurs both in the present grant (line 115) as well as in the Kaśākkuḍi plates (line 129). Hultzsich left it untranslated. Minakshi took the term as *śāṇruvari* and meaning the tax on toddy yielding trees of Pattūr, which was perhaps a hamlet of the village.⁷ But the occurrence of the term in the present grant makes it difficult to take Pattūr as a hamlet of Koḍukolli. Further if the word intended is *śāṇru* meaning toddy, then the term should really be *Pattūr śāṇru*, without the doubling of the consonant. Hence the latter half of the word should be taken only as *śāṇru* meaning 'proclamation'. The first half of the word would then mean only ten. The whole word would probably mean proclaiming by beat of tom-tom in the (surrounding) ten villages.

Another *parihāra* mentioned in the grant is *kāl-kōṭṭiṇāmai* (line 119). The same is also found in the Kaśākkuḍi plates (line 131) where this has been translated as non-payment of the fourth

¹ K. R. Srinivasan 'The Megalithic Burials and Urn fields of South India in the light of Tamil literature and Tradition' in *Ancient India*, No. 2.

² *Vikramasōlan Ulā*, lines 14-16.

³ *Ancient India*, op. cit., p. 15.

⁴ *S.I.I.*, Vol. II. p. 360.

Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan, p. 344.

Op. cit., p. 74.

Op. cit., p. 80.

part of the trunks.¹ The expression *kālkoṭṭu* should be taken to mean the digging of a channel. Evidently a tax was levied in those days when new channels were dug for irrigating fields. The donees of the present grant were obviously exempted from such payment.

Of the places mentioned in the present grant, Pullūr, one of the four villages granted is the same wherefrom the plates were discovered. The other three villages are all near by. The Chēyāru still flows in the North Arcot District and the Palkunṇam, the headquarters of the *Kōṭṭam* bearing the same name is also in the same district and figures in many inscriptions.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 4 *Anushtubh* ; verse 2 *Sragdharā* ; verses 5, 6, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*]

First Plate

- 1³ [dva]ś=Śāṁkari(rī) mūrttiś=śaśāṁ⁴ṅk-āṁkura-śēkharā [| *] pratipad-dina-paryantē sandhy-ēva sakalānatā [| 1*] Bhāradvājō dvijāti-
- 2 ○○○○○ — — — ṇakṛi[d*]=Drōṇa āsī[d*]=Drōṇā[d*]=Drauṇī sva-bāṇa-kshaṇa-raṇa-samita-[ksha]tra⁵-chakrō babhūva (|) tasmād=uchyai(uchchai)-
- 3 ○ — — ○ [th]utara- prithivi(vī)-vallabhaḥ Pallav-ākhyah kalyah kalyāṇa-rāśiś=chalita-kali-mala-prōllasat-kīrttir=āsīt [| 2*]
- 4 Pallavāt=Pāllavō vaṁśah śrēyān śri(śrī)mān=mahān=abhūt [| *] kṛita-sthitir=udagrāṇa(ṇā)m=uparyy=uchchair=mma-
- 5 hi(hī)bhṛitām [| 3*] Yasmin=māna-mahāstambha-ti(ni)śchalasthitaya-sthirāḥ [| *] jātā jāta-sarad-dāna-dha(dhā)ṛā dha(dhā)ṛēndra-ku-
- 6 ṇjarā[h*] [| 4*] Tasmin=bhūtibhṛidi(d=i)śvarō Bali-riputshō(-kshō)bhi-śriyō vallabhas=svām(mī) śaktidharah param=ṁṇidu-karō rājā
- 7 chcha (cha) bhāsvān jvalan | vālā-pālita-bhūri-sāra-vasudhō ratnākaraḥ Pāllavē vaṁśē samprati **Nandivarmma**-nṛi-
- 8 pati[h*] prakhyāta-nām=ābhavat [|] [| 5*] Yō=yam Kēraḷa-Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya-Maḷavaiḥ Kāḷa-bhra-Bāṇ-ādhipais=s-Āndhra-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 s=Saindhava-Śāntavamkuravarair=Gaṁgaiḥ Kadam̐bai(m̐bē)śvarai[h*] | ugr-ōdagra-samagra-vigraha-bhaya-vyagra-chyuta-pragrahair=agrād=a-
- 10 rchchita-śāsanah prithu-yaśah(śāḥ) śrēyān=śaśāsa kshitim [|] [| 6*] Sa tu kadāchid=rāja-rāja-[nitya-p]lād-ōpajīvi-rāja-
- 11 ka-parivṛita[h*] kṛita-vyavasthā-sthāna-sthitis=tatra sthitēna parañ=chirantar-ānanta-sāmanta-mukhya-vikhyātēna Pallavabha-
- 12 ktinā Villvala-purōśvareṇā(ṇa) **Avanichandra-yuvarāja**-nāmnā dharma-kṛit-ārttham vijñā(jñā)ptō datta-tsha(ksha)ṇa-

¹ S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 361.

² From inked impressions.

³ The broken portion may be restored as *Seastī Śrī* [| *] *Pāyā*.

⁴ The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

⁵ The *ksha* of this word is the only instance in the whole inscription in which it looks like *ksha*. In all other cases it resembles *tsha*. Cf. S. I. I., II, p. 346, n. 14.

\ddot{ii}, a ii, b

iii, a

26 துணிக் குழைக்கெழுந்தருளியுள்ளான். அப்போது - இரண்டாம் பகுதிக்குரிய பகுதி - 26
 28 இவ்வாறு - இரண்டாம் பகுதிக்குரிய பகுதி - 28
 30 இவ்வாறு - இரண்டாம் பகுதிக்குரிய பகுதி - 30
 32 இவ்வாறு - இரண்டாம் பகுதிக்குரிய பகுதி - 32
 34 இவ்வாறு - இரண்டாம் பகுதிக்குரிய பகுதி - 34

36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42

iv, a

44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52

iv, b

54 54
56 56
58 58
60 60

v, a

62 62
64 64
66 66
68 68
70 70

- 13 tsho(kshō)nīpatiḥ pratyatshaksha,-Bṛihaspatiḥ tsha(ksha)tra-vidyā-[vi]chatsha(ksha)ṇam=
atshakshī(ssvāmi-rāgan¹=Nāgaśarmmaṇa-
14 m=Brahmādhirāj-āpara-nāmānan=dvijavara-mantrivaram=ājñaptiḥ kṛtvā Palkunda-kōṭṭakē
Kīl-Vēṇāṭakē Chēyāru-nadī-
15 dakṣiṇa-kūlē Nelli-Pullūra-Takkāra-Kuḍiyūra²-chatur-grāmī-saṁgrahēn=aikagrāman=Naya-
dhīramamgalam sva-nā-
16 mnā-kṛita-nāmānaḥ kṛtvā nija-vaṁśa-parampar-āgatānām śuddhābhijana-vṛitta-vidyānām
dvijavara-Bappa-bhaṭṭārakānā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 17 m-ashta(ashṭōttara)śatāya ssa(sa)lila-pūrvvan=dattavān (m— Svasti [,*] Kō-Viśa(jai)ya Nan-
divarmma[r*] ku yā[n]ḍu mu-
18 ppattu mūṇṇāvadu Avanichandra-Ṇavarasaṇ-viṇṇappattāl Brahmādhirājaṇ āṇatti
19 āga Palkuṇṇa-kkōṭṭattu=kKīlvēṇāṭṭu Nellyum Pullūruṇ=Kuḍiyūru[m*] Maṇalaiku-
20 la-nāṭṭu=tTakkārum in=nālgūruṇ=kōvum poriyun=tirttu muṇ perrārai māṇṇi ku-
21 di-nīkki brahmādēyam=āga=pperṇa nalgūr-naṇ=pāppār Śaṇḍila-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttira-
22 ttira³tt-Uḷappūr-vattavaṇ Kāṭaka=chchōmāsi Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kūla-śarmmaṇ paṇḍira=ṇḍu |⁴
ikkō-
23 ttiratt=ichchūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Śōmāsi=tTiru(Tri)vēdi Śaṇṇa-Kallaśarmmaṇum | Bhā-
radvāja-gōtratt=Āva-
24 ttamba-sūttirattu=kKumāṇḍūr-vattavaṇ Kramavittan Tāliśarmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=
i[ch*]chūttira-
25 tt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Yajña[k]ālīśarmaṇum Gautama-kō(gō)ttirattu Pravachana-sūttirattu=kKā-
vaṇūr-vatta-

Third Plate, First Side

- 26 vaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Uḷudamaṇḍaiśarmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=i[ch*]chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ
Tiṇḍa-Pūdi(Bhūti)-Vēl-
27 paīśarmaṇum | Tā(Nā)rāyaṇa-k(gō)ttiratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKāyāṇu-vattavaṇ Kramavi-
ttan Bhavaśarmma-
28 ṇum | Parāśara-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ārar(rūr?)-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Kūlaśar-
mmaṇum | Kāśyapa-k(gō)tra-
29 tt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKulaputti[ra-vattavaṇ]⁵ Maṇiya=tTiru(tri)vēdi Vēṭpaiyum | ik-kō-
ttiratt=ich-chūt-
30 tiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Dēvaśarmmaṇum | ik-kōttiratt=ichchūttiratt=ivvūr-vatta-
vaṇ Śaḍa-
31 ṇgavi Śivapūdi(Bhūti)śarmmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu=chChōlaiyūr-
vattavaṇ

¹ Read *akshīna-svāmi-rāgan*.

² Read *Kuḍiyūr*.

³ These three letters are superfluous.

⁴ The punctuation mark adopted in the plates at the end of the donees' names looks like a dot followed by a tapering line.

⁵ See lines 60-61 below.

- 32 Kandaviṇṇaśarmmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Nārāyaṇa-Dōṇaśarmma-
ṇum | ik-kō-
33 tratt=ich-chūttiratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kandamaṇḍaśarmmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu
Pravachana-sūtrattu=kKāva[ṇū]r-vatta-
34 ...ti. vēdi Nārāṣa(ya)ṇaśarmaṇum | Āvirshṭa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Śīṣekkūr-vatta-
vaṇ Bhaṭṭan Kandaśarmaṇu-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 35 [ṃ] | [ik]-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=[i]vvūr-vattavaṇ Tiṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-
chūtratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kuṇṇa-Vēṭpai-
36 yum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūrtatt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇamaṇ[ḍa*]śarmaṇum | Ātraya-gōtrattu
Vāṣṇa-sūtrattu Vi-
37 ṇṇūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇḍaśarmaṇum
| Kauśika-go-
38 ttiratt=Āvattamba=sūttirattu Uviyūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Dōṇama[ṇ]ḍaśarmaṇum | i-[k*]kōttira-
39 tt i[ch*]-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Vāsudēvaśarmaṇum | i[k*]-kōtratt=
i[ch*]-chūttirat-
40 t=i-vvūr-vattavaṇ Kumārakaṇḍaśarmaṇum | i[k*]-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttirattu Pipara-vattavaṇ
Dōṇaśa-
41 rmanum | i[k*]kōtratt=i[ch]chūttiratt=ivvūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kaṇamaṇḍaśar-
maṇum | Vatsa-gōtratt=Āvatta-
42 mba-sūttirattu Va[ṇ]bākka-vattavaṇ Kālī-Dōṇaśarmaṇum | Viṣṇuvīddha-gōtratt=Āvatt-
amba-sūttirattu
43 Nimbe-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Nīlakaṇṭhaśarmaṇum | i[k*]-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chū[t*]tiratt=
iv-vūr-vatta(v)van Śaḍaṅgavi Viṣṇu-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 44 dāsaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Tāl[i]śarmaṇu[m] |
Bhāradvāja-go-
45 tratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kumandūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Uludamaṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kō-
tratt=ich-
46 chūtra[ttu=t*]Taṅgāra-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi=chchōmāśi Kandaśarmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-
gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu=kKā-
47 vaṇūr-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Kandaśarman paṅg=iraṇḍu | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Pravachana-
48 sūtrattu=kKāvaṇūr-vattavaṇ Sōmāśi Akkiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich chūtratt=iv-vū-
49 r-vattavaṇ Sūlamaṇḍaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=ivvūr-vattavaṇ Vaḍugaśa-
50 rmanum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūttiratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=
Āvattamba-sūtrattu Va-
51 ṅgipaṇu-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Dōṇaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru-
(Tri)vēdi Nārā-
52 yaṇaśarmaṇum | Kōśika-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu=kKāvaṇūr-vattavaṇ Chaturvēdi
Tiṇḍa-Dōṇa-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 53 śarman paṅg=iraṇḍu | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Chaturvēdi Tiṇḍa-Tāḷīśarmanum | Kōśika-
- 54 gōtratt=Āvattamba-sū[t*]tiratt=Āṅḡarai-vattavaṇ Maṇḍaśarmanum | ik-kōttiratt=ich-chūttirattu Māñ-
- 55 gaḷūr-vattavaṇ Nāganādaśarmanum | ik-kōtratt-i[ch*]-chūttiratt=Ā[r*]kkāḍu-vattavaṇ Kūḷaśarmanum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-
- 56 chūttirattu Mūṅgaṇūr-vattavaṇ Bālaśarmanum | Vatsa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ka-
- 57 lañjūr-vattavaṇ Baddirakāḷīśarmanum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttirattu Abhyaṇṭi-vatta[va*]ṇ
- 58 Māda(dha)vaśarmanum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttiratt=i[v*]-vūr-vattavaṇ Kūḷaśarmanum | ik-kōtrat-
- 59 t=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vatta[va*]ṇ Nandiśarmanum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttiratt=i[v*]-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Suva[r*]ṇaśarma-
- 60 num | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttirattu Śeruppaḷi-vattavaṇ Duggaśarmanum | ik-kōtratt=i[ch*]-chūttirattu Kulaputti-
- 61 ra-vattavaṇ Chatirpedi(Chaturvēdi) Kūḷamaṇḍaiśarmanum | Sāvarṇi-gōtrattu Chhandōga-sūtrattu=pPāḍaga-vattavaṇ Śaḍa-

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 62 ṅgavi Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmanum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Uḷudra[mā]daśarmanum | Maudgala-gōtratt=Ā-
- 63 vattamba-sūtrattu Ilakkanduru¹-vattavaṇ Nāgadāmaśarmanum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=Uḷumbūr-vattava-
- 64 ṇ Śaṇṇa-Dōṇaśarmanum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu-kKombaṇu-vattavaṇ Uḷudamaṇḍaiśarmanum [|]
- 65 Sāmkṛityāyaṇa-gōtrattu [Hi*]raṇyakēśi-chchūtrattu Kuñjaṇūr-vattavaṇ Kaṇḍaśarma[ṇ]
- 66 paṅg=iraṇḍu | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakēśi-chchūtrattu Teṅgaḷūr-[vat]tava-
- 67 ṇ Kāṭaka-chchōmāśi Ta(Da)ttāśarman paṅg=iraṇḍu | Sāmkṛityāyaṇa-gōtrattu Hiraṇya-
- 68 kēśi-chchūtrattu Kuñjaṇūr-vattavaṇ Pākkamādaśarmanum | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakēśi-
- 69 chchūtrattu-pPāḍaga-vattavaṇ Śaṇṇa-Tiṇḍaśarmanum | Ātrava-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakēśi-chchūtrattu Paṇṇi-
- 70 kudir-vattavaṇ Pākkamādaśarmanum | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Hiraṇyakēśi-chchūtrattu Kōvaraṅgi]-vattava-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 71 ṇ Pākkamādaśa²rmanum [] Māshala-gōtrattu Hiraṇ(ṇ)yakēśi-sūtrattu Vaśukūr-vattavaṇ Kandaśarmanum |

¹ This is sometimes written as Ilakkantiram. See S.I.I., Vol. XIII, No. 249, p. 133.

² Space for one or two letters is left blank here.

- 72 Ātrēya-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Olukkaipākka-vattavaṇ Ṣaṭṭiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chū-
- 73 trattu Ṣaṭṭipura-vattavaṇ Kēśuvaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Viṣṇu-nandiśarmaṇum |
- 74 Hārita-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Śā[nū]r-vattavaṇ Kūlaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtrat=ich-chū-
- 75 trattu Kochchaṇaṇcheru-vattavaṇ Bhaṭṭaṇ Dāmōdiraśarmaṇ paṇḡ=iraṇḍu | Lōhita-
- 76 gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu=tTūrppil-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tammaśarmaṇum | ik-
- 77 kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu-kKā-
- 78 rambichchēḍu-vattavaṇ Ṣaṇṇaśarmaṇum | Parāśara-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāva-nūr-vatta-
- 79 vaṇ Urdra(Urudra)kumāraśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Yōgēśvaraśarmaṇum | Sāmkrī-

Sixth Plate, First Side

- 80 tyāyana-gōtrattu Pravachana-sū[tra*]ttu Vaśalūr-vattavaṇ Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmaṇum | Āviśṭa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-
- 81 sūtrattu Irekkūr-vattavaṇ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāmappullūr-pPerumaṇchika Yōṣaṇ Kāṭṭi-kuṇi-pPa-
- 82 vanāgaṇ paṇḡ-onṇu | Kāmappullūr-kKōyilāṇ Nilakaṇṭaṇ paṇḡ=onṇu | Bhāradvāja-gōtra-
- 83 ttu Chhandōga-sūtrattu=pPattangi-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Nāgaśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtra-
- 84 tt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu-kKārambichchēḍu-vattavaṇ Yajñaśarmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 85 trattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāvanūr-vattavaṇ Kandaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrat-
- 86 t=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Kāḍiyuṇṇi Ṣaṇṇaśarmaṇum | Ātrēya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra[ttu*] Pāgai-vattavaṇ
- 87 Sānaśarmaṇum | Vā-śiṣṭa-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu Vaṇṇanūr-vattavaṇ Dōṇa-Viṇṇaśarmaṇum |
- 88 ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ Gaṇḍaśarmaṇum | Lōhita-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra-ttu Kāra-

Sixth Plate, Second Side

- 89 mbichchēḍu-vattavaṇ Mū[r]ttuśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kāvanūr-vattavaṇ Kramavi-
- 90 ttaṇ Śrī-Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu=kKārambichchēḍu-vattavaṇ Kramavaiṭṭaṇ Nandiśarmaṇum | i-
- 91 k-kōtratt=ich-chūtti[ratt=i]v-vūr-vattavaṇ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kēśavaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtrat=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṇ
- 92 Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tiṇḍaśarmaṇum | Garga gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Veñjēḍu-vattavaṇ [Śaḍa]-
- 93 ŋgavi Viṇḍhaśarmaṇum. Ātrēya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtratt=Uśana-vattavaṇ Kumāra[śa]-

- 72 72
- 74 74
- 76 76
- 78 78

vi, a

- 80 80
- 82 82
- 84 84
- 86 86
- 88 88

vi, b

- 90 90
- 92 92
- 94 94
- 96 96

vii, a

- 98 98
- 100 100
- 102 102
- 104 104
- 106 106

108		108
110		110
112		112
114		114
116		116

viii, a

118		118
120		120
122		122
124		124

viii, b

126		126
128		128
130		130
132		132
134		134

ix, a

136		136
138		138

- 94 rmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtratt=Āṇṇū-vattavaṇ Śeṅgīraṇ-kiḷavar [Dā]-
 95 mōdila(dara)śarmaṇ paṅg=iraṇḍu | Koṇḍiṇa-gōtrattu Chhandōga-sūtrattu Chentoru=vattavaṇ
 Śōmāśi-
 96 Iḷavvēṭpai paṅg=iraṇḍu | Gautama-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu Kāṭṭūr-vattavaṇ Tiru-
 (Tri)vēdi- Nara-
 97 siṅgaśarmaṇum | Bharadv[ā]ja-gōtrattu Vāsēṇi-sūtrattu Vēṅgi-vattavaṇ Śaḍaṅgavi Jōḍi-
 jñāna-Bhaṭṭa-

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 98 [ṇum] | Kāśyapa-gōtrattu Paṇambūr=āḷuṇ=Kāriśarmaṇ paṅg=iraṇḍu | Bra[hma]dhi[i]
 rājaṇ paṅgu nāḷgu | Kaḍa[ṇ]-
 99 kāṭṭu-pperuntiṇai paṅg=onṇu | Śāṭṭaṅguḍi-kiḷaṇ paṅg=onṇu | Nāṭṭiya-pperuntiṇai paṅg=
 o[nṇu*] |
 100 Kaliviśaiyaṇ paṅg=onṇu | Perumāṇ-aḍigaḷ paṅgu | Triuvaḍigaḷ paṅgu | Bhagavatiyār paṅgu
 | ivait-
 101 tuḷ ashtaśadattiṇ mēl paṇiyāl=ēriṇa paṅgu paḍinaṇḍu
 102 nūrreṇmar nalgūr naṇ-pā[r*]ppā[r*]kku brahmadēyam aruḷichchēda tiru-
 103 mugan-talaikku vaittu nāṭṭā[r*] viḍu[ta*]nta aṇaiyōlaippaḍiyāl n-
 104 ṭṭu viyavaṇ ṣolliya kīlpārke-llai Pāḍi ērikkum Śālainal-
 105 lūr nattattin mēlai Kaḷāṇkēṇikku mēkkum teupār(r)kke-
 106 [l]lai Neśalappūṇḍi ērikkum Nāgaḍimaṅgalattu [va]richchu-kālukkum Śādāmaṅgala[ttu]-
 107 [kku Nāraikuḷalaikku] vaḍakku=mēlpārke-llai Paḷaṇkōḷūr ellaiyṇ kilakkum

Seventh Plate, Second Side

- 108 vaḍapārke-llai Paḷaṇkōḷūr ellaiyilūṇ=Chēyāṇṇuḷ pāgam peṇavun=¹teṇkum=min-nāṇ
 109 gellai=yagattum=magappaṭṭa nīru=nīlaṇu[m*]=puṇṣeyuṇ=kāḍuṇ=kaḷarum=muḍumbōḍi=
 yāmai tava-
 110 l[n]dad=ellān=Nayadhīramaṅgalam=eṇṇum pērān=sa(l sa)rvva pariḥāram=ullāḍaṅga śāmā-
 nya
 111 iraṇḍu paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl Brahmadēyam=āyittu[| *] ippaḍiyāle pā²rch[ā]ttum-
 112 paradattiyuṇ=śelvad=āgav=aruḷichchēdu paradatti śeyḍadu [| *] ivvūr perṇa
 113 pariḥāraṇ=kōyil-vastu=chchekkuṇ=tariyum ulliyakkūlivum=ēttakkā-
 114 ṇamun=śāḍipponṇuṇ=kāruṇ=teṅgam=ponṇum upakaraṇa-ttaṇḍamum-(m)ati(adhi)karaṇa-t-
 115 taṇḍamum Pattūr-chchāṇṇu=ulavai-paḷli-vastuvum [aṇappuḷā]-ttaṇḍamuṇ=śeyivu pōga=chchira-
 116 nda ponnum uṇi-kkāṇamum pari-kkāṇamum nīrtūkk-kkāṇamum [pu]ṭṭaka-vilaiyum paṭṭigai-

Eighth Plate, First Side

- 117 kkāṇamum birāmaṇichecha-kkāṇamuṇ=kaṇṇiṭṭu-kkāṇamuṇ=kāḷkōṭṭukk-āṇamuṇ=śeṇk[o]-

¹ This passage is defective.

² The letter *pā* is engraved below the line.

- 118 *ḍiy-kkāṇamum āṭṭu-kkāṇamum nāvita-kkāṇamuṇ=kuvalai-kkāṇamum vaṇṇā[ra*]-kkāṇa**
mum veṇ-
- 119 *ṇilattu=tteṇṇuṇ=kamugum=iṭṭaṇa kālkkōṭṭ=iṇāmeyum paṇṇīr=āṭṭai=kkarai-yīṇāmeyu-*
- 120 *m paṇḍuṇṇu=nīrkk=urittāgavum [| *] nāḍu-kāppāṇum pugāpeyu-¹*
- 121 *m ivargaḷ śeyappālaṇa i[va*]rum=ivar-valikkaṇṇārumē śeyivārāgavum[| *] ivar-*
- 122 *gaḷukku ārruḷ niṇṇum ērigaḷuḷ niṇṇun=nīr-īndavali tōṇḍikkonḍu-*
- 123 *pō[vā*]rāgavum [| *] ikkālgaḷ pōṇda nilam pōṇa māṇṇi² ivargaḷē tu[y*]ppārāgavum*
*[| *] ivargaḷu-*
- 124 *kk=araind=āḷi-pōgi=kkāṇ-nāṭṭi Kūgai-pugutti ivaiūmm=ivai-yuḷḷiṭṭa parihāraṇḷum=uḷ*
- 125³ *sāmānya iraṇḍu paṭṭi-ppaḍiyāl brahmadēyam=āyirru[| *] ivv=ūrgaḷil Nelli-ēri ivargaḷ*
kirkuma-[ai]

Eighth Plate, Second Side

- 126 . .[vi]riya=ttōṇḍiṇāl śeṇṇu nīr kōkkum aḷavuṇ=kōkkapperuvadāgavum [| *] ivv=ūr ērigaḷuk-
- 127 *ku ārru[k*]kāl nīr-īnda vali tōṇḍikkonḍ=unṇapperuvārāgavum [| *] ikkālgaḷ kōlkalamum*
- 128 *puḷudipāḍum peruvadāgavum [|] ik-kālgaḷ kūḍai-eṇṇittuṇ=kuṇṇēttam paṇṇiyuṇ=kuraṇḡ-*
aṇṇuttu-
- 129 *ū=kollapperādārāgavum[| *] koṇḍār Kōviṇār-ṇaṇḍikka-ppaḍuvārāgavum [|]*
- 130 *ivarum=n=ivar-valikkaṇṇārum māḍamum māḷigaiyum eḍuttu[k*]koṇḍ=irukka-*
- 131 *pperuvārāgavum[| *] śeṇḡaḷuṇṇun -tamanagamum iḍapperuvār[ā*]gavumm=aruḷicheheyda-*
- 132 *du[| *] Yāṇḍu muppa[tu*]mūṇṇu nāl munṇūṇṇu muppadu [| *] Svasti (M— Bhūmi-*
dānāt=paran=dānam na bhūtan=na bha-
- 133 *vishyati [| *] tasy-ēva haraṇā dūtam na bhūtan=na bhavishyati [| *] Svadatt[ā*]m=para-*
datt[ā]m vā yō harēta vasundharā[m | *]*
- 134 *shashṭim-varsha(saha)sahasrāṇi shu(vi)shṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimi[h] | Raksh=āpī [ū]cha dharma-*
śya nidhānam-

Ninth Plate, First Side

- 135 . [raṇyapā] [vāra]py=anayōr=ēkam mṛisṭam=griṇṇantu pā[r*]-thivā[h*] ||
ivai Nayadi[ra]
- 136 *Per[u]ṇḡāṭṭ[u]kārān=eḷuttu[| *] Bhāradvāja-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu-*
- 137 *-chhōlāiyūr-vattavan Dāmōdila(dara)śarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattam-*
- 138 *ba-sūtrattu Kuṇḍūr-vattavan Śōmāśi Vināyakaśarmaṇum | Vassa(tsa)-gōtra-*
- 139 *tt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Pūṇiya-vattavan Śeṭṭaśarmaṇum ||*

Ninth Plate, Second Side

[Contains traces of the *praśasti* of this grant commencing from *yyuchcha* in 1. 4 to *vaṁśapa* in 1. 16.]

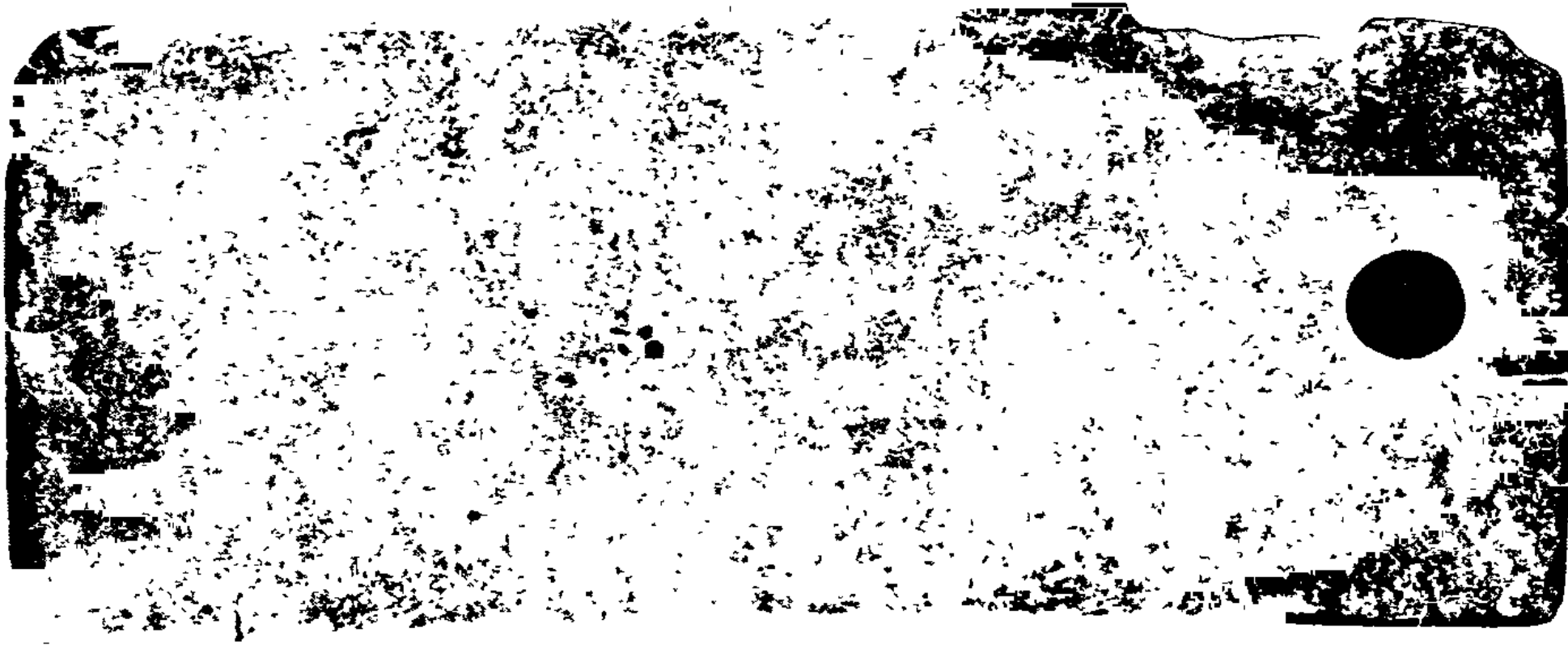
¹ Read *pugāmeyum*.

² [This may be a mistake for *pēr* or *pērkaḷ māṇṇi*.—Ed.]

³ The gap may be restored as *uḷḷaṇḡa*.

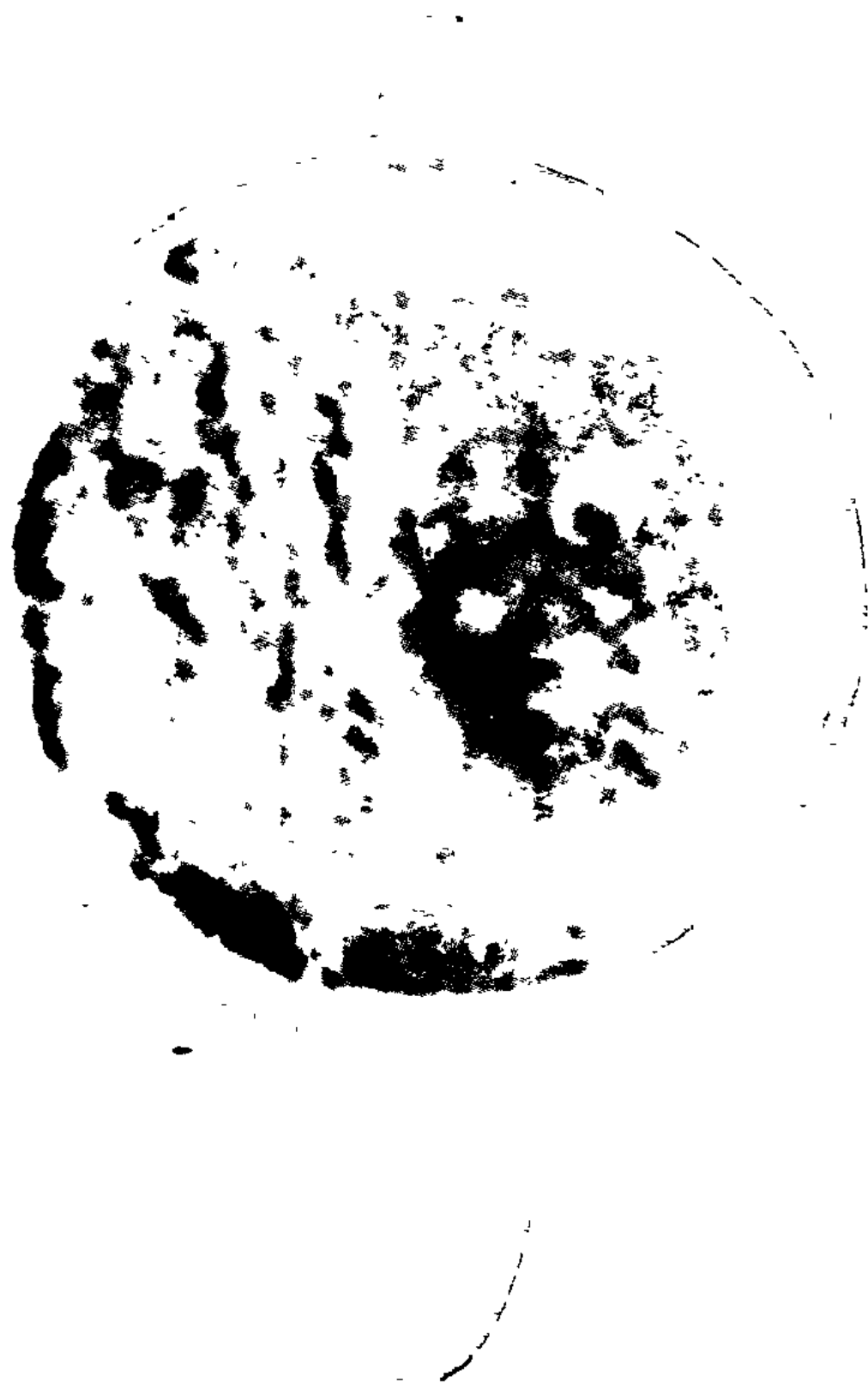
THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33—Plate III

ix, b



Scale : One-half

SEAL



(from Photograph)

Serial No.	No. of line	Gotra	Sūtra	Place of residence	Name	No. of shares
1	21	Ṣaṇḍha	Āvattamba	Uḷappūr	Kāṭaka-ch-Chōmāsi Tiruvēdi Kūḷaśarman	2
2	23	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sōmāsi Trivēdi Saṇṇa-Kaḷaśarman	1
3	24	Bhāradvāja	Do.	Kumāṇḍūr	Kramavittan Tāḷaśarman	1
4	25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Yajña-Kāḷaśarman	1
5	25	Gautama	Pravachana	Kāvanūr	Trivēdi Uḷuda-Maṇḍaśarman	1
6	26	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tiṇḍa-Bhūti-Vēlpaśarman	1
7	27	Nārāyaṇa	Āvattamba	Kāyāru	Kramavittan Bhavaśarman	1
8	28	Parāśara	Do.	Ārūr	Ṣaḍaṅgavi Kūḷaśarman	1
9	29	Kāśyapa	Do.	Kulapūttī[ra]?	(Maṇiya?) Trivēdi Vētpai	1
10	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ṣaḍaṅgavi Dēvaśarman	1
11	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ṣaḍaṅgavi Sivabhūtiśarman	1
12	31	Bhāradvāja	Do.	Ṣōlaiyūr	Kanda Viṇṇaśarman	1
13	32	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nārāyaṇa Dōṇaśarman	1
14	33	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kanda Maṇḍaśarman	1
15	33	Do.	Pravachana	Kāvanūr	Trivēdi Nārāyaṇaśarman	1
16	34	Āvirgha	Āvattamba	Ṣirekkūr	Bhattan Kandaśarman	1
17	35	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tiṇḍaśarman	1
18	35	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kunṇa-Vētpai	1
19	36	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaṇamanḍaśarman	1
20	36	Ātraya	Vāsēni	Viṇṇūr	Kunṇaśarman	1
21	37	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaṇḍaśarman	1
22	37	Kausika	Āvattamba	Uviyūr	Dōnamaṇḍaśarman	1

Serial No.	No. of line	Āśtra	Sūtra	Place of residence	Name	No. of shares
23	38	Kausika . . .	Āvattamba . . .	Uvayūr . . .	Trivedi Vāudevaśarmaṇ . . .	1
24	39	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Kumāra Kandaśarmaṇ . . .	1
25	40	Do. . .	Do. . .	Pipara . . .	Dōṇaśarmaṇ . . .	1
26	41	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Trivedi Kaṇamaṇḍaśarmaṇ . . .	1
27	41	Vatsa . . .	Do. . .	Vaṇpākkam . . .	Kāli-Dōṇaśarmaṇ . . .	1
28	42	Vishṇuvṛiddha . . .	Do. . .	Nimbai . . .	Śaḍaṇḍavi Nilakaṇṭhaśarmaṇ . . .	1
29	43	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Śaḍaṇḍavi Viśvudāśarmaṇ . . .	1
30	44	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Śaḍaṇḍavi Tāliśarmaṇ . . .	1
31	44	Bhāradvāja . . .	Do. . .	Kumāṇḍūr . . .	Śaḍaṇḍavi Uluda-Maṇḍaśarmaṇ . . .	1
32	45	Do. . .	Do. . .	Taṇḍār . . .	Śaḍaṇḍavi Sōmāśi Kaṇḍaśarmaṇ . . .	1
33	46	Do. . .	Pravachana . . .	Kāvanūr . . .	Śaḍaṇḍavi Kandaśarmaṇ . . .	2
34	47	Koṇḍina . . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sōmāśi Akkiśarmaṇ . . .	1
35	48	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Sūlamaṇḍaśarmaṇ . . .	1
36	49	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Vaḍugaśarmaṇ . . .	1
37	50	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Mādhavaśarmaṇ . . .	1
38	50	Do. . .	Āvattamba . . .	Vaṇḍiparu(Vaṇḍippu- ram?) . . .	Śaḍaṇḍavi Dōṇaśarmaṇ . . .	1
39	51	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Trivedi Nārāyaṇaśarmaṇ . . .	1
40	52	Kōśika . . .	Pravachana . . .	Kāvaṇūr . . .	Chaturvēdi Tiṇḍa-Dōṇaśarmaṇ . . .	2
41	53	Do. . .	Do. . .	Do. . .	Chaturvēdi Tiṇḍa-Tāliśarmaṇ . . .	1
42	53	Do. . .	Āvattamba . . .	Aṇḍarai . . .	Maṇḍaśarmaṇ . . .	1
43	54	Do. . .	Do. . .	Māṇḍalūr . . .	Nāgaṇṭhaśarmaṇ . . .	1
44	55	Do. . .	Do. . .	Ā[r*]kkaḍu . . .	Kūlaśarmaṇ . . .	1

45	55	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mūṅgaṇūr	Pāla(Bāla)-arman	1
46	56	Vatsa	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kalaṇjūr	Badrakāḷiśarman	1
47	57	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Abhyaṇṭi	Mādhavaśarman	1
48	58	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kūḷaśarman	1
49	58	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nandiśarman	1
50	59	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivēdi Suvaṭṭi*paśarman	1
51	60	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Seruppaḷi	Duggaśarman	1
52	60	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kulaṇṭṭira	(Chaturvēdi Kūḷamaṇḍaśarman	1
53	61	Sāy[r]u	Do.	Chhandoga	Do.	Do.	Pāḍagam	Śadagavi Bhūtiśarman	1
54	62	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Udura-Mādaśarman	1
55	62	Maudgala	Do.	Āvattamba	Do.	Do.	Hakkanduru (Hakkandi- tam?)	Nāḍadānaśarman	1
56	63	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Uḍumbūr	Śanna-Dōṇaśarman	1
57	64	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kombaru	Udura-Mādaśarman	1
58	65	Sāmkṛityāyana	Do.	[H]iraṇyakeśi	Do.	Do.	Kuṇḍaṇjūr	Kandaśarman	2
59	66	Bhāradvāja	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tengalūr	Kāṭhaka-ch'ṭhōmāśi Dattaśarman	2
60	67	Sāmkṛityāyana	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kuṇḍaṇjūr	Pākka-Mādaśarman	1
61	68	Kondina	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pāḍagam	Śanna-Tiṇḍaśarman	1
62	69	Ātrēya	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pamrikudir	Pākka-Mādaśarman	1
63	70	Kondina	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kōvarankūl	Pākka-Mādaśarman	1
64	71	Māshala	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vaśukūr	Kandaśarman	1
65	72	Ātrēya	Do.	Āvattamba	Do.	Do.	Olukkappākkam	Śattiśarman	1
66	72	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śaṭṭipumam	Kēśuvaśarman	1
67	73	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vishṇumaṇḍaśarman	1
68	74	Harita	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sānūr	Kūḷaśarman	1
69	75	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kōcheḷanaṇjiru	Bhṭaṭan Tāmōḍuśarman	2

Serial No.	No. of line	Gōtra	Sūtra	Place of residence	Name	No. of shares
70	76	Lōhita .	Pravachana .	Tūrppil .	Trivēdi Tammasārman .	1
71	77	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Kumāśārman .	1
72	78	Kāśyapa .	Āvattamba .	Kārambiecheḍu .	Śannasārman .	1
73	79	Parāśara .	Pravachana .	Kāvanūr .	Udrakumāśārman .	1
74	79	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Yogēśvaraśarman .	1
75	80	Sāmkṛtyāyana .	Do. .	Vasālūr .	Pūḍisārman .	1
76	80	Āviśhta .	Āvattamba .	Irēkkūr .	Kumāśārman .	1
77	81	..	..	Kāmappullūr .	Perumaiṇṇaka Yōsan Kāṭṭikkurī-Bhavanāgan .	1
78	82	..	..	Do. .	Nalakapṇaṇ of Kōyil .	1
79	82	Bhāradvāja .	Chandōga .	Pattangi .	Trivēdi Nāgaśārman .	1
80	83	Kāśyapa .	Āvattamba .	Kārambiecheḍu .	Yajñasārman .	1
81	84	Bhāradvāja .	Pravachana .	Kāvanūr .	Kandaśārman .	1
82	85	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Kādiyuppi Śannasārman .	1
83	86	Ātrēya .	Āvattamba .	Pāgai .	Śānasārman .	1
84	87	Vāsishta .	Pravachana .	Vanganūr .	Dōṇa-Viṇṇasārman .	1
85	88	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Kaṇḍasārman .	1
86	88	Lōhita .	Āvattamba .	Kārambiecheḍu .	Mūṭr*ttisārman .	1
87	89	Kāśyapa .	Do. .	Kāvanūr .	Kramavittaiṇ Śrī Mādhaśārman .	1
88	90	Do. .	Do. .	Kārambiecheḍu .	Kramavittaiṇ Nandisārman .	1
89	90	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Trivēdi Kēśavaśārman .	1
90	91	Do. .	Do. .	Do. .	Trivēdi Tiṇḍasārman .	1
91	92	Garga .	Do. .	Veñjṛḍu .	Śadāṅgavi Viṇḍasārman .	1

No. 21—BUDARSINGI INSCRIPTION OF KADAMBA CHATTAYYADEVA, SAKA 1179

R. N. GURAV, Hasan

(Received on 28-9-61)

Budarsingi is a small village five miles south of Hubli and about half a mile west of the Hubli-Harihar road, in the Hubli Taluk of the Dharwar District. The present epigraph¹ is inscribed on the **Nandi-pillar**, set up outside the Hanumān temple situated to the east of the village. The writing covers an area of 2'10" by 14" and contains fifty lines. The average height of letters is two-fifth of an inch. The epigraph is in a fairly good state of preservation.

Except for one verse in lines 17-18, the inscription is in **Kannada language and characters**. The characters are regular for the period to which they belong. We may note also that all the usual orthographical peculiarities are found therein.

The epigraph starts with a *vachana* of Siddharāmanātha, which is similar to the one found in the Saṅgūr inscription.²

The inscription then gives an invocatory verse in Sanskrit (lines 17-18) and introduces the **Kadamba** chief **Chattayyadēva** with a number of titles (lines 18-32). The details of date given, viz., Śaka 1179, Piṅgaḷa-samvatsara, Vaiśākha-śuddha 15, Ādityavāra, correspond regularly to **1257 A.D., April 29, Sunday**, f.d.t. '08. Chattayyadēva, also known as Shashṭha, in whose reign the grant is dated came to power in 1246-47 A.D. Accordingly the present grant may be assigned to about the tenth year of his reign. The record refers to the temple of Kapila-Siddha-Mallikārjjunadēva at the holy place of Sonnalige (lines 33-36) and states that Chattayyadēva made a gift of the village Vuchehaṅgi (lines 36-40) for the worship of the god Mallikārjuna, for the repairs of the temple and for the purposes of (1) *aṣṭa-śaṣṭhi(śaṣṭhi)-tīrtha-Siddha-taṭāka-khanana* (2) *chatuṣka(śka)-kulaś-ābhishēṣhika* (3) *natya-hōma* and (4) *āvāsichhātra*. *Aṣṭa-śaṣṭhi-tīrtha-siddha-taṭāka*, i.e., the holy tank with sixty eight *tīrthas*, it may be observed, is credited to have been excavated at Sonnalige by Siddharāma, the famous Śaiva saint of that place.³ The grant therefore recorded in this inscription apparently was made for the repairs or the upkeep of the tank. The *chatuska-kulaś-ābhishēṣhika*, also seems to refer to what is described as *yōga-majjana*, by Rāghavāṅka.⁴ *Natya-hōma* is the offering of oblations every day and the grant for *āvāsichhātra*, meant for the maintenance of the students in the temple.

We find that there is considerable similarity in the expression of words and phrases between the text of the grant and passages in the *Siddharāma-charita*.⁵ This shows that the composer of the present record was quite conversant with Rāghavāṅka's work. The inscription ends with a reference to Siddharāma (lines 48-50).

The temple of Kapilasiddha Mallikārjunadēva was constructed by Siddharāmanātha in Sonnalige, i.e., the modern Sholapur. Sonnalige is described in the inscription as *abhinava*

¹ This is referred to by Dr. Fleet in *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 572. [This has been noticed in *A.R. Ep.* 1941-42, B. K. No. 14.—Ed.]

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 189 ff.

³ *Siddharāma-charita* of Rāghavāṅka, (published by Karnataka Saṅgha, Shimoga, Ed. T. S. Venkannayya and D. L. Narasimhachar), *Sandha* IV, verses 17 ff.

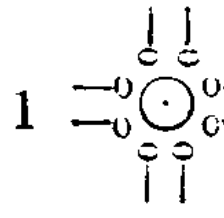
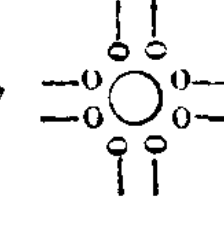
⁴ *Ibid.*, *Sandha* V.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Sandha* IV, verses 18 and 26 : VIII, 95, etc.

Śrīśaiḷa yōga-ramaṇīya kshētra which is similar to Rāghavāṅka's description of the place in *Siddharāma-charitra*.¹

The geographical places referred to are Śrīśaiḷa, Sonnalige, Halasige-nāḍu, Sabbi-kaṁpaṇa and Vuchchaṁgi. Vuchchaṁgi is Buḍarsingi where the record is found. The other places are well known.

TEXT²

- 1  Svasti Śrī [ōm] [i*] Jaya Paramēśva(śva)ra Paramātma Īśva(śva)raṇ=urvvi-pa-
2 rvviy=aḍaṁḡikōṁḍirppan=ōrvvaṁṇmigeṇ=āgi yōgigaḷa
3 manada koneya Jōtīśva(śva)raṇuṁ Vriśa(Vṛiṣha)bhana rūp=āgi yajamāṇanu[m=ā]chāryya-
4 nuṁ tāney=āgi [yō]g-ādi-saṁpaṇṇa-baḷeyaṁḡaḷ=ellamaṁ saṁpādisi [yōga]-ra-
5 maṇīya-kshētravane [sta]ḷav-iṭṭu salākhe-vididu abha(bhi)nava-Śrīśai(śai)ḷavane mā[ḍi
Kapi]lasiddha-
6 Mallikārjjunadēvare nelasi niṁdu puṁṇya-pāpaṁḡaḷaṁ baraṁ(ra)-pēḷdu besaṁ
7 pēḷuttav=iralu yēṁ besaṁ dēvā yenalu yī sthānadalu mānyav=ā-
8 gi vūruḡaḷaṁ bhūmigaḷaṁ dhanamḡaḷaṁ yī Liṁḡakke hastōḍakaṁ
9 māḍi koṭṭudumaṁ manam pēsade kaḷadukōṁḍehen=eṁbātana ātana
10 mātā-mātā-pitrurḡgaḷ=ellavam yeppatta-yēḷu-kōṭi varuśaṁ(sham)ba-
11 raṁ pulu-gōṁḍada narakadoḷag=ikki nīn=āhutigolutt=iru gaṁ[ḍā] ye-
12 le pāpave | Yī dēvana bhūmi da(dha)nakk=ān=aṁjuven=eṁdu paṁḍeyaṁ pāv=aḍa-
13 rddamte manam bedari poḍavaṭṭanaṁ bēḡa śīghraṁ koṁḍu bā kaṁḍā yele puṁ-
14 ṇyavē Kaviḷāsakke | Yīnt=i yeraḍara beṁḡe puṁṇya-pāpaṁḡaḷu pā-
15 rddu-koṁḍoyvudu tappadu ḍiṭa ḍiṭa satyaṁ gaṁḍire Yīnt=iḍu(du)
16 śrī Siddharāmanāthadēvaru puṁṇya-pāpakke niyāmisikoṭṭa vachana ||
17  Namō=stu krōḍa-rūpāya | śa(sa)-syā(sā)gara-vanā mahī | daṁsbṭr-āgrē
18 rājatē yasya | musthā(stā)-staṁbha-samākru(kṛi)tī .. Svasti samadhiḡata-paṁcha-
19 mahā-s(ś)abda-mahā-Māhēs(ś)varaṁ | samasta-bhuvana-saṁstūyya(stūya)māna |
20 Hara-dharaṇī-prasūta | Himavadu-girīṁdra-ru[m*]dra-śikhar-ābhyudayaṁā-
21 na | mahā-prachamḍa-mārttaṁḍa-kar-āti-tībra-nija-pratāpa-vaśīkri(kṛi)ta-sakaḷa-maṁ-
22 ḍaḷa | vuttuṁḡa-sūbha-lāṁ[ehha]na | vānara-mahādhvajaṁ | permmāṭi(mmaṭṭi)-tūryya-
23 nirghghōsa(sha)ṇa | chatur-āsīti-nagar-ādhishṭit-āṣṭa(ṣṭā)-das(ś)-ās(ś)vamēḍa(dha)-yajjēa-
24 dīkshā-dīkshita-kuḷa-prasūta | himavadu-girīṁdra-ru[m*]dra-śikharā(a)=sthā.

¹ *Siddharāma-charitra* III, verse 38.

² From ink impressions prepared by me.

- 25 pīta-mahā sa(śa)kti-prabhāva | tyāga-jaga-jhaṁpa | nīssa(śśa)ṁka-Rāma | subhaṭi(ṭa)-kanaka
 26 nikas(sh)-ōpaṇa(la) | s(ś)araṇ-āgata-vajra-paṁjara | lōkaika-kalpadruma | ś(s)amkrām-
 27 ti-dhavaḷa , mūrtti-Nārāyaṇa | kīrtti-mārttaṁḍa rāyalalāṭa-paṭṭa | vai-
 28 ri-gharaṭṭa | subhaṭa-rāja-si(śi)khāmaṇi | Kadam̐ba-chūḍāmaṇi | yitty=akhiḷa-
 29 nāmāvaḷi-samāḷam̐kri(kṛi)ta śrī-Saptakōṭīśva(śva)radēba(va)-labdha-vara-prasāda
 30 śrī **Kadam̐ba**-kuḷa-tiḷaka | paśchima-samudrādihpati | S(Ś)ivachitta bhuja-
 31 baḷa-vi[ra]-**Chaṭṭaiyadēva**-vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttarābhivṛidhdhi(ddhi)-
 32 pravarddhamāna **S(Ś)aka-varsha 117[9]-neya Pīṁgaḷa-sam̐[vatsara]-**
 33 **da Vaiśākha-suddha 15 Ādityavāradaṁdu** śrīmatu abhina-
 34 vaŚrīs(ś)aiḷa-yōga-ramaṇiya-kshētrav=enippa śrī-Som̐nna-
 35 l igeya-pura-var-ādhīsvara mahā-mahima-Kapilasidhdha(ddha)-Ma-
 36 llikārjjunadēvara aṁga-bhōga-raṁga-bhōga navīna-prāsāda-
 37 karaṇa ashṭa-sa(sha)shṭi (shṭhi)-tīrttha-Sidhdha(ddha)-taṭṭaka-khanana dīn-ānāth-ōda-
 38 ra-bharaṇa | chatuska(shka)-kaḷaś-ābhīsē(shē)ka | gō-prachāra nitya-hō-
 39 ma | āvāsi-chhātr-ādy=anēka-dēva-kāryyake tam-āḷva Halasige-nā-
 40 ḍoḷu Sabbi-kam̐paṇadolagaṇa Vuchchaṁgi-nāma grāma
 41 pūrvv-ō[kta]-prasidhdha(ddha)-sīmā-samam̐nvita-[chā]tur-āghāṭ-ōpalakshita
 42 jala-pāl[shāṇa]-nidhi-nidhāna-nikshēp-a(ā)rām-ōpavan-ādy-upēta
 43 ashṭa-bhōga-tēja-sā(svā)mya-suṁka-sāda-dam̐ḍa-mūḷika-kā-
 44 ru-kāru-haṇ-ādi sakala-draby-ōpārjjan-ōpēta-samam̐nvita-
 45 sarvvābādhe parihārav=āgi sarvva-namasyavaṁ māḍi śrī-
 46 Chaṭṭaiyadēvaru tam̐ma sva-hastadin̐ dhārū-pūrvvakam̐ māḍi
 47 koṭṭa dharmma chaṁdr-ārka-tārām̐ araṁ salu]ttam=ire ;
 48 Śrī-parama-Sidhdharānam̐ pāpa-haram̐ martya-
 49 doḷage vudavisi nīṁdam̐ | Chāpaḷa-biśēsha-nayanana Śrīpada-soṇ-
 50 nambidaṁg=aridum̐tū(u) | Maṁgaḷa-mahā-śrī śrī śrī |

No. 22— ANNAVARAPPADU PLATES OF KATAYA VEMA REDDI

(2 Plates)

K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND AND T. KRISHNAMURTY, PITTALAVEMAVARAM

(Received on 5. 6. 1962)

After the downfall of the Kākatīyas in Andhra, the Redḍis of Koṇḍaviḍu came into prominence and ruled the country for about two centuries. Unlike the Gajapatis of Orissa and the Narapatis of Vijayanagara, who held their sway over Andhra for sometime, the Redḍis were the undisputed Telugu rulers of the country and their rule forms a glorious chapter in the history of the Andhra country. That the country had its golden age under these Redḍi rulers is clearly borne out from a number of their records and from the literary works of the great Telugu poets such as Śrīnātha and Errāpregaḍa who were patronised by these rulers. Although several inscriptions of these kings have been published so far, many facts pertaining to their history are, however, still obscure and their genealogy, therefore, is not satisfactorily worked out. The copper plate grant published below throws welcome light both on the genealogy of these kings as well as on other details pertaining to their family which remained hitherto unknown.

The plates¹ were discovered as early as 1946 in Annavarappāḍu, a hamlet of Mallōśvaram in the Tanuku Taluk of the West Godavari District, while digging for laying the foundations of a house-site belonging to Sri Akella Sarvannagaru of the village. The news reached Sri Turaga Krishnamurty who secured the plates which were lying with the members of Sri Sarvanna's family through the courtesy of his friend Sri P. Venkataratnam Naidu. While he was studying the plates for publication, Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, the then Commissioner of the Religious Endowments Board of the composite Madras State happened to camp in a nearby village and having come to know about these plates, sent word to Sri Krishnamurty and requested him for the plates. The latter placed the set unreservedly in Sri B.V. Krishna Rao's hands. On his return to Madras, Sri Krishna Rao sent them to the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy for being reviewed in his Annual Report. The set was noticed as No. 4 of Appendix A in the Report for the year 1946-47 and was duly returned to Sri Krishna Rao, who later sold away the set along with several other copper plates collected by him in his capacity as the Commissioner to the Keeper of the National Museum at Delhi. The inscription on the plates is now edited with the help of the excellent inked impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The set consists of seven thick copper plates each measuring about 9 inches in length and 5 inches in breadth and engraved on both the sides. Each plate is perforated with a ring-hole of $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter towards the left margin. The thick ring which has all the plates strung on to it, bears the royal seal on a lump of metal attached to it. The seal depicts the figure of a seated bull, the emblem of the Redḍi kings.² All the plates together with the ring weigh 429 tolas. The plates are numbered in Telugu-Kannada numerals on their inner sides and in the left margin.

The writing is neatly executed and is in an excellent state of preservation. It appears that the record was engraved by two different scribes. The **characters** are Telugu current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Andhra country and are exactly similar to those of many other grants of the Redḍi kings published so far. However, the following palaeographical peculiarities

¹ These have been published in Telugu in *Bhārati*, Vol. XXXVII, part 10, pp. 4 ff.

² See the *Catalogue of copper plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras*; Redḍi chiefs of Koṇḍaviḍu, Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

may be noted. No distinction is made between the medial signs of *a* and *ā*, *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. The sign for the aspirate seen in some cases, resembles a small inverted crescent below the right arm of the letter. This, however, is not uniform in all the cases. Some of the aspirate letters have quite distinct forms to differentiate them from their unaspirated counterparts. The *rēpha* is indicated by a curved stroke at the top right of the letter. The final form of *t* and *n* occur frequently. The *anusvāra* is used invariably for final *m* and also the class nasals. The only letters that differ from those of the present day are *da*, *dha*, *sa* and *ḷa*. The difference between *ta* and *ḍa* lies in the top stroke and so also between *da* and *ḍa*, in the loop towards the right arm. *Dha* resembles exactly the present day *da*. The letters *ka*, *na* and *ha* can easily be identified even though they differ slightly from their present forms. Among the orthographical peculiarities, the spellings like *pañchcha* (line 17), *brahmāṁḍa* (lines 70-71), etc. may be noted.¹ The consonants following the *rēpha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the passages in Telugu describing the boundaries of the villages granted. Besides its historical importance, this charter is an excellent specimen of beautiful inscriptional composition in chaste Sanskrit verse replete with good *alamkāras*. The author's command over poetics is indeed very remarkable. The contents of the charter are summarised below.

The first five verses invoke the Boar (*Varāha-Vishṇu*), Śiva (*Aṣṭamūrti*), Vishṇu (*Purāṇa-purusha*), Gaṇēśa (*Pratyūhapati*) and the Moon (*Saśi-kalā*) respectively. This is followed by a geographical description of the Andhra country and of Addaṅki, the capital town of the Redḍi rulers. Says the charter, "The land extending from the Southern Ocean to the king of mountains (*Himālayas*) was known as Bhārata-Varsha in which prevailed different castes and customs; and in that was situated the land of the Āndhras, otherwise called Triliṅga-bhūmi by its association with the three famous shrines (*Liṅgas*), viz. Śrīśaila, Kālēśvara and Dākshārāma (verses 6-8). Therein are the five gardens (*ārāmas*) namely Dāksha, Amara, Kshīra, Kumāra and Prāchya, the sporting grounds of Śiva and the holy rivers such as Gautamī (*Gōdāvarī*), Kṛishṇavēṇī, Malāpahā, Bhīmarathī and Tuṅgabhadrā (verses 9-11). On the bank of the river Kṛishṇā is Śrīkākuḷa, the abode of Vishṇu (*Śrīvallabha*) for the protection of the three worlds. There flows the beautiful river Kuṇḍī, on the bank of which is the city called Addaṅki, which resembles the Heaven (*Amarāvātī*) by (the beauty of) its horses, the donors and the women, who resemble the celestial nymphs (verses 12-15). During the age of Kali, there came out the righteous fourth caste, from the feet of Vishṇu like the flow of the Gaṅgā and the one who became the ruler of that city is going to be described with all his descendants here (verses 15-17)."

"In the country known as Paṇṭa-nāḍu, there was a town by name Vellaśēri, ruling from which the rulers of that place later became famous as the chiefs of the Vellaśēri-gōtra. In that family of the wealthy fourth caste was born king Prōlaya, the righteous and the store-house of all the arts, who, by elevating the virtues and earning the fame of that of the ancient king Triṇayana of the Pallavas, obtained the name of Pallava-Triṇayana, and who, crushing, like a lion, the elephants of the Pāṇḍya kings in battle, became famous in all the ten quarters of the world as *Pāṇḍyarāyagajakēsari* (verses 18-21). With his unequalled and illustrious son, king Vēma, praised as the Primeval Boar (*Makā-Varāha*) by all the learned for his act of lifting up the country that was submerged under the *mlēchchha* (Muslim) ocean, the land of the Āndhras shone brilliantly and while this king was lawfully ruling (the earth) there flourished all the *śāstras* and *vēdas* and hundreds of sacrifices were performed. How can one describe the

¹ The spellings arising out of such usages have not been consistently corrected in the text.

fame of one who had the steps of the Śrīśaila built? At his instance, his younger brother, Annaya, who was like Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu) in his qualities, having been placed in the rank of an heir-apparent (*yuvārāja*) was ruling the earth with supreme sovereignty. His talented wife Anyamā gave birth to (four sons) Anavōta, Mummadi, Māchaya and Anavēma among whom king Vēma adopted the heroic Anavōta and Anavēma as his sons. King Vēma along with his brothers, Mācha, Malla and Anna, having enjoyed all the fruits of life, ruled the earth for a long time. After him, the powerful Anavōta, his (adopted) son, ascended the throne, and when he became the king of the Āndhra country the people shed their fear, and were full of joy, wealth, etc. He (Anavōta) married Anyamā, the daughter of king Nārapa, like Vishṇu, the goddess Lakshmī, and she gave birth to twins Kumāragiri, a son, and Anyamāmbā, a daughter who by their birth, gave immense pleasure to their father. Anavōta made Koṇḍavīdu as his capital, the wonderful construction of which caused bewilderment even to Brahmā. With its white and high mansions, mountain-like elephants, famous horses which were as though they were born in the country of Vanāyu, the heroic soldiers, ladies resembling celestial damsels and the cool and scented breeze, the city (Koṇḍavīdu) looked like Amarāvati (Heaven) on the earth. From that rich and impregnable city Anavōta ruled happily with all his kinsmen (verses 22-42). His brother, Anavēma, the fame of whose prowess filled the whole of the universe, ascended the throne (after his brother Anavōta), and for the first time, ruled the land from Śrīśaila to Simhāchala. How could it be possible to describe the glory and power of him who, even before succeeding to his brother's throne, seized forcibly the seven constituents of royalty (*saptāṅgas*) of all the kings? How can he, who, by his munificent gifts, fulfilled all the desires of the desirous and destroyed the poverty of all, be compared with Dadhichi, Karna and Śibi who, being incapable of giving any wealth, gave only their bones, skin and flesh respectively. Barring Anavēma and Bhārgava (i.e. Paraśurāma), who else had either overcome all the kings or satisfied all the Brāhmaṇas in this world (verses 43-46)? After him, when his brother's son Kumāragiri took over the burden of the earth, Ananta (the serpent-king) retired from the task of bearing that burden; the elephants of all the eight corners were free to go with their mates; theft was unheard of and there were plenty of timely rains resulting in good crops; the Brāhmaṇas devoid of all their fears, were happy. Several temples were built and many settlements for the thousands of the learned made and whatever could be thought of as righteous was all done by him (verses 47-50).''

'There was at that time a capital city known as Paḷlāmudullā full of several beautiful shops in Panṭa-nāḍu; and the chief of that city, born in the fourth caste, was famous for his good qualities. His descendants adopted the name of that city, viz. Paḷlāmudullā for their *gōtra* which vied for all the good qualities of its members with that of the member of the Vellaśēri-gōtra (verses 51-53). In that family, the abode of wealth, was born king Kāṭa, who was praised by all and who made the people rich, like the celestial tree. By destroying the glory of all the enemy kings, he (Kāṭa) became glorious like Indra in Nandanavana. Tallamā, born of a respectable family and possessed of all good qualities, became his wife. To king Kāṭaya and Tallamā was born king Māra, who set an example to all the kings in valour, power and noble qualities. He married Māchamā of a well-known family and had by her a son by name Kāṭa who was like Jayanta to Indra and Śachī and who was fit for protecting all the Brāhmaṇas. While he resembled the lord of the *yakshas* (i.e. Kubēra) in distributing wealth and in collecting it as well, he was like the Sun in his valour and the Moon in his bounty. By overthrowing in the battle-field the enemy kings who were like Bhīshma and Duryōdhana, he acquired the title of *Samgrāma-Dhanañjaya*, and by forgiving those wounded who fled from the battle, the title of *Samgaḍi-rakshapāla* (verses 54-63). King Annaya, having considered the good qualities and descent of Kāṭa, offered the hand of his daughter, Doḍḍamāmbā in marriage to him even as the lord of the Mountains (Himavān) did that of Gaurī to Śiva. Because of her greatness and virtues, the learned praised her as Doḍḍamāmbā (i.e. great lady)

in the language of the Āndhras. Kāṭa's association with Anavōta was as intimate as that of the shadow to the person (verses 64-66). Doḍḍāmbā gave birth to a son named Vēma, who was prosperous and invincible and was like an incarnation of lord Mahāsēna ; and the parents were also very happy at the sight of their son even as Haimavatī and Mahēśa were. Vēma became famous as *Jagarakṣhapāla* in the language of the Āndhras by his virtuous advice to the kings. His enemy kings cursed Saṁkrandana for having cut off the wings of the mountains whither they ran in fear of the sound of the king's battle-drums but met with the same sounds re-echoed by the mountains now incapacitated to fly. Who among the kings on earth equals Vēma whose strength of arms destroyed fear among the alarmed, whose wealth destroyed the poverty among the poor, whose occupation lay in discourses with the virtuous, whose pleasures confined themselves to his kinsmen of equal rank and whose speech always adhered to truth. He excelled Brīhaspati in intelligence, Śukra and such others in skill and all the benefactors in his bounteous benefactions to the needy. Having taken in marriage the hand of Anyamā, the daughter of his own uncle Anavōta, king Vēma was resplendant with her as gold with a diamond. Anyamā too having been wedded to king Vēma, the best among men (Purushōttama) was, as it were, the manifestation of goddess Lakshmī herself (verses 66-76). On Thursday, the third of the dark fortnight in the month of Chaitra, of the Śaka year counted by *adri-nabha-agni-chandra*, when the sun was entering the Aries (*Aja*), she (Anyamā) having purified herself by bathing in the waters of the river Viśvāmitrā, and having taken the permission of her husband, made a grant of the village Puluparti which was once given to her by her brothers, to the Brāhmaṇas. Thenceforth the village granted became famous as Anyamāvara. With its different types of lands such as *vraiḥēya*, *śālēyā*, *yavarya* and *yavya* and several fine groves full of fruits, how could not this village excel all the rest ! As though vying with one another out of envy to excel each other among themselves, the various sciences such as the *śruti*, *smṛiti*, *purāṇa*, *prayōga*, etc. flourished among the Brāhmaṇas of that village" (verses 76-79). Here follows the list of the donees with their respective shares, as given below in a tabular form, and the boundaries in Telugu, of the gift village together with the 35 *puttis* of land of (the village) Kaḍami (verses 80-81). This part of the charter ends with the four usual imprecatory verses and with the sign manual *Pallavatriṇētra* usually found in all the charters of the Redḍi kings (verses 82-85).

The next part of the charter which is in the nature of an appendix says : "In the southern country there exists a city named Pallāmudullā, and in that was born in the fourth caste as though to lift up the submerged earth, the chief Kāṭa, the very image of Madhuripu. From him was born the righteous king Māra, to whom was born the powerful king Kāṭa, who as if to justify his name, wandered in the waters of the river Kṛishṇā and destroyed the enemy fortress of Dīvi. Doḍḍāmbā had from him (Kāṭa) the son Vēma, who was the king of the Āndhras and whose fame as the very Indra on earth in having deprived the pride of the king of the elephants (*Gajādhīśa*) and others by his sword, filled the universe. Besides enjoying the fruits of royalty, he was also the administrator of the kingdom of Anavōta who was both his uncle and father-in-law. The good statesman that he was, Vēma made Anavēma and Kumāragiri respectively rule the kingdom and having thus elevated the kings born in the Vellaśōri family himself earned fame as their faithful servant (verses 86-91). On the death of king Kumāragiri and at his behest king Vēma ruled the earth. With the object of enhancing the greatness of both the villages Vēmavara and Anyamāvara named respectively after himself and his wife, king Vēma gave away the rest of the village, Kaḍami, to the same donees who had already received a portion of the village, to be put to use by them for their rites and rituals, on the day of the lunar eclipse on Wednesday in the month of Māgha of the cyclic year Chitrabhānu in the Śaka year counted by *jaladhi*, *īkṣhaṇa*, *mūrti* and *chandra*. With the blessings of the Brāhmaṇas of the two villages Annavara and Vēmavara, well satisfied in having their desires fulfilled, may king Vēma, the leader in bearing the burden of the earth and capable

of ruling it, be forever prosperous with all his sons and grandsons" (verses 92-96). Next, the boundaries of the gift-land are given in Telugu prose, which is followed by the usual imprecatory verses (97-100). The charter finally ends again with the sign manual of the Redḍi kings *Śrī Pallavatriṇētra* and with the adoration to Umā-Mahēśvara.

The record is important in that it throws new light on the genealogy of the Redḍi kings. It informs us for the first time, that Anavōta and Anavēma were the sons of king Annaya by Anyamāmbā and not of his brother Prōlayavēma as was hitherto supposed by all the scholars. The literary and the epigraphical evidence published so far makes us believe that both the brothers Anavōta and Anavēma were the sons of Prōlayavēma.¹ The Kaluvachōru grant of the Redḍi queen Anitalli adds that Anamācha was also the son of Prōlayavēma.² However, there are some records which go against this statement. An inscription engraved on two pillars near the *Nandimaṇḍapa* in the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila, Nandikotkur taluk, Kurnool District, states that Anavēma built that *maṇḍapa* for the merit of his own father Annaya.³ This record said to be composed by his famous court-poet Bālasarasvati, is dated in Śaka 1299 corresponding to 1377 A.D., in the reign of king Anavēma. The Epigraphist remarks on this record that⁴ "The statement at the end of the Telugu portion that the *maṇḍapa* was built by Anavēma for the merit of his father Annaya suggests that though he was the son of Vēma, he had a high regard for his father's brother Annaya and respected him as his own father." Basing on this remark, the editor of *Redḍisaṁchika* adds⁵ : "The *Vīraśirōmaṇḍapa* was said to be built by Anavēmareḍḍi for the merit of his father Annayareḍḍi. But Annaya was not the father of Anavēma, but only his younger brother. There is, however, some ambiguity in this statement. In the Naḍupūru grant it is said that Vēmāsāni, the daughter of Annāreḍḍi, was the younger sister of Anavēma. So it appears that Anavēma, though a son of Prōlayavēma, was probably brought up by his uncle Annayareḍḍi from his childhood, and hence he had high regard as in his father towards Annaya also." In this connection attention may be drawn to a record in the temple of Rāmalingēśvara at Kandukūru, Nellore District, wherein it is stated that the victorious king Vēma, the son of Anna-bhūpati of the Paṇṭa family glorified the age of *Kali* into that of *Kṛita-yuga*.⁶ King Vēma referred to in this inscription is no doubt identical with Anavēma of the inscription at Śrīśaila. Thus it is borne out from these two records that Anavēma was a son of Annayareḍḍi and not of Prōlayavēma.

A damaged record at Uṇḍavalli, Guntur District, speaks of Māchamareḍḍi as the son of *Jaganobbagaṇḍa* Annaya.⁷ The date of this record, however, is not clear. Another record from the Agastyēśvara temple at Vāḍappalli, Nalgonda District, dated Śaka 1299 corresponding to 1377 A.D. mentions Anamācha in the reign of the king Anavēma.⁸ Anamāchāreḍḍi or Māchamareḍḍi, the son of Annaya cited in the above two records, is one and the same and is identical with the younger brother of Anavōta and Anavēma.

¹ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 137 ff., and *A.R.Ep.*, 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

² *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. IV, pp. 93-112 and *Bhārati*, Vol. XXI.

³ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 559, lines=119-22.

⁴ *A.R. Ep.* 1915, Part II, Introduction p. 115.

⁵ *Redḍisaṁchika*, p. 67.

⁶ *Paṇṭānvaya-kshīranidhāu=udabhūd=Anna-bhūpatiḥ | dōḍamda-khamdit-ārāti-svajana-pratīpūjakah || Tasya putrēna jayinā Vēma-bhūpavarēna gārm praśāsata=mitrajitā Kalih Kṛitayugā kṛitah ||*
Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 492.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 560.

⁸ *A.R. Ep.* 1941-42, App. E-No. 48. (*Hyde. Arch. Rep.*, 1934-35, p. 26. Dr. P. Srinivasachari wrongly identifies Anamāchāreḍḍi of this record with Prōlayavēma's younger brother).

From a record in the village of Vēlpūru, Sattenapalli Taluk, Guntur District, it is known that Vēmāsāni, the wife of Nallanūka, was the daughter of Anamāmbā and Annāreḍḍi, the younger brother of Prōlayavēma.¹ It was this Vēmāsāni who is referred to as Anavēma's sister in the Nāḍupūru grant cited above.² From the above references it is evident that Annāreḍḍi, the younger brother of Prōlayavēma had a wife by name Anyamāmbā and that Vēmāreḍḍi and Māchāreḍḍi were the sons of Annāreḍḍi himself. Thus the fact that Anavōta, Māchaya and Anavēma were born to Anyamāmbā by Annayareḍḍi is well corroborated by epigraphical evidences cited above. It is also interesting to note that the names Ana-Vōta, Ana-Mācha and Ana-Vēma show clearly that they were all the sons of Annāreḍḍi and not of Prōlayavēma. That Mummaḍi was also one of the sons of Annāreḍḍi is known for the first time only from the record under review. Probably he died in his childhood. Verse 29 of this charter states that out of the four sons of his younger brother Annāreḍḍi, king Prōlayavēma adopted the two brothers Anavōta and Anavēma. It is clear that Prōlayavēma had no issue to succeed him on the throne and hence he had to choose his younger brother's sons for adoption. Verse 26 makes us believe that Annayareḍḍi was taking a more prominent part in the matters of administration and Prōlayavēma appointed him as the heir-apparent (*yuvārāja*) thereby preferring him and his sons to his other brothers and their sons to succeed to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu. From the literary work *Harivaṃśamu* also it is known that Anavōta was associated in the administration of the kingdom by his paternal uncle, king Prōlayavēma.³ There are instances wherein the brothers Anavōta and Anavēma are mentioned as Vēmaya-Anavōta and Vēmaya-Anavēma, but this may be after they were adopted by king Prōlayavēma and chosen as heir-apparents. However, it is interesting to note that Anamācha is nowhere mentioned as Vēmaya-Anamācha, nor is he stated even in the present grant to have been adopted by his uncle. Even Doḍḍāmbā, the wife of Kāṭa II, is mentioned in this record as the daughter of Annayareḍḍi only, while the *Kumāragirirājīyam*⁴ states that she was Prōlayavēma's daughter. Anavēma is described in the Drijjavaram grant⁵ as the son of Prōlāmbā. She was perhaps the queen of Prōlayavēma who is said to have adopted these brothers. Errāpregaḍa also refers to Anavēma as the son of Prōlamā in his *Harivaṃśamu*.⁶

The charter furnishes for the first time the name of Kāṭayavēma's queen, the daughter of Anavōta and the sister of Kumāragiri Redḍi. Scholars differ in their opinion in identifying her name with that of many others referred to in the inscriptions published so far, but nowhere is it mentioned in such clear terms as in the present charter. Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma in his monumental work on the Redḍi kingdoms summarised all these discussions as follows: "The name of the sister of king Kumāragiri is not definitely known either from inscriptions or from literature. According to the late Sri K. V. Lakshmana Rao, she was Mallāmbikā (*Āndhra-Vijñāna-Sarvasvamu*, Vol. II, p. 25). His authority is Kāṭayavēma's Dākshārāma inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 328). This record, however, does not explicitly state that she was the daughter of Anavōta I. While editing the Kaluvachēru grant (*Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. III, pp. 103 ff.), the late Sri J. Ramayyapantulu also wrote that, of Doḍḍāmbikā and Mallāmbikā, the two wives of Kāṭayavēma, the second was the sister of Kumāragiri. Even the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma do not make the relationship between Mallāmbā and Kumāragiri or Anavōta I clear (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.). Hence there is no definite proof to say that Mallāsāni or Mallāmbikā was the daughter of king Anavōta I and the sister of Kumāragiri.

¹ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 558, lines 72-79.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 289.

³ *Harivaṃśamu*, Part II, Canto 9, verse 260.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 319, f. n. 8.

⁵ *A.R.Ep.*, 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

⁶ *Harivaṃśamu*, Part I, Canto I, verse 32.

Following Lakshmana Rao and Ramayyapantulu, the late Sri C. Virabhadra Rao also wrote that Mallāmbā was the sister of Kumāragiri (*Andhrula Charitram*, Vol. III, p. 171 and p. 256). Mallāsānamma was the daughter of a certain Kanniborāya (?) (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 103) and the sister of Mukkaṇṭirāya. We do not know who this Kanniborāya was. There seems to be some mistake in the reading of the name since the name, as such, sounds unusual and strange.¹ However, it is certain that Mallāsāni was not the daughter of Anavōta and the sister of Kumāragiri.”

On the basis of the Kaluvachēru grant of the Redḍi queen Anitalli,² it was believed by many scholars that Doḍḍāmbā was perhaps her mother, and the sister of Kumāragiri. But the charter in question clearly states that Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Anavōta and the twin sister of prince Kumāragiri was given in marriage to Kāṭayavēma and that the village Fuluparti was named Anyamāvāra or Annavara after her. A record³ in upper Ahōbālam, Sirvel Taluk, Kurnool District, mentions the names of Tallāsānamma and Mallāsānamma as Kāṭayavēma's wives. Mallāsānamma or Mallāmbā as the wife of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi is already known from the latter's Tottaramūḍi plates⁴ and also from other inscriptions at Dākshārāma. There is reason to believe from the Vēmavaram grant of Allāḍavēmareḍḍi⁵ that a daughter of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II was also one of the queens of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi. It is also interesting to note that Allāḍareḍḍi got his son Vēma wedded to Hariharāmbā, the daughter of Kāṭayavēma together with the fortune of his (Kāṭayavēma's) kingdom (*sāmrājya-lakshmyā samam*). The Kaluvachēru grant of Anitalli² also describes that the sinless Allāḍa having uplifted the earth (i.e. Kāṭayavēma's kingdom) that was submerged under a host of the wicked kings, handed it over to Anitalli, the daughter of Kāṭayavēma. From the above two verses it can be clearly seen that Allāḍa, the shrewd statesman, got both Hariharāmbā and Anitalli, the daughters of Kāṭayavēma, married to his own sons Vēma and Virabhadra respectively. It should also be remembered that Hariharāmbā was the grand-daughter of the great Vijayanagara emperor Harihara II while Anitalli was the grand-daughter of the Redḍi king Anavōta I and hence the latter was virtually the heir-apparent of the whole Redḍi kingdom. It may perhaps be a fact that Anyamāmbā mentioned in this charter was also called Doḍḍāmbā who is said to be the mother of Anitalli in her Kaluvachēru grant.⁶

Dr. N. Venkataramanayya has cited a damaged record lying near the western *prākāra* wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple at Dākshārāma, which states that the mother of Kumāragirireḍḍi and

¹ The reading is so on the impression. Perhaps it may be a mistake for *Kannibō[ya]rāya*.

² *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. IV, pp. 93-112 and also *Bhārati*, Vol. XXI.

³ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 577.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

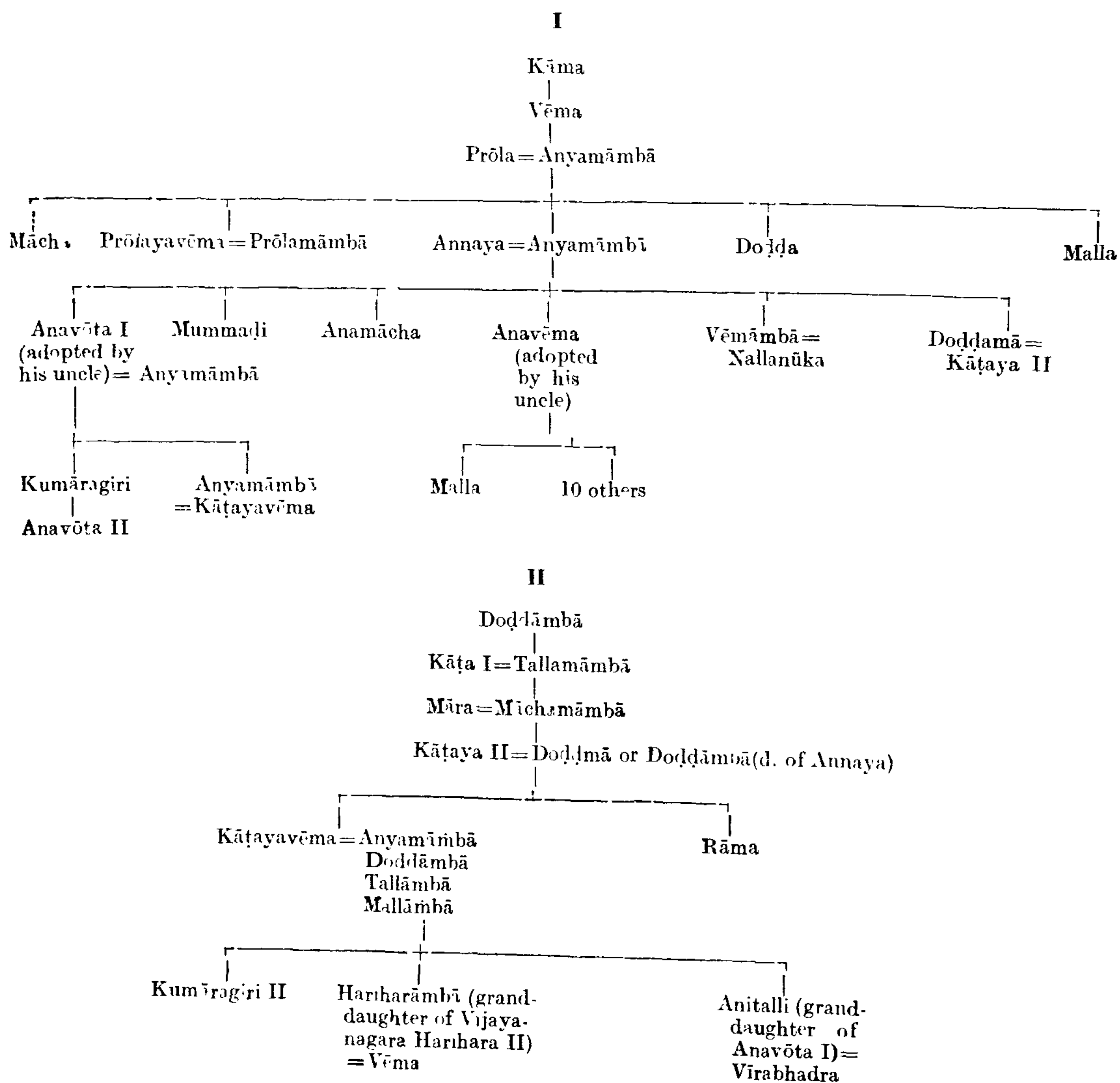
⁵ Above Vol. XIII, pp. 237 ff. The original plates of this grant are now in the possession of the British Museum but the text was carefully checked from the impressions that were received in the Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India some time back. The trend of the text clearly indicates that the composer of the charter speaks of the two daughters of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi only. It is obvious that he had altered the readings 'pautrī, and 'putrī' in a confusion. The emendations suggested by the late Sri V. Prabhakara Sastrigaru seem to be fully justified.

⁶ Sri Turaga Krishnamurty informs that there is a tradition that the villages Annavaram, Mallēśvaram and Aitampūḍi near Piṭṭalavēmavaram in the Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District were granted by the three queens of a certain Vēmāreḍḍi after their names Anyamāmbā, Mallāmbā and Aitamāmbā respectively. The king Vēmāreḍḍi was no other than Kāṭayavēma and his wives Anyamāmbā and Mallāmbā or Mallāsānamma are already known to us. If this tradition has to be believed we have to accept that Kāṭayavēma had yet another wife by name Aitamāmbā.

the queen of Anavōta I was Manumāmbā.¹ The charter in question clearly says that Anavōta I married Anyamāmbā, the daughter of a certain Nāraparāju, who gave birth to the twins Kumāragiri and Anyamāmbā, the wife of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi. It is, however, not known whether Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Nāraparāju of this charter, was also called Manumāmbā.

The genealogy of king Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi described fully in this grant furnishes the names of all the queens of the family for the first time.

From the above discussions the genealogy of the Redḍis of Koṇḍavīḍu may be re-constructed as shown below.



The charter under review throws considerable light on the exact period of Kumāragiri's death, which again has been a matter of dispute among the scholars. The absence of his inscriptions bearing a date after Śaka 1322 (1400 A.D.) and the grant made on the occasion of the *Makara-*

¹ *Redḍisamchika*, pp. 231 ff.

Anavōta-prabhōh patnī sapatnī dharanī-śriyōh |
anēka-sajunaih ślāghyā āmbikā Manumāmbikā ||
Kumāragirirāhasya prasālat = tanayas = tayōh |
Kumāra-vikramō jātaḥ Kumāragiri-bhūpatiḥ ||

samkrānti in the month of Pushya of the cyclic year Chitrabhānu corresponding to the Śaka year 1324 (1402 A.D.) by his brother-in-law Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi for the recovery of Kumāragirireḍḍi from illness in an inscription at Kottūru, Bezvada Taluk, Krishna District, made some scholars opine that Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime later than Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.).¹ Others are of the view that he must have lived at least upto Śaka 1327 (1405 A.D.)² as some inscriptions bearing that date refer to certain gifts made for the merit of Kumāragirireḍḍi, the terms *kīrtisukṛitam* and *akṣayasukṛitam* used in these inscriptions being construed as applicable only for persons alive on that date. But the record under review makes it unequivocally clear (verses 92-95) that Kumāragiri died before Śaka 1324, Chitrabhānu, Māgha, Wednesday, lunar eclipse, corresponding regularly to 1403 A.D., February 7. The details of the date of Kāṭayavēma's grant referring to Kumāragiri's illness can be equated to 1402 A.D., December 27. Hence, it is obvious that Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime after 27th December 1402 A.D., and before 7th February 1403 A.D.

Besides the important points discussed above, this charter furnishes a few more facts about the history of the Reddi rulers. It is said that the Reddis of Koṇḍavīḍu obtained the name of *Vellaṣēri* or *Vellachēri* for their *gōtra* from a village bearing that name, i.e. Vellaṣēri in Paṇṭa-nāḍu over which one of their ancestors ruled. Likewise, the name of the *gōtra* of Kāṭa I and his descendants was 'Paḷlāmudullā' after the name of the village from which his ancestors ruled in their early days. Since both the families hailed from the country of Paṇṭa-nāḍu in which the two villages Vellaṣēri and Paḷlāmudullā were situated, the members of these families came to be known as belonging to the Paṇṭa-vaiṣa. Here we find also the explanation for the first time, why Prōlaya bore the title of '*Pallava-triṇayana*' which latter became the sign-manual of all the copper-plate grants issued by the Reddi kings. It is said that king Prōlaya having upheld the Hindu *dharma* even as the ancient king Triṇayana of the Pallava race had done, and having acquired fame like him, became famous by that name. This seems to be an indirect suggestion that Prōlaya also played his part in liberating the coastal regions of the Āndhra country from the Muslim yoke immediately after the downfall of the Kākatīyas of Warangal. Though old, he must have joined Prōlaya-nāyaka of the Musunūri family with his sons Vēma and others in the war of independence and succeeded in expelling the Muslims from the Āndhra country and in re-establishing the Hindu religion. Prōlaya fought like a lion against the Pāṇḍyas and obtained the title of '*Pāṇḍya-rāya-gaja-kēsari*'. This victory over the Pāṇḍya chiefs must be attributed to the period when Prōlaya and also his father Vēma were in the service of the Kākatīya kings of Warangal. Prōlaya perhaps accompanied Muppiḍi-nāyaka, the Kākatīya general, on his expedition to Kāñchi in Śaka 1238 (1314 A.D.), during the reign of Kākatī Pratāparudra. Like the many other titles this also was later adopted by his successors.

Vēma, the son of Prōlaya is well known as the saviour of the Telugu country from the Muslim yoke and as the benefactor who constructed the steps to the Śrīśaila mountain. In the record under review it is said that he had appointed his younger brother Annayareḍḍi as his heir-apparent (*yuvārāja*) and associated him in matters of administration. It may be recalled here that *Harivimśamu*, the celebrated Telugu work of the court-poet Errāpregaḍa, however, describes Anavōta as the best general and the crown prince. It could not have been possible for Anavōta to have become the heir-apparent or the crown-prince while his father Annayareḍḍi was alive. It also appears from the above work that Annayareḍḍi died earlier than Prōlayavēma, his elder brother and king. An inscription at Tripurāntakam dated in Śaka 1269 (1347 A.D.) mentions *Jaganobbaḡaṇḍa Kēlūtīrāya* Annayareḍḍi³

¹ *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 150 and also *Āndhra Vijñāna-sarvasamam*, Vol. III, p.

² *Reddisamchika*, p. 83.

³ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 552, lines 8-9.

This is the latest date so far known for him. In an earlier record of Prōlavavēma from the same place dated Saka 1268 (1346 A.D.), Anavōta figures without any epithets or titles.¹ Hence, there is reason to believe that Annayareddi must have died sometime after Saka 1269 (1347 A.D.) and that Anavōta succeeded him as the crown-prince. If this were so, it would follow that *Harivamśamu* was composed sometime after 1347 A.D. King Anavōta shifted his capital from Addanki to Koṇḍavīḍu, an irresistible hill fortress. It is also hinted that his younger brother Anavēma helped him in all his conquests and it is for the first time during Anavēma's reign that the Redḍi kingdom extended from Śrīśailam upto Śirihāṭṭalam. Anavēma's munificence to the Brāhmaṇas is well-known.

Kāṭa I, who also claimed to belong to the *Paṇḍya* clan like the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu is said to have ruled from Paṇḍya-mudallaḥ, a place hitherto unknown. His grandson Kāṭa II married the daughter of Annayareddi and the sister of Anavōta and Anavēma, and helped them in all their conquests as well as in their administration. The complete destruction of the fortress of Dīvi in the river Kṛishṇā is attributed to him. The Dākshārāma inscription of Anavōta,² dated in Śaka 1278 (1356 A.D.), refers to him (Anavōta) as *dvīpa-jētā* (the conqueror of Dvīpa or Dīvi). He must have assumed this title obviously after the conquest of Dvīpa or Dīvi, identified with Talagaḍadīvi in the Musulipatnam Taluk, Krishna District. His younger brother Anavēma also bears the title '*Dīvi-danga-vbhāṭa*' in his Śrīśailam record referred to above.³ From the charter under review it is clear that Kāṭa II actually reduced such an impregnable fortress as Dīvi, may be on behalf of his own brother-in-law and king, Anavōta. Kāṭayavēma's commentary called the *Kumāragirirājīyam* on the three dramas of the poet Kālidāsa also confirms this statement by attributing this victory over Dīvi to his own father Kāṭa II. The title *Jaladurgamalla* was acquired by him as a consequence.⁴ It is evident from the language of the verses that Kāṭa II held a high administrative position under his brothers-in-law Anavōta and Anavēma, just as his son Kāṭayavēma did during the reign of Kumāragirireddi. Kāṭayavēmareddi is said to have made Anavēma and Kumāragiri successively to sit on the throne and rule, i.e. he actively helped them in the administration of the kingdom. From the descriptions such as *Rājya-śrī-ramaṇī-srayamvavapaṭiḥ* (the self-chosen lord of the damsel of the kingdom) in the Pachchani-Tāṇḍiparru grant and *Rājya-Ramāṇamaṇī-srayamvava-labdha-nāyaka-saubhāgya* (one who has the good fortune to be the chosen lord by the sweet goddess of the state) of the Śrīśailam record, it is believed by some scholars that Anavēma unjustly occupied the throne immediately after the death of his brother Anavōta, setting aside the claim of his nephew Kumāragiri.⁵ But this is not so as is borne out by a number of records of Anavēma and his successors and also from the present charter. Anavēma's successful campaigns undertaken during the reign of his brother must have compelled the ministers and the nobles to elect him as king at that critical juncture. It is likely that his own brother Anavōta himself with the consent of Kāṭa I and Kāṭayavēma preferred him as his successor. Anavēma too proved himself worthy of the choice for his reign was one of increasing success and prosperity. In fact, Kāṭa II and his son Kāṭayavēma proved themselves to be able statesmen and indeed they took all pains to enhance the glory and the prestige of the Redḍi kingdom. Their interest in matters of administration was such that the kings left the entire burden on their shoulders.

¹ Ibid., No. 551.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, No. 1287.

³ Ibid., Vol. X, No. 577.

⁴ *Reḍḍisaṃhita*, p. 356 and also above, Vol. IV, pp. 325 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 269 ff.

A verse in the Gōpavarman grant¹ of Kumāragirireḍḍi and also in the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma speaks of the latter exalting King Kumāragiri to the throne even as Kṛṣṇa exalted Dharmarāja and thereby caused him to shine. This statement cannot be a mere figurative one as was believed by several scholars but seems to suggest that Kumāragiri's accession to the throne was not again a smooth and peaceful one but that he had to fight for it. The present charter also lends some colour to this surmise in stating that Kāṭayavēma made Anavēma and Kumāragiri to sit on the throne and rule successively. Thus we find that the good statesman and the powerful general Kāṭayavēma intervened and made first Anavēma the king and later Kumāragiri, staving off other claimants to the throne. However, there is no evidence, literary or epigraphic, to the identity of those opponents of Kumāragiri, if there were any. It is generally believed that Kumāragiri's cousins Peda-Kōmaṭivēma and his brother Mācha, the rulers of a small principality at Chandavōlu must have put forth their claims to the throne of Koṇḍavīḍu and opposed Kumāragiri's accession, nothing being known about Anavēma's children.² But the Kandukūru inscription referred to above clearly states that the munificent Vēma, the son of Annayareḍḍi of the Paṇṭa-kula had eleven sons equal in power to the eleven Rudras³ of whom Mallāreḍḍi was one. It seems that Vēmāreḍḍi, son of Annāreḍḍi, of the *Paṇṭa-kula* of this (Kandukūru) record could be none else than king Anavēmāreḍḍi, the younger brother of Anavōta. If the statement about Anavēma's sons in this Kandukūru record is true, it will be clear that Kumāragiri had his own nearer cousins to fight with rather than Peda-Kōmaṭivēma and his brother Mācha. It was also natural for Anavēma's sons to put forth their claim and oppose Kumāragiri immediately after the death of their father. Perhaps, Peda-Kōmaṭivēma and his brother Mācha also joined Anavēma's sons Malla and others in opposing Kumāragiri. Under these circumstances, Kāṭayavēma who married Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Anavōta and the twin sister of Kumāragiri, must have interfered and also fought with the opponents for the sake of his own brother-in-law Kumāragirireḍḍi for whom he secured the throne. It is this perhaps that made Kumāragiri have implicit confidence in Kāṭayavēma whom he appointed as his own minister and on whose shoulders he left the entire burden of the kingdom. Kāṭayavēma too, in turn loyally and faithfully served Kumāragiri. He carried out the behests of his master with implicit obedience. Kumāragirireḍḍi bestowed on Kāṭayavēma the kingship of the Rājamahēndravara-rājya before his death.⁴ Kāṭayavēma's devotion and great regard towards his master Kumāragiri made him accept the kingship of the Rājamahēndravara-rājya which later proved to be the cause for constant friction between the two families and ultimately resulted in the complete destruction of both the houses and in the disappearance of the Redḍi rule from Andhra.

The date of the first part of the record is Śaka 1307 counted by the chronogram **adri, nabha, agni** and **chandra, Chitra** ba. 3, **Thursday, Mēsha-saṁkramaṇa**, regularly corresponding to 1385 A.D., March 30, while the second part contains the date, Śaka 1324 counted by the chronogram **jaladhi, ikshaṇa, mūrti** and **chandra**, in the cyclic year **Chitrabhānu, Māgha, lunar eclipse, Wednesday**, corresponding to 1403 A.D., February 7. The first date marked the occasion for the gift of the village Puluparti by Anyamāmbā who had once received it from her brother Kumāragiri and which thereafter came to be called Anyamāvāra after the donor. The second, viz. 1403 A.D., 17 years later than the first date, was the occasion of the second grant by Kāṭayavēma, the husband of Anyamāmbā, of the remaining

¹ J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IX, pp. 91 and above, Vol. IV, p. 323.

² *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 123 and also *Āndhra Vijnāna-sarvasamu*, Vol. III, p. 320.

³ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 492.

Tasya putrā mahā-prājñā ekādasa narōttamāḥ |
tējasā Rudra-saḍṛiśā abhavan=dāna-śaumdīnāḥ ||

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

portion of the village Kaḍami as *grāmagrāsa* to the Brāhmaṇas of the two villages Anyavara, i.e. Anyamāvara and Vēmavara. It should be remembered that the first grant was given during the reign of Kumāragiri and the second after his death and in the reign of Kāṭayavēma. It appears that the whole record was engraved only on the latter date.

The donees of the grant village Puluparti, renamed as Anyamāvara, Anyavara or Annavara after the donatrix, included 66 Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtras* besides the two deities, Sagarēs-varamahādēva and Kēsavadēva. Perumāṇi, the son of Vāsudēva of Kauśika *gōtra*, who composed the excellent verses of this charter was one among them. He has attempted to imitate the great poet Kālidāsa in many places with excellent results and was a poet of no mean order in the court of Kāṭayavēma who was himself a profound scholar of Sanskrit and who wrote the well-known commentaries in Sanskrit by name *Kumāragirirājīyam*, on all the three Sanskrit dramas of Kālidāsa.

Serial No.	Name of the donee	Gōtra	Shares
1	Lakṣhmaṇa-sōmayājin	Kauśika	2
2	Peddi-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
3	Komaragiryārya	Do.	1
4	Appanārya	Do.	2
5	Ahōbalanātha-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	2
6	Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
7	Peddanārya	Do.	1
8	Vallabhārya	Do.	1
9	Ananttanarasimhārya	Do.	1
10	Ellanārya	Do.	1
11	Annamārya	Do.	2
12	Kāmanārya	Do.	1
13	Bhīmayārya	Do.	1
14	Siṃgayārya	Do.	1
15	Mallinātha-sōmayājin	Kātyapa	4
16	Rāmayārya	Do.	1
17	Naraharyārya	Do.	1
18	Koṃmanārya	Do.	1
19	Anantārya	Do.	1
20	Mamtrārya	Do.	1
21	Abbanārya	Do.	1
22	Mallanārya	Do.	1
23	Sāri-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1

Serial No.	Name of the donee	Gōtra	Shares
24	Peddayārya	Kāśyapa	1
25	Allāḍa-bhaṭṭa	Ātrēya	$\frac{1}{2}$
26	Anantārya	Do.	1
27	Simgayārya	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
28	Pemnayārya	Vādhūla	2
29	Mādhavārya	Śrīvatsa	6
30	Māri-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
31	Simgaya-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1
32	Sūrayārya	Do.	2
33	Gaṇapatyārya	Do.	1
34	Peddanārya	Gautama	1
35	Appanārya	Do.	1
36	Simganārya	Kauṇḍīnya	2
37	Appalē-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
38	Kāmanārya	Do.	2
39	Kaṭakam-Mallanārya	Do.	1
40	Mallanārya	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
41	Vissanārya	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
42	Anipeddārya	Do.	1
43	Errayārya	Do.	1
44	Erayārya	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
45	Anantārya	Yāska	$\frac{1}{2}$
46	Simgayārya	Do.	1
47	Peddayārya	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
48	Mallu-bhaṭṭa	Kāmakāyana Viś- vāmītra.	3
49	Gōpāla-sōmayāji	Harita	$\frac{1}{2}$
50	Tippayārya	Do.	1
51	Kāchanārya	Do.	2
52	Chandrayārya	Do.	1
53	Mallayārya	Pārāsārya	1
54	Lakhayārya	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
55	Tippayārya	Do.	$\frac{1}{2}$
56	Vimjarāju-Pregadanārya	Kālabhava	2

Serial No.	Name of the donee	Gōtra	Shares
57	Gōpayārya	Maudgalya	1
58	Dēvayārya	Śāṃḍilya	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
59	Śingayārya	Lōhita	2
60	Vissaya-bhaṭṭa	Śālāvata	2
61	Sagarēsvata-mahādēva . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
62	Kēśavadēva . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
63 ¹	Sūranārya	Ātrēya	1
64	Peddanārya	Kāśyapa	1
65	Pemmanārya	Do. 7	1
66	Śinganārya . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
67	Chivuta Līnganārya	Harita	1
68	Perumāni	Kauśika	1

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Bharata-khaṇḍa, Āndhra-bhūmi, Śrīśaila, Kālōśvara and Dākṣhārāma are well-known. The five *āśāmas*, viz. Dāksha, Amara, Kshīra, Kumāra and Prāchya are respectively identified with the five places Dākshārāma, Amarāvati, Pālakollu, Bhīmavaram and Guḍipūḍi, all in the Godavari (East and West) and Guntur Districts. The famous rivers Gautamī (i.e. Gōdāvarī), Kṛishṇavēṇī, Malāpahā, Bhīmarathī and Tuṅgabhadrā are also well-known. Śrīkākulam is the holy place of that name in the Krishna District. The river Kuṇḍī is the same as Guṇḍlakammā, often referred to in the Redḍi grants as Brahma-Kuṇḍī or Kuṇḍīprabhā. The places Panṭa-nāḍu, Addanki, Koṇḍavīḍu, Śrīśaila and Śinhāchala are also well-known. The village Vellaśēri in Panṭa-nāḍu, the original home of the Redḍi rulers of Koṇḍavīḍu, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Likewise 'Paḷlāmudullā', the capital of Kāṭa I also cannot be identified. Perhaps the latter may be identified with Pallamalli in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District. The village Nandanavana wherein Kāṭa I is said to have shone like Indra is not identifiable. The identity of Dīvi, the fortress has already been discussed above. As for Puluparti, renamed Anyamāvara, it is mentioned as such in some earlier records such as the Kṣaṇḍavalli grant² of the Kōṇa chief Gaṇapati and in two epigraphs at Mallēśvaram.³ It is the same as the modern Annavarappāḍu in the Tanuku Taluk wherein the present plates were discovered. Kṣaṇḍavalli may be identified with Kṣaṇḍavalli, a village about five miles towards south-east of Tanuku. Vēmavaram, referred to in the charter as the village granted by Kāṭayavēma is obviously the present Piṭṭalavēmavaram near Annavarappāḍu. The village Kaḍamī which was divided and granted to the Brāhmaṇas of the villages Annavara and Vēmavara now exists as Kaḍimpāḍu, a hamlet about 3 or 4 furlongs to the north-east of Piṭṭalavēmavaram. It is mentioned in the earlier records in the Śiva temple at Mallēśvaram referred to above and also in the former part of the present charter. Kapila Mallēśvaram is perhaps identical with the present village Mallēśvaram, nearby and was probably granted by Mallāmbā, another

¹ The following six names are added later to the list and it is stated that they were not present when the names of the donees were written and so their names were appended later.

² *Bhārati*, Vol. 36, Issue 11 p. 35.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 75 and 76.

queen of Kāṭayavēma. Vaśiṣṭha Gōdāvarī and Viśvāmitra-nadī are the well known branches of the river Gōdāvari. The other minor localities, such as Itṭikanūmti-tōmta, Bali-putṭalu, Kāṭrēni-guṭṭa, Tallāya-tōmta, Gorami-gaṭṭu, Pōtu-gaṭṭu, Gorami-kāluva. Janārdana-dēvaraguḍi, Peddapuṁta and Nakkavirilaṁka, etc. are all places marking the boundaries of the gift villages.

We offer our thanks to Sri M. Somasekhara Sarma of the Andhra University for kindly going through this article.¹

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1, 45, 64, 70-72, 76, 86-88 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 6, 25, 43, 52, 85, 100 *Śālinī* ; verses 3-4, 8-9, 14, 17, 40-41, 56-57, 66, 77, 80-84, 89-93, 97-99 *Amṣṭubh* ; verses 5, 47 *Śikharīṇī* ; verses 7, 10-12, 15, 18-19, 22-24, 26-33, 35, 37-39, 42, 44, 46, 50-51, 53-55, 59-63, 65, 68-69, 73-75, 78-79 *Indravajrā* ; verse 13 *Mandūkrāntā* ; verse 16, 36, 58, 67, 94-96 *Vasantatīlakā* ; verses 20-21 *Rathōddhatā* ; verse 34 *Prithvī* ; verses 48-49 *Paśhpitāgrā*.]

First Plate, First Side

- 1 A-vighnam=astu[*] Śrīnāthō=vatu vah purā Bali-grihē yasmin Varāh-ā[īṭṭau daṁśṣṭr-ā]grē-
- 2 ṇa Bhuvō=dharām nudati saty=udvāha-līl-ōtsukē | prauḍh-ēva pratibhīti sā khalu na-
- 3 v=ōdūḍhā=pi Bhūr=ujjhatī pāṭhaḥ-prāvaraṇam pradarsitavati sarvām vapuḥ-saushṭa-
(shṭha)vaṁ(vam)[[1*] Śrīmān=astu
- 4 śrēyasē naḥ sa dēvaḥ kshityā tōyēn=ānalēn=ānilēna | vyōmn=ādityēn=ēṇ-dunā yajvanā svair=
vvi-
- 5 śvaṁ sākshād=ātmabhir=yō bibharti [2*] Mukha-bāh-ūru-pādād=yaś=chātur-varṇya-
- 6 m=ajījanat | tam=Aupanishadam naumi Pursham(rusham) pushkar-ēkshaṇam[[3*]
Aṁtasthā-
- 7 nām=asēshāṇām bhuvanānām bharād=iva | yasy=ōdaram=abhūl=laṁbam Pratyū-
- 8 hēśaḥ sa pātu vah [4*] Śirō-ratnam Sambhōs=timira-kariṇa-stambha-
- 9 na-sṛiṇī mṛiṇālī svar-nadyā Haripada-payōdhēḥ pravahaṇam | su-
- 10 dhāpāna-drōṇī sura-parishadō bhāla-tilakam pratichī-kāmtāyāḥ pradiśa-
- 11 tu śubham vah Śasikaḷā [5*] Bhūmēr=bhāgaṁ dakṣiṇād=āmburāsēr=ā-Śailēndram Bhā-
- 12 rataṁ varsham=āhuh | tatrā=py=ētaḍ-Bhārataṁ khamḍam=āvīrbhūtā varṇā varṇa-
- 13 dharmmās=cha yatra [6*] Atr=Āndhrabhūs=sā Bharatasya khamḍē liṅgāni tu trīṇi va-
- 14 samṭti yasyām | Śrīśaila-Kāḷēśvarayōś=cha Dākshārāmē cha samdarśita-vai-

First Plate, Second Side³

- 15 bhavāni [7*] Tēshām trayāṇām liṅgānām sānnidhyād=anya-durlabhām | Trilinga-
bhūr=i-
- 16 ti khyātim=Amdhra-bhūmir=bibharti sā [8*] Tatra Dāksh-Āmara-Kshī-a-Kumāra-Prāchya-
- 17 pūrvvakāḥ | paṁchch=ā(ch=ā)rānvāḥ prakāśamṭē krīḍā-sthānāni Dhūrjjatēḥ [9*] Sāpatnya-
- 18 rōshād=iva tatra Gaurvyām niryyāya Gautamy=api bharttur=Īśāt | vahaty=ath=Ē-

¹ [We regret to record here the fact that Sri K.H.V. Sarma, one of the authors of this article as also Sri Somasekhara Sarma, passed away when the article was going through the press.—Ed.]

² From the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

³ The plate bears the Telugu numeral 1 on the left margin.

- 19 ś=ōpi cha saṁnidhattē tīrēshu tasyā iva sāmtvanāya [[10*] Tatr=ādi-Vimnām=api Kṛishṇavē-
 20 nīm=anu-vrajanītyō vimalāśayatvāt | Malāpahā Bhīmarathī vibhānti śrī-Tu-
 21 ṁgabhadrā Bhavanāśanī cha | [[11*] Sākaṁ Śrīyā tatra mah-āgrahārē Kṛishṇā-taṭē Kākula-
 nāma
 22 dhōyē | Śrīvallabhas=sat[t*]vaguṇ-āśrayatvāt=trātum trilōkīm khalu saṁnidhattē | [[12*]
 23 Tatr=aiv=ōchchaiḥ-puḷi(li)na-jaghanā phēna-hās=ōrmi-hastā haṁsa-śrēṇī-mukhara-
 24 raśanā vartul-āvarta-nābhiḥ | chakra-dvaṁdva-stana-parikarā mīna-nētr=āmbuj-āsyā nārī
 sarvv-ā
 25 vayava-subhag-ēv=āpagā bhāti Kumḍī [[13]¹ Sarvva-saṁpat-samākīrṇā tīrē tasyāḥ
 pratishṭhitā | Adde-
 26 mki=ti samākhyātā rājadhānī vijṛimbhatē [[14] Uchchaiśravas-tulya-balais=turaṁgaiḥ
 Kalpadṛi(dru)m-ābhai-
 27 ś=cha vadānya-varyyaiḥ | Rāmbh-ōpamānai ramaṇījanaiś=cha sā bhāti bhūmāv=
 Amarāvatī=va [[15*]²
 28 Kālē Kalau virāḷa-dhārmika-rājalōkē Gaṁgā-pravāha iva Viṣṇupada-prasūtaḥ | dharm-ō-
 chcha-
 29 jivana-dharas=trijagat-prasiddhaś=śuddhō vibhāti puri tatra chaturtha-varṇṇaḥ [[16*]
 Patis=tasyāḥ purō varṇṇas=tu

Second Plute, First Side

- 30 riyya(ya)s=sa hi varṇṇyatē | yas=tu bhū-rakshaṇa-prauḍha-putra-pautra-paramparaḥ [[17*]
 Prāyaḥ parādhyā bhuvi Pa-
 31 mṭṭanāmduḥ pūr=uttamā tatra cha Vellaśēriḥ | tasyāḥ puraś=śaśvad=adhīśvaratvāt=tad-
 ākhyay=ābhū-
 32 t=sa nirūḍha-gōtraḥ [[18*] Sad-Āchyuta-Śrī-sahitāch=chaturthāt³ varṇṇāt=payō=bdhēr=iva
 satva-pūrṇāt | san-mā-
 33 rgga-vartti nilayaḥ kaḷā(lā)nām tasmād=udait=Prōlaya-bhūpat-īnduḥ [[19*] Pallava-Trina-
 yanasya bhūpatēḥ prāktanām cha bhuvi dha-
 34 rmam=udhdha(ddha)ran | tad-vad-ēva cha sa kīrttim=arjjayan Pallava-Trinayana-prathām=
 adhāt || [20*] Kēsar=iva yudhi vikram-ōrjjitaḥ
 35 Pāṁdyarāya-gaja-marddanō bhavan | saṁttatam daśasu dikshu visṛi(śru)taḥ Pāṁdyarā-
 yagajakēsar=īti saḥ | [[21*] Putrēṇa tasy=ā-
 36 pratim-ōdayēna bhāgy-āvalamb-aikabhuḥ-ōshmabhājā | Āṁdhra-kshamā Vēma-nṛipēṇa sā=
 bhūd=rā[janvatī rā]⁴ja-dhuramdhareṇa | [[22*] Uddhri-
 37 tya bhūmim Yavan-ābdhi-magnām saṁsthāpayamittam prakṛitau tam=āryyāḥ | sākshāt=
 kalau mānusha-
 38 dēhadhārī mahā-Varāhō yam=it=īrayamtti(ti) [[23*] Dharmēṇa tasmin dharanīm dadhānē
 sarvvāṇi śāstrū-
 39 ny=akhilās=cha vēdāḥ | kalpāḥ kratūnām cha śatasya samyag=bhūdēvatābhīs=samam=āvir-
 āsan [[24*] Mū-

¹ Cf. Kālidāsa's *Mēghasāṁdēśa*. "Vīchi-kshōbha-stanita-vihaga-śrēṇi-kāṁchī-guṇāyāḥ", etc.

² This verse occurs also in the Manyamāpura grant of Anavēmareḍḍi.

³ The *sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ These four letters are written below the line.

- 40 lād=āgram saukhya-samppāta-hētōḥ sōpānānām Śrīgirau sthāpakasya | śaktim tasy=ēdṛikṭay
=ēya-
- 41 ttayā vā vaktum śaktō Vēma-bhūmīpatēḥ kaḥ | [[25*] Ājñām tadyām=anuvarttamānas
tasy=ānujō bhū
- 42 patir=Annay-ākhyah | ēkātapatrām=avanīm=atānīt samsthāpitasa(s=sa)nn=atha yauvva-
rājyē [[26*] Sat[t*]v-ōttaras=sō=
- 43 nnaya-bhūmipālas=suvarṇṇa-paksh-ōddharaṇ-aikayōgyah | sudarśan-āpākṛita-lōka-bādhas=
sākshād=i-
- 44 v=ālakshyata Chakrapāṇiḥ[[27*] Tasy=ātha patnī¹ chaturō(r=Ā)nyam-ākhyā prāsōṣṭa
putrān=Anavōta-bhūpaṁ(pam) | śrī-
- 45 Mummaḍim Māmchaya-bhūmipālam vīr-Ānnavēma-kshitipam kramēṇa [| 28*] Madhyē
chaturṇām=atha Vēma-

Second Plate, Second Side²

- 46 bhūpas=tēshām sva-putrīkṛitavān=abhūd=dvau | agādha-sat[t*]vāv=Anavōta-bhūpaṁ vīr-
Ānnavēma-kshitipālakaṁ
- 47 cha [[29*] Sa bhrātribhir=Māchaya-pārthivēna śrī-Mallayēn=Ānnaya-bhūbhujā cha |
sārtham tribhis=sambhṛita-dharma-kī-
- 48 rtiḥ kshmām=ūrjjita-śrīś=chiram=anvabhukta | [[30*] Tasy=ātha Vēma-kshitipālakasy
putrō baliyyā(yā)n=Anavōta-bhū-
- 49 paḥ | akhamḍita-śrīr=atula-pratāpas=simhāsanam paitṛikam=adhyatishṭa(shṭha)t | [[31*]
Amḍhra-ksham=ābhū-
- 50 d=Anavōta-bhūpē tasmin=vinētaryy=a-kutō-bhayatvāt | dhānyair=dhanaiś=ch=ātitarām
samṛiddhair=ā-
- 51 m³hlādit-āsēsha-janāmttaramgā | [[32*] Kany=ōdabhūn=Nārāpa-bhūpatēr=yyā Lakshmīr=
vviśuddhād=iva du-
- 52 gdha-simdhōḥ | tām=Anyam-ākhyām=udavōḍha Vishṇur=Lakshmīm=iv=ādhyām=Anavōta-
bhūpaḥ | [[33*]
- 53 Kumāragiri-samjñakam tanayam=Anyam-ākhyām sutām=asūta kula-pāli-
- 54 kā tad-anu s=Ānyamāmbā yamau | tayā cha kula-bhūshayā kula-varēṇa⁴ tē-
- 55 n=āpicha pratishṭi(shṭhi)ta-taram mahat-kulam=iti pratītaḥ pitā | [[34*] Sa Koṁḍaviḍum
bhuvī rājadhānīm=aka-
- 56 lpayat=kalpayitavya-dakshaḥ | Tvasṭ=āpi dṛishṭv=ā-pratimam yadiyya(ya)m nirmmāṇa-
vaichitryam=a-
- 57 bhūd=vilakshaḥ | [[35*] Abhramkashaḥ parilasat-kapīśīrsha-paṅktir=vvaprō vibhāti paritō=
drima-
- 58 yah purīm yām(yām) | viśrāmtavān=iva bhuvō bharam=Ānnavōtē samsthāpya bhōga-
valayastha-pha-
- 59 ṇaḥ Phaṇīmdraḥ | [[36*] Saudhais=sudh-ōdbhāsibhir=imdu-kalpair=nnivāryyamāṇē timira-
prachārē |
- 60 na kṛishṇa-pakshasya bhavaty=abhijñō yasyām janō jātv=api varttamānaḥ | [[37*] Nāgair=
naga-bhrām-

¹ The letter is written above the line.² The plate is marked 2 on the left margin.³ *Anusvāra* is redundant.⁴ The letter is written below the line.

Third Plate, First Side

- 61 tti-vidhāyibhīś cha Vanāyu-dēśa-prabhavaiś=cha vāhaiḥ | yōdhaiś=cha yuddhēśhu samṛi-
ddha-śauryyair-yyā pū-
- 62 r ddur-āpā manas āpy- a-mitrāiḥ [[38*] Abhramliḥ-āgrēśhv=atisumdarāmgīs=saudhēśhu
yasyās sudṛiśō
- 63 vilōkya | svas-strīs samuddiśya kṛitam tapa[h*]svam vaimānikā vyarttham=udāharamti
[[39*] Yatr-ōdyā-
- 64 na-latā-pushpa-saurabhy-ōdvahanāch chirāt | anvartthām=anilō dhattē gamdhavāha iti¹
prathām(thām) [[40*] Yā
- 65 Gīshpati-Kaviṁdr-ādhyā nirmmaḥ āmṛita-śālinī | avanāv=Amarāvatyāḥ praticchhāy=ēva
lakshyatē [[41*] Dharm-ō-
- 66 ttaras tatra vasan samṛiddhām tām bāndhu-sādhāraṇa-rājya-bhōgaḥ | pratāpa-vaprām ri-
[pu*]-dushpra-
- 67 dharshām purīm iv aikām aśishat sa pṛithvīm(thvīm) [[42*] Tasya bhrātā nishpratīpa-pra-
tāpō rōdō-rāmdhra-vyāpta-nī-
- 68 rāmdhra-kīrttiḥ | Śrīśailād āSimhaśailam tataḥ kshamām dhattē dharmēṇ=Ānavēma-
kshitīśah [[43] Tasy Āna-
- 69 vēmām(ma)-kshitipālakasya śakyaḥ katham varṇayitum prabhāvaḥ | yō bhrātṛi-simhāsana-
saṅkramā-
- 70 t=prāg-āktāmad=amgāny api sapta rājñām(jñām) [[44*] Artthair=artthi-janān kṛitārttha-
yati yō brahmā-
- 71 mddadānam mahat kurvan Vēma-sut=ōnavēma-nṛipatir=ddāridrya-vidrāvaṇaḥ | dātrā tēna
Dadhīchi-Karnna(rṇa)-Śiba-
- 72 yah svarṇa-pradānā-kshamā[h*] sv-āsthi-tvak-piśita-pradās=sama-tulā-bāmdhā bhavēyuh
katham(tham) [[45*] Hitv=Ānavēma-
- 73 m bhuvī Bhūrgzavam cha kō-nyaḥ sva-śakty=āri-nṛipān=vyajēśṭa | kimcha prapamchē
nikhilān dhā(dha)rāyā[m*] dānēna tushṭā-
- 74 n atanishta viprān [[46*] Tad-amtē tad-bhrātus=tanayam=Anavōta-kshitipatēr=bhuvō
bhārē prāptē Komara-
- 75 giri-bhūpāla-tīlakam | Anamitō viśrāmitō dharaṇi-bharaṇa-klēśa-vigamādvī(d=dvī)pā dikshv=
apy-a-ḥṭau

Third Plate, Second Side²

- 76 pariṇata-karēṇu-vyatikaraḥ [[47*] Komaragiri-nṛipēṇa pālyamānē dharaṇītalē tu na chōra-
śabda³ ēva | ya-
- 77 di bhavati param Phanīndra-śāstrē bhavati sa tatra cha nirgat-ārttha ēva [[48] Komaragiri-
nṛipē niraṅkuś-ājñē pata-

¹ The letter *ti* is written below the line and its place indicated with a + mark above it.

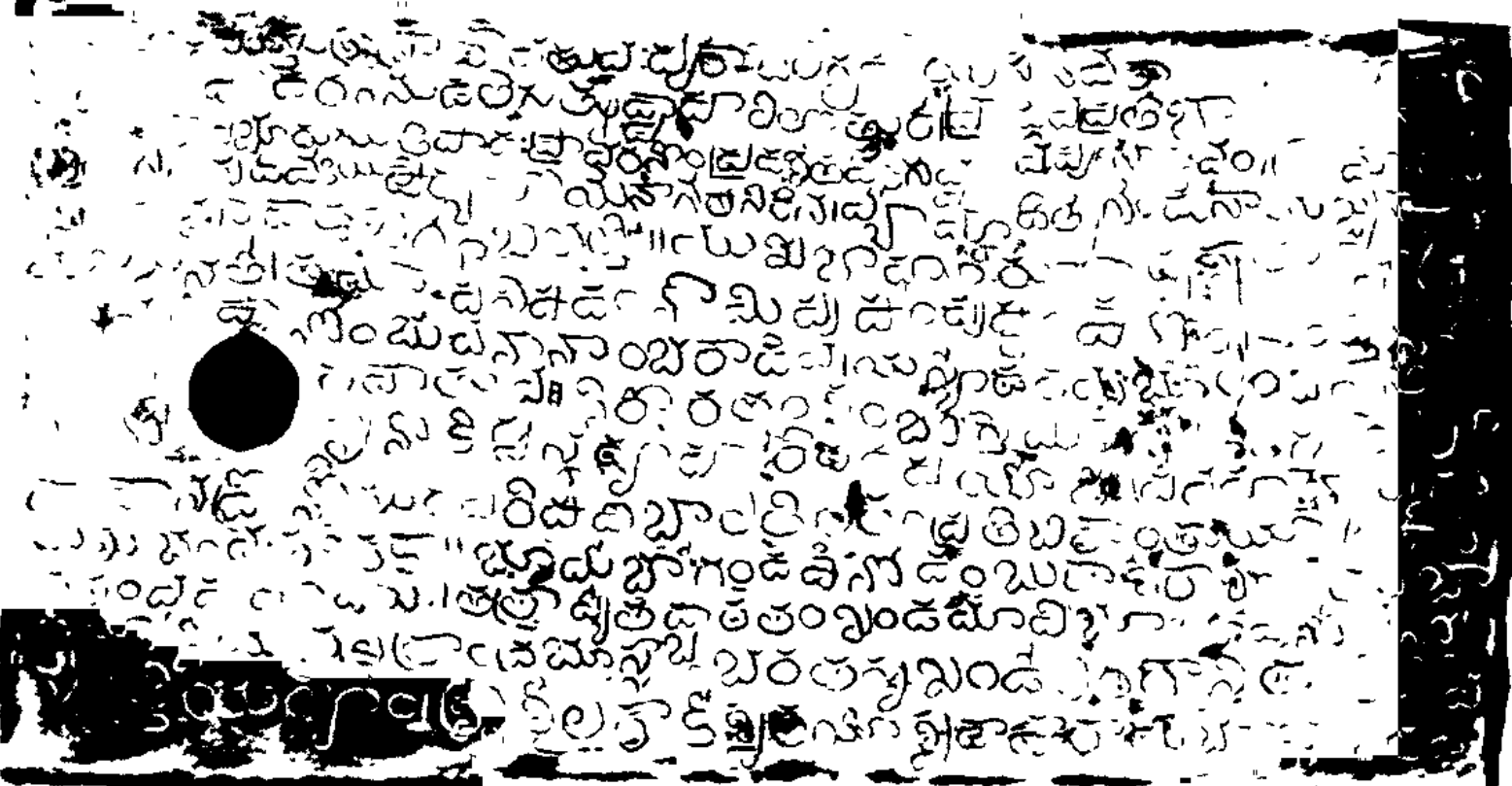
² The plate is marked with the numeral 3 on the left margin.

³ The letter is written below the line.

i, a

4
8
12

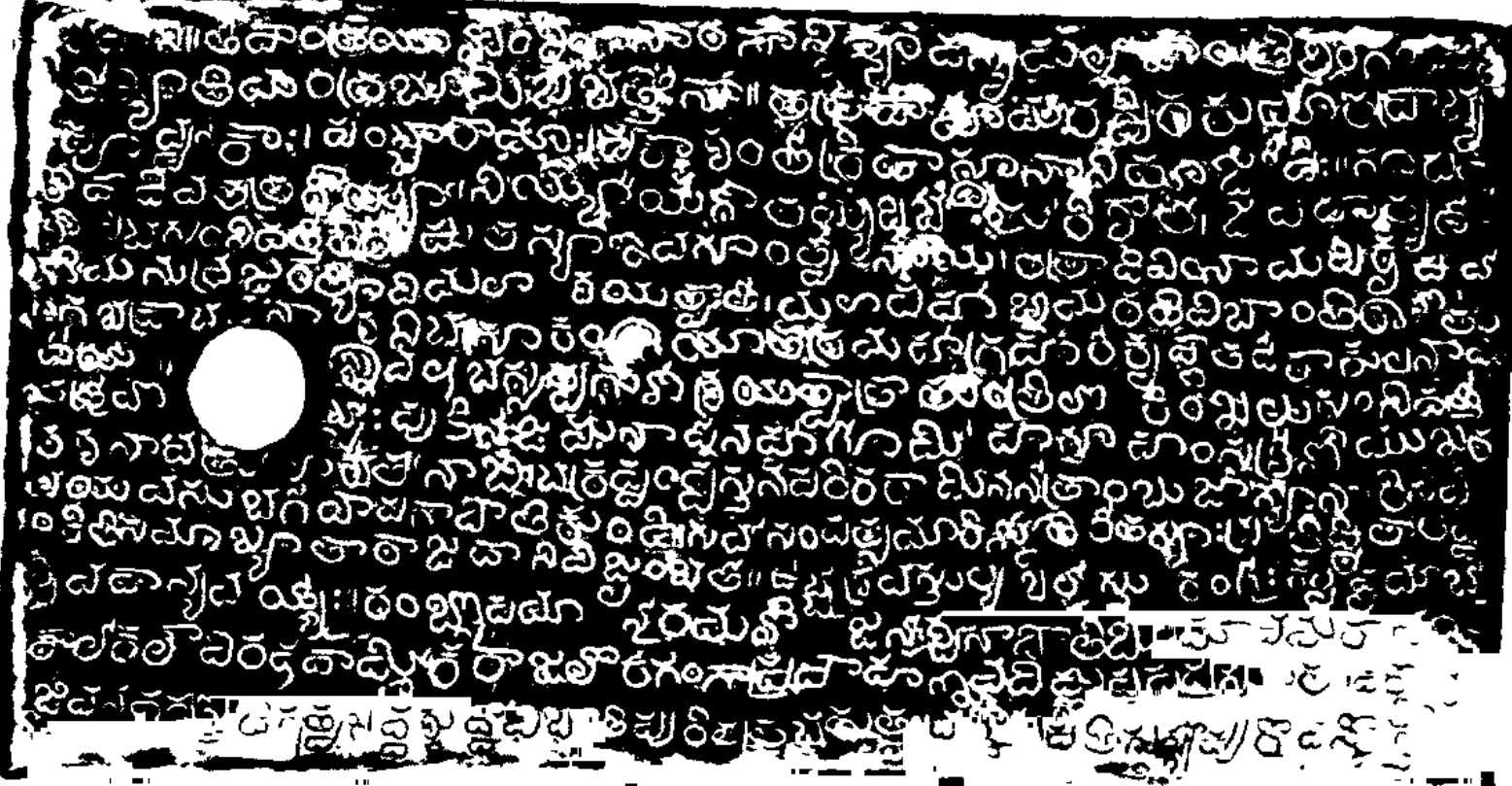
4
8
12



i, b

16
20
24
28

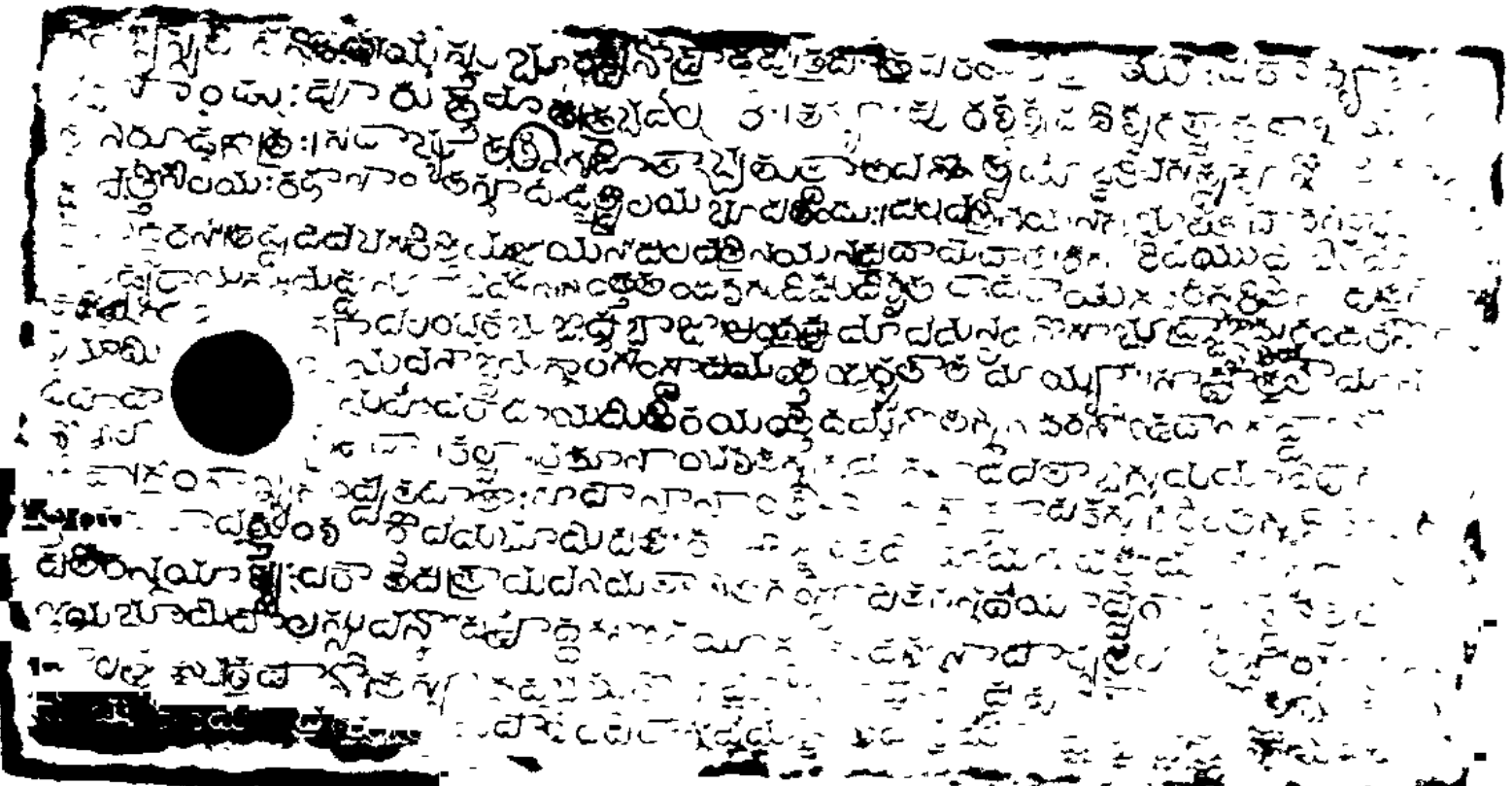
16
20
24
28



ii, a

32
36
40
44

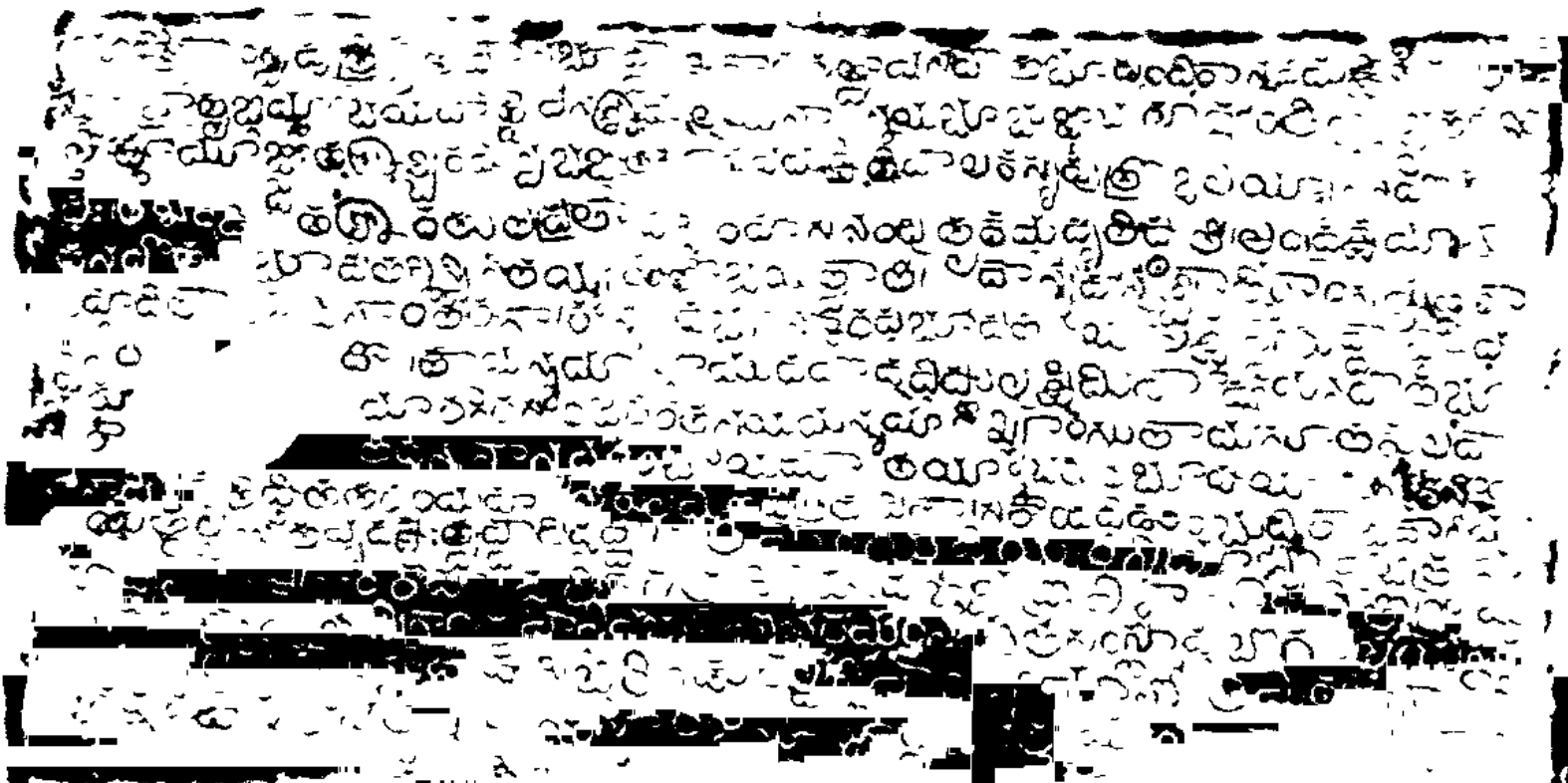
32
36
40
44



ii, b

48
52
56
60

48
52
56
60



64

68

72

64

68

72

iii, b

76

80

84

88

76

80

84

8

iv, a

92

96

100

104

92

96

100

104

iv, b

108

112

116

120

108

112

116

120

- 78 ti divas=samayē suvṛiṣṭir=iṣṭā | kṣhitir=akhila-phala-praśasya-sasyā vigata-bhayās=sukhinaś=cha-bhū
- 79 midēvāḥ ||[49] Bahvīr=vidhattē vibudha-pratiṣṭā(shṭhā) budha-pratiṣṭā(shṭhā)ś=cha paras-sahasrāḥ | kiṁ bhūyas=ōktēna ya-
- 80 d=asti dharmyam kṛityam sa tat-sarvvam=ath=ātanōti ||[50*] Kālē=stī tasmin khalu Paṇṭa-nāṁdau sārththā(rtth-ā)hvayē Da-
- 81 kṣhīnadēśa-madhyē | Paḷlāmudull-āhvaya-rājadhānī saṁpūrṇa-paṇyā vipaṇī-sthalēshu ||[51*] Va-
- 82 rṇas=tasyām rājadhānyām turīyaḥ sūra-[ś*]=śrīmān=asti śuddh-ānvavāyaḥ | drasṭum sṛiṣṭas=sad-guṇā-
- 83 n=ēva sarvvān=ēkatr=aiv=ādāya Dhātr=ēchchhat=ēva ||[52*] Tat-pūḥ-patitvēna tad-ākhy-ay=aiva prakhyāta-gō-
- 84 traḥ pṛithivītalē=smin | sa kēvalam khēlati Vellaśēri-vaiśy-ōpama-śrī-kula-śīla-vṛittāḥ ||[53*]
- 85 Tasmāt=tu¹ varṇnād=udabhūt=turīyyā(yā)t=Kāṭa-kṣhitīśaḥ Kamalā-nivāsaḥ | mitrair=amitrair=api bhūmi-
- 86 pālaiḥ prastūyamāna-prathan-āpadānaḥ || [54*] Kāṭakṣhitīśam kṣhiti-kalpa-vṛikṣam sam-śṛitya jīvaṁti
- 87 janāḥ kṣhitau yē | sarvvasya lōkasya samāśrayatvam prayāṁtti tē dhānya-dhan-ābhivṛi-ddhāḥ || [55*] Khadga-kṛitt-ā-
- 88 khil-āmitra-bhūbhṛit-paksha-samunnatiḥ | sa Nāṁdanavana-grāmē Janābhābhēd=iva jṛimbhatē ||[56] Kulē mahati
- 89 kalyāṇī prādurbhūtā prabhāvatī | patnī tasya guṇaiḥ pūjyaiḥ tuly-ābhūt Tallam-āhvayā ||[57*] Śrī-Kā-
- 90 ṭaya-kṣhitipatēr=atha Tallamāyā dvābhyām=avātarad=udāharaṇam nṛipāṇām(nām) | śaurya-pratāpa-
- 91 vinay-ādi-guṇāśrayāṇām Mār-āvanīparibṛi(vṛi)ḍhō mahanīya-kīrttiḥ ||[58*] Sūras=sa Māra-kṣhitipāla-sim-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 92 haś=śuddh-ānvay-ōtthām=atha Mācham-ākhyām(khyām) | kanyām kaṭatrī-kṛitavān=parā-rthyām Pulōma-putrīm Marutā-
- 93 m=iv=ēśaḥ ||[59*] Māchāmbikāyā atha Māra-bhūpād=bhūdēvatā-rakṣaṇa-dakṣiṇa-śrīḥ | Kāṭa-kṣhitīśas=tanayō
- 94 Jayāntaḥ Śachyās=Śachī-bharttur=iv=āvatīrṇaḥ ||[60*] Vittasya viśrāṇana-saṁgīhityai sākṣhāt=sa Yakshēśvara ēva jātaḥ |

¹ The letter is written below the line.

- 95 kim cha prapañchikṛitayōḥ pratāpa-prasādayōś=ch=Ārkka-Śasāmkka-kalpaḥ || [61*] Sa
Bhīshma-Duryōdhana-pūrvvakāṇām
- 96 saṁgrāma-bhūmāv=ari-bhūpatīnām(nām) | vīrya-vyudāsēna sa Kāṭa-bhūpō vibhāti saṁ-
grāma-Dhanamjaya-
- 97 śrīḥ || [62*] Yuddhē saṁpriddhē ripu-bhūpatīnām yē=str-āhatibhyas=sa vivarttamānān |
rakshaṁti tēshām hi
- 98 sa pālakatvāt khyātas=tatas=samgaḍi-rakshapālāḥ || [63*] Śrīmān=Annaya-bhūpatīs=tadanu
tam Kāṭa-ksha-
- 99 mādhiśvaram sañchinty=ātma-samānam=amēchchitatarair=vaṁśa-pradhānair=guṇaiḥ | āhū-
100 y=ādiśad=uttamām=avayavaiḥ śrī-Dodḍam-ākhyām sutām tasmai Kāṭaya-bhūbhu-
101 jē Giripatir=Gaurīm yathā Śambhavē || [64*] Putrīm bhavitrīm mahatīm veditvā Dodḍ-āhva-
102 yāyā(m=ā)ha pit=Āmdhra-vāṇyā | iti praśamsaṁti budhās=tadīyām dṛiṣṭvā mahat[t]va-
103 m su[gu*]ṇaiḥ prasiddham(ddham) || [65*] Anavōta-kshitipēna saṁgatas=tad-anam̐taram-
(ram) | Kāṭa-bhūmipatiśrī(ś=śrī)mā-
- 104 n t'ach-chhāy=ēva sa lakshyatē || [66*] Kāṭa-kshamāparivṛi(vṛi)dhād=atha Dodḍamāmbā
Vēm-āhvayām bahu-
- 105 mukh-ābhyuday-ābhirāmaṁ(mam |) durdharsha-śaktidharam=Ōshadhinātha-maulēr=Gaurī
Kumā-
- 106 ram=iva putram=asūta jaitram(tram) || [67*] Kṛitv=āvatāram suman-ōbhilāsham karttum
Mahāsēnam=a-
- 107 mōya-śauryyam(ryam) | dṛiṣṭvā sutām tam pitarāv=abhūtām prītau yathā Haimavatī-
Mahēśau || [68*]

Fourth Plate. Second Side²

- 108 Rakshaṁti bhūpās=suhṛidō jagad-yē dharm-ōpadēśēna sa pālayaṁs=tān | Vēma-kshitīśō=
ndhra-janasya
- 109 vāṇyā prakhyāpitō=bhūj-Jagarakshapālāḥ || [69*] Bhērī-bhāṁkaraṇai[h] śruti-pratibhayaiḥ
prōddhūta-yu-
- 110 ddh-ōdyamās=samprāpt-ōchcha-śil-ōchchayāḥ prati-ravais=tatr=ōpi vitrāsītāḥ | kham tair=
ggam-tum=ath=ō-
- 111 dyatās=tad-agatēr=vvīrās=cha Vēmaprabhōr=vairi-kshmā-patayō=dri-pakshati-bhidam̐ nim-
ddam̐(dam̐)ti Saṁkramdanam̐(nam) || [70*] Bhī-
- 112 tānām bhaya-bhamjanam̐ bhuja-balam̐ dīnasya dāny-āpahan̐ vittam̐ vṛittam̐=udāhṛitīm
sucharatā-
- 113 m bhōgam̐ sva-bam̐dhōs=samam̐(mam) | vāṇīm satya-parāyaṇām̐ cha dadhatā śī-Vēma-
prithvībhujā tādṛig-laksha--
- 114 ṇakēna kaḥ kshititalē sākshāt=sadṛikshaḥ prabhuh̐ || [71*] Buddhya jāgrati yē Bṛhaspati-
mukhās=sūkshm-ārtha-sa-

¹ The *sandhi* has not been observed here.

² The plate bears the numeral 4 on the left margin.

- 115 mbōdhanē chāturyyēṇa charaṁti vakra-matayaś=Śukr-ādayō yē nayē | artthibhyō vita-
 116 raṁtti yē=rttham=adhikaṁ tad-vāṁchechhitād=dhārmikāḥ sarvvāṁs=tān=atīsayya khēlati
 guṇais=tai-
 117 r=Vēma-prithvīpatih || [72*] Ath=Ānnavōta-kshitipālakēna dattāṁ tadīyyāṁ nija-mātulēna |
 tāṁ
 118 Vēma-bhūmīpatir=Anyam-ākhyāṁ pāṇāv=agrīhṇād=vidhinā sa kanyāḥ || [73*] Anyōnyam-
 atyaṁtta-yath-ānurū-
 119 pau Vēmakshitīśas=sa cha s=Ānyamā cha | dvau yōgya-saṁbandhatayā d. l. hātē suvarṇa-
 ratna-vyatisharṅga-lakshmīṁ(mīm) || [74*]
 120 ¹Sā Padmahastā Purushōttamēna Vēma-kshitīśēna grīhīta-pāṇih | sāubhāgya-saṁpani(n-ni)
 121 dhir=Anyamāmbā saṁlakshyatē mūrtimat-īva Lakshmīḥ || [75*] **Śākābdē-dri-nabhō-**
gni-chaṁdra-gaṇitē Chaitrē- tritī-
 122 **yē tithau Kṛishṇē Jīva-dinē Ravāv-Aja-gatē** tīrthēshu sarvvēshv=api | Viśvāmitra-
 nadīṁ gatēshv=anumatā bha-
 123 rtrā=plutā taj-jalē grāmaṁ sā Pulupartti saṁjūam-akarōd=bhīrātr=ārpitaṁ viprasāt || [76*]

Fifth Plate, First Side

- 124 Yad=aiv=Ānyamayā grāmaḥ sa tayā vipra-sātkṛitaḥ | tadā prabhṛiti tan-nāmnā bhuvī rū-
 125 dho=nyamāvaraḥ || [77*] Vraiḥēya-śālōya-yavarya-yavya-bhūmī-samēto=nnavar-āgra-
 126 hāraḥ | grāmān=aśēshān bhuvī n=atīśētē kathaṁ śubh-ārāma-phal-ābhiraṁmaḥ || [78*] Makla-
 prayō-
 127 gais=smṛitibhiḥ purāṇaiḥ sārddham samastāśru(ś=śru)tay=ōkhillāni | śāstrāṇi ch=āptv=ēva
 mithō=bhya-
 128 sūyāṁ vṛiddhiṁ bhajaṁty=Annavaṛa-dvijēshu || [79*] Asya grāmasya pratigrahītāraḥ || * * *
 129 dvi-bhāgī Lakshmaṇa-sōmayājī | dvi-bhāgī Peddi-bhaṭṭaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Kōmaragiry-āryaḥ |
 130 dvi-bhāgī Appan-āryaḥ | ētē Kauśika-gōtriṇaḥ | dvi-bhāgī Ahōbalanātha-bhaṭṭaḥ | dvi-bhāgī
 Nā-
 131 rāyaṇa-bhaṭṭaḥ | tri-pāda-bhāgī Peddan-āryaḥ | tri-pāda-bhāgī Vallabh-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī
 Ananttanarasim-
 132 h-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Ellan-āryaḥ | dvi-bhāgī Annam-āryaḥ | ardha-bhāgī Kāman-āryaḥ |
 pādā-rddha-bhāgī Bhī-
 133 may-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Siṁgay-āryaḥ | ētē Bhāradvāja-gōtriṇaḥ || chatur-bhāgī Mallinātha-
 sōma-
 134 yājī | ēka-bhāgī Rāmay-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Narahary-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Kōṁman-āryaḥ |
 sārddhaika-
 135 bhāgī Anant-āryaḥ | arddha-bhāgī Maṁtr-āryaḥ | arddha-bhāgī Abban-āryaḥ | arddha-bhāgī
 Mallan-āryaḥ |
 136 ardha-bhāgī Sūri-bhaṭṭaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Pedday-āryaḥ | ētē Kāśyapa-gōtriṇaḥ | ardha-bhāgī
 Allāḍa-bhaṭṭaḥ |

¹ From here the engraving appears to have been done by a different scribe.

Fifth Plate, Second Side¹

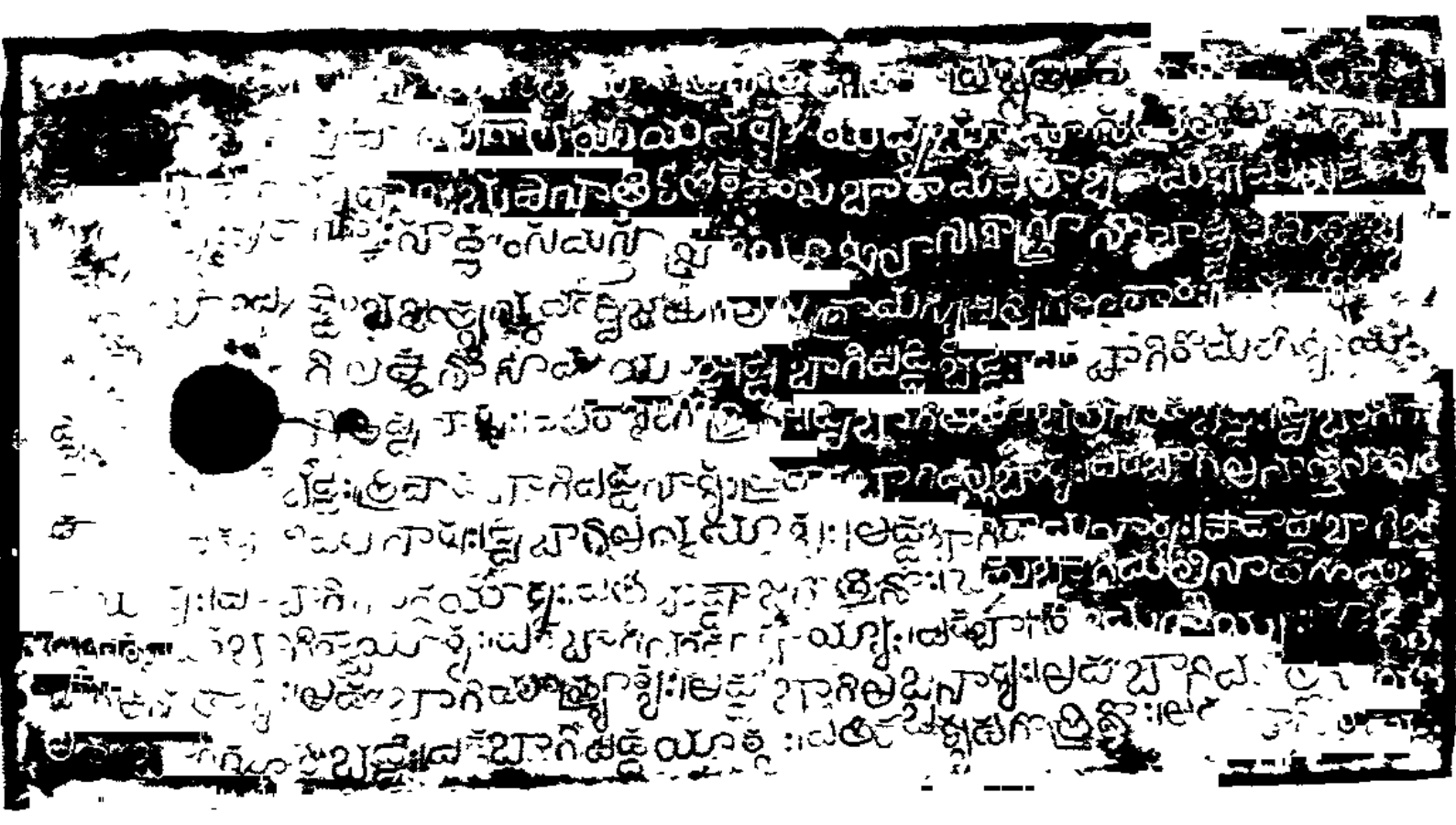
- 137 ēka-bhāgī Anant-āryaḥ | pāda-bhāgī Siṅgay-āryaḥ | ētē Ātrēya-gōtriṇaḥ || dvi-bhāgī Pemn-
ār-yaḥ |
- 138 ēsha Vādhūla-gōtrī || shad-bhāgī Mādhav-āryaḥ | dvi-bhāgī Māri-bhaṭṭaḥ | ēka-bhāgī
Siṅggaya-
- 139 bhaṭṭaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Sūray-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Gaṇapaty-āryaḥ | ētē Śrīvatsa-gōtriṇaḥ | ēka-
bhāgī
- 140 Peddan-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Appan-āryaḥ | ētau Gautama-gōtriṇau || dvi-bhāgī Siṅgan-āryaḥ |
- 141 dvi-bhāgī Appalō-bhaṭṭaḥ | dvi-bhāgī Kāman-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Kaṭakam-Mallan-āryaḥ |
ardha-bhāgī Malla-
- 142 n-āryaḥ | arddha-bhāgī Vissan-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Anipedd-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Eray-āryaḥ |
pāda-bhā-
- 143 gī Eray-āryaḥ | ētē Kauṇḍinya-gōtriṇaḥ || pad-ārdha-bhāgī Anant-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Si-
- 144 ṅggay-āryaḥ | pad-ārdha-bhāgī Pedday-āryaḥ | ētau (te) Yāska-gōtriṇau (ṇaḥ) | tri-bhāgī
Mallu-
- 145 bhaṭṭaḥ | ēsha Kāmākṣyana-Viśvāmitra-gōtrī || ardha-bhāgī Gōpāla-sōmayājī | ēka-
- 146 bhāgī Tippay-āryaḥ | dvi-bhāgī Kāchan-āryaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Chamdray-āryaḥ | ētē Harita-gō-
triṇaḥ |
- 147 ēka-bhāgī Mallay-āryaḥ | pāda-bhāgī Lakhay-āryaḥ | ardha-bhāgī Tippay-āryaḥ | ētau(tē)
- 148 Pārāsaryya-gōtriṇau(ṇaḥ) || dvi-bhāgī Viṃjarāju-Pregadan-āryaḥ | ēsha Kālabhava-gōtrī ||
- 149 ēka-bhāgī Gōpay-āryaḥ | ēsha Maudgalya-gōtrī || sa-tri-pāda-chatur-bhāgī Dēvay-āryaḥ |
- 150 ēsha Śaṃḍilya-gōtrī || dvi-bhāgī Sim[ga]²y-āryaḥ | ēsha Lōhita-gōtrī || tri-pāda-bhāgī Vi-
- 151 ssaya-bhaṭṭaḥ | ēsha Śālāvata-gōtrī || ēka-bhāgī Sagarēśvara-mahādēvaḥ | ēka-bhāgī Śrī-
Kēśavadēvaḥ ||

Sixth Plate, First Side

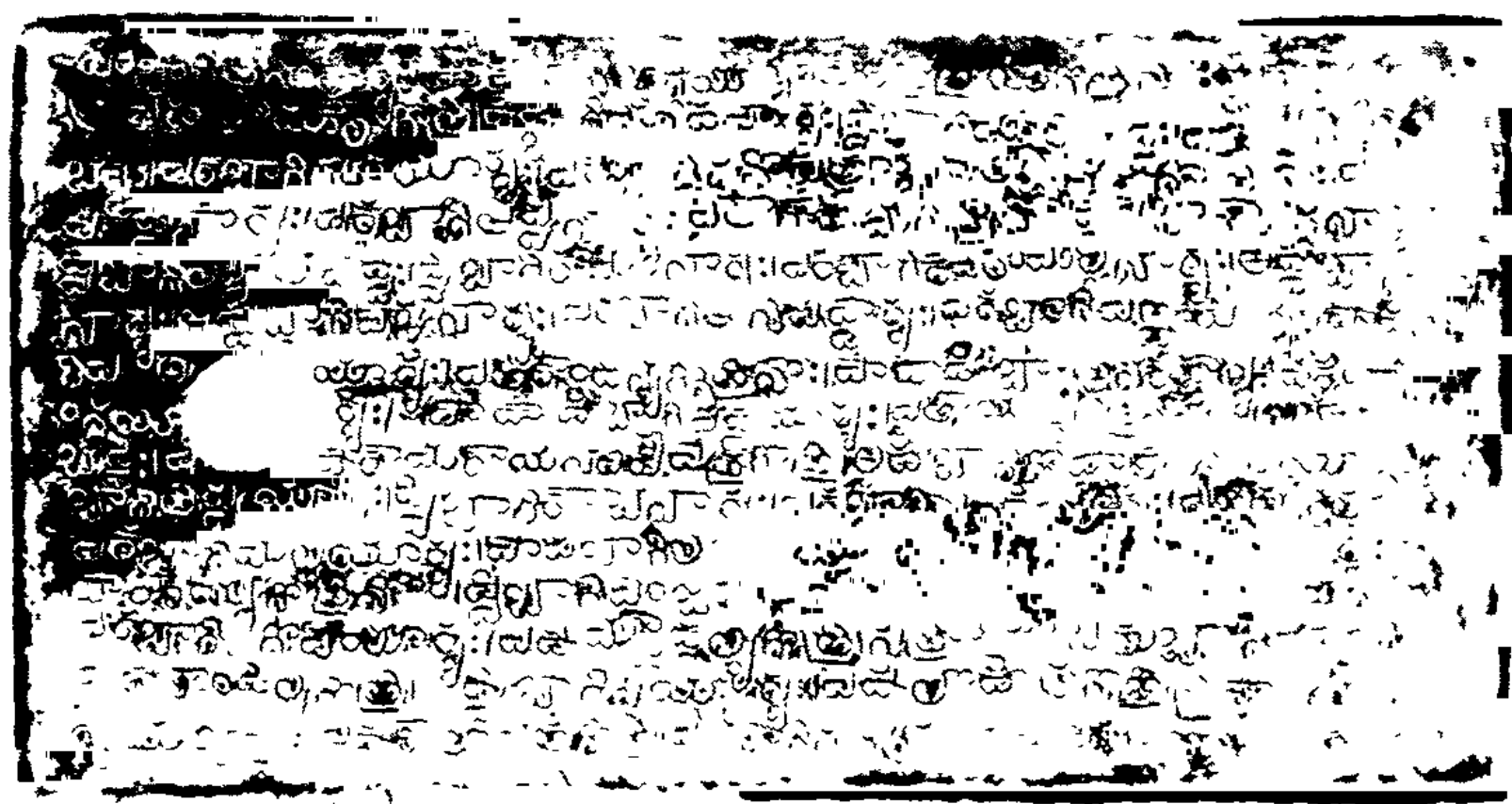
- 152 Śāsanamun=aṃdu(du) gōtramulu varggiṃchchi vrāsē appuḍu chēruvalēni vṛittima[m*]ttu
lu venaka va-
- 153 chchinānu vrāyīṃchchina gōtra-nāmamulu | pāda-bhāgī Ātrēya-gōtrī Sūran-āryaḥ ||
- 154 ēka-bhāgī Peddan-ārya[h*] | ēka-bhāgī Pemman-āryaḥ | etau dvau Kāśyapa-gōtriṇau | ēka-
bhāgī
- 155 Siṅgan-āryaḥ³ | ēka-bhāgī Chivuṭa-Liṅgan-āryaḥ | Harita-gōtrī || Karttā śāsana-kāvyaśya
Vāsudēva-su-
- 156 dhī-sutaḥ | Perumāṇi-sudhīr-ēka-bhāgī gōtrēṇa Kauśikaḥ || [80*]
- 157 Pañch-ōttarābhīḥ khārībhīḥ=triṃśatā Kaḍamī-kshītēḥ | samētasy=āśya sīmānō(ni) likhyaṃtē
sarvva-
- 158 dik-sthitāḥ || [81*] Annavarapuṃ=boḷamēra-sīmalu [|*] Tūrppunaku Gōdāvarinuṃḍḍi
dakshi-
- 159 napu mukhamai vachchina Gorami-gaṭṭu ā Goraminuṃḍḍi Kapila-Mallēśvara-sthāna-
- 160 mudāṃkānu vachchina Pōtu gaṭṭu marinnī Tūrppunaku sīma [|*] aṃta-nuṃḍi mēḍi-vamppu-
- 161 gānu Kaḍami-paḍumaṭi itṭika-nūṃti-tōṃṭa paḍumaṭaṃgānu vachchi Vēma-

¹ The plate bears the numeral 5 on the left margin.² Written above the line.³ No *gōtra* is mentioned for this donee.

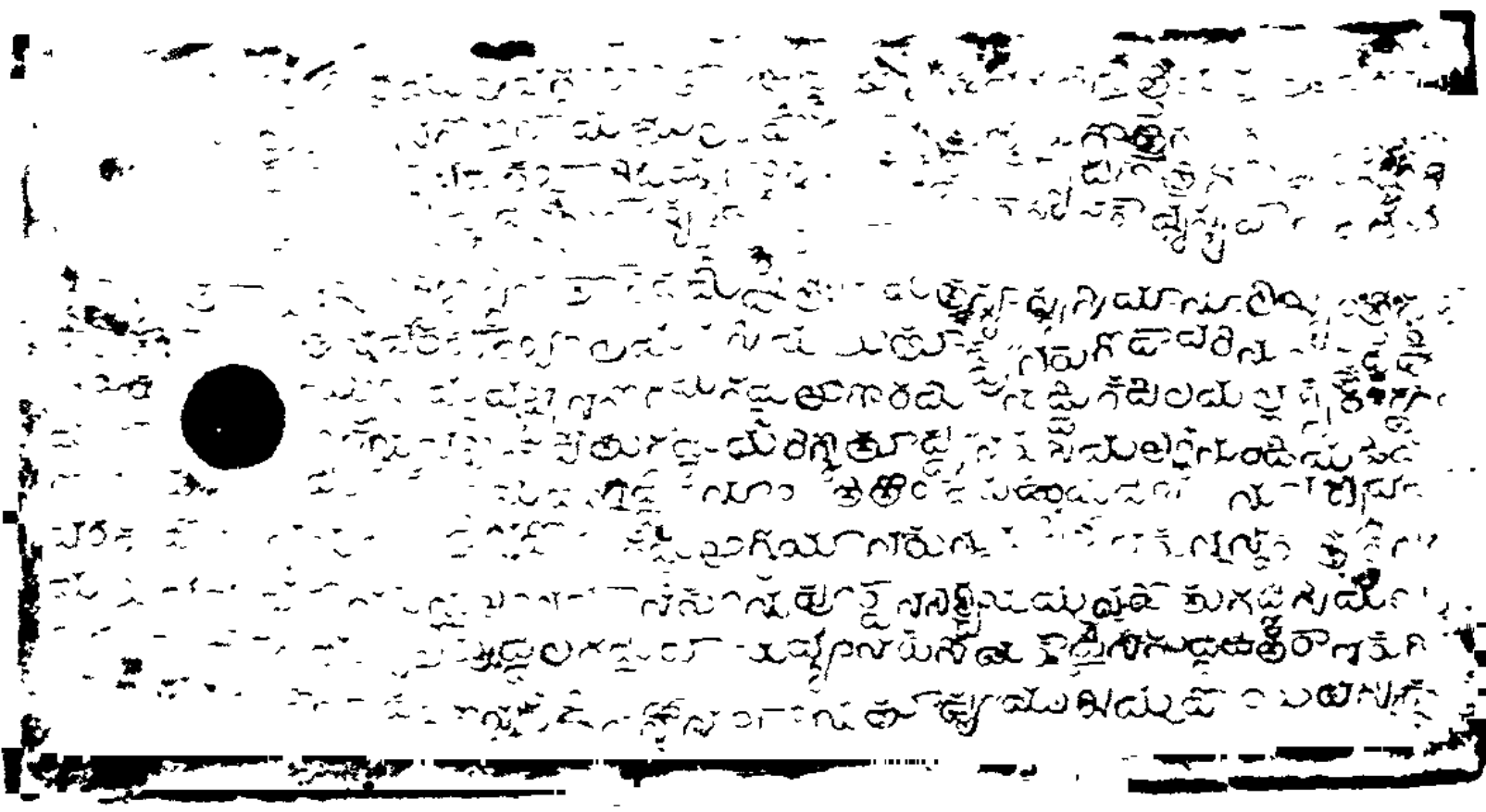
v, a

124		124
128		128
132		132
136		136

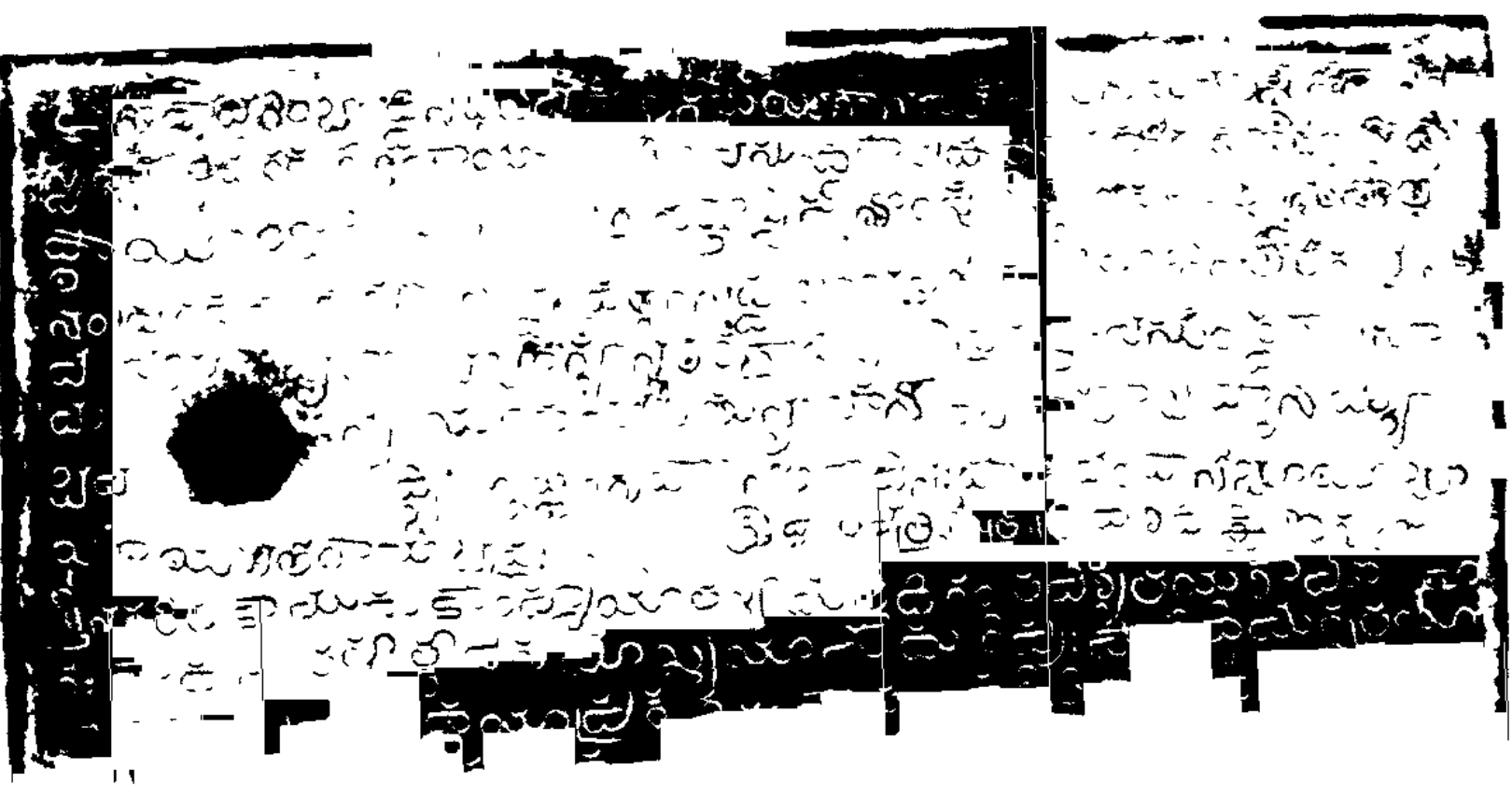
v, b

140		140
144		144
148		148

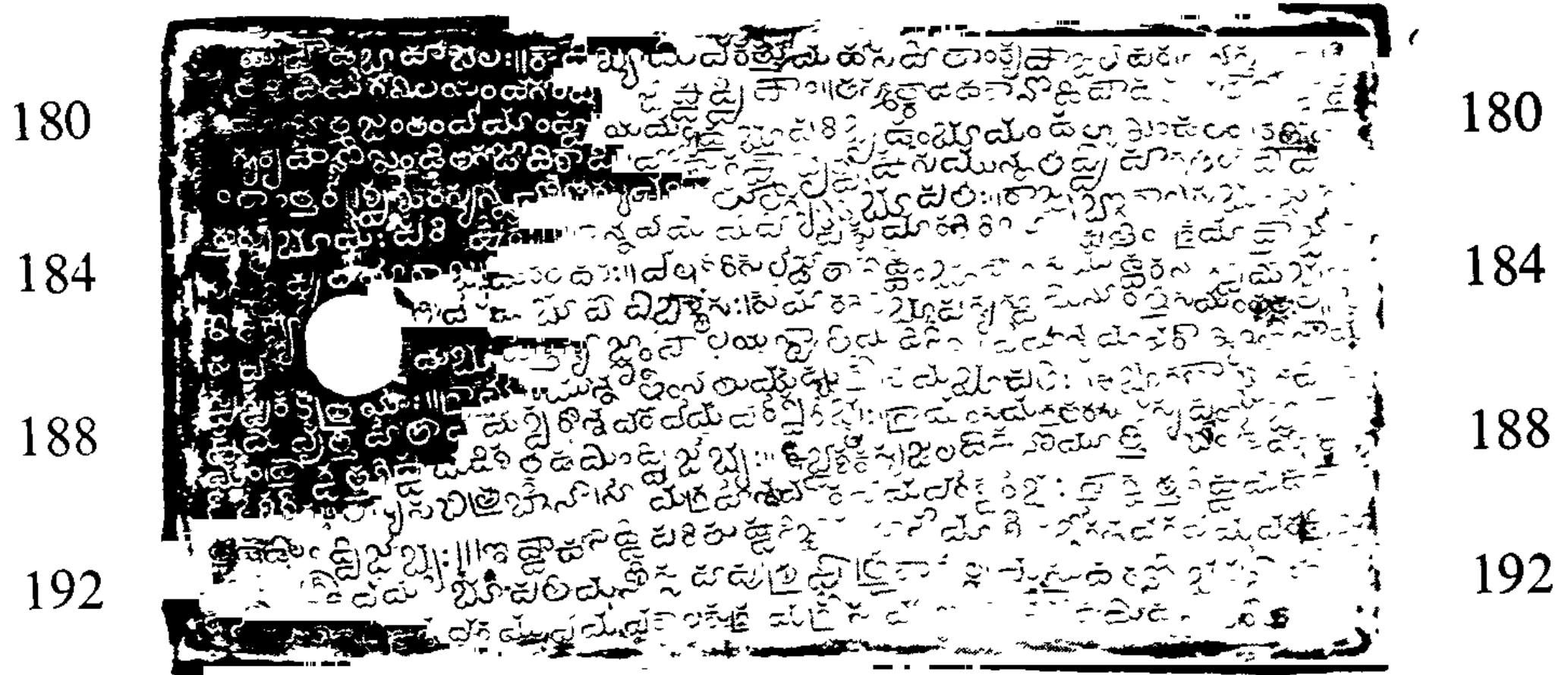
vi, a

152		152
156		156
160		160
164		164

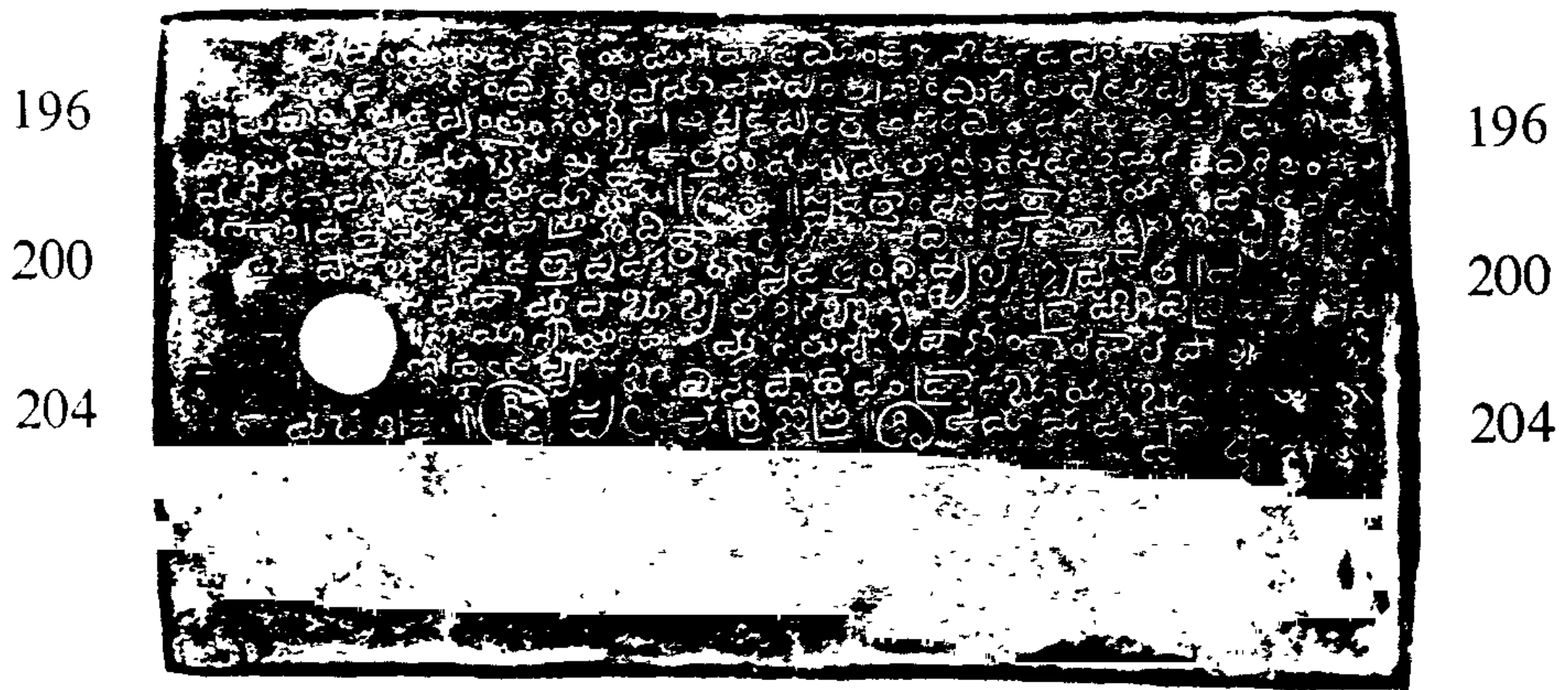
vi, b

168		168
172		172
176		176

vii, a



vii, b



Scale : Two-fifths

S E A L



INCHES
SCALE

(from Photograph)

- 162 varapu polānam=poṁddina Pōtu-gaṭṭu Āgnēyānakunnu Dakṣiṇānakunnu Nairu(rī)tikinni sī-
 163 malu [|*] Vēmavarānakunnu Annavarānakunnu pūrvāna nīśhayamaina Pōtu-gaṭṭa
 sīmalu [|*]
 164 Paḍumaṭiki sīma Balipuṭṭala-gaṭṭu [|*] Vāyavyānaku sīma Kāṭrēṇi-guṭṭa [|*] Uttarānaku sī-
 165 ma Tallāya-tōmṭa daggaṇina Dakshina¹ṇānam-gānu Tūrppu mukhamai pōyi Vasishṭha-

Sixth Plate, Second Side²

- 166 Gōdāvarimboṁddina phalavṛikshāla-gaṭṭu [|*] Yī(Ī)śāna-dikkunaku sīma Vaśishṭha-
 Gōdāvari ||
 167 Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām(rām) | shasṭir=varsha-sahasrāṇi vi-
 168 shṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih || [82*] sva dattā[d*]=dvi-guṇam puṇyam para-datt-ānupāla-
 169 nam | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattām nishphalam bhavēt || [83*] ēk=aiva bhaginī lōkē
 sarvvēshā-
 170 m=ēva bhū-bhṛitām(tām) | na bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuṁddha(dha)rā
 || [84*] Sā-
 171 mānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇām kālē kālō pā[la]nīyō
 172 bhavadbhiḥ | ittham sarvvān bhāvinaḥ pāṭhiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhū-
 173 yō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || [85*] Śrī Pallavatriṇētra ||³ Dēśē Dakṣiṇa-samjñakē=
 174 sti nagari Pal[|*]āmudu lām(ā)hvayā a(ch=ā)syām=asti dig-amta-viśī(ru)ta-yaśā varṇū Ha-
 175 rēḥ pādajah | tasmāt=Kāṭa-samākhyayā Madhuripuḥ pāthōdhi-magna-trayī-
 176 trāṇ-ārth-āmbv-aṭan-ōṭṭha(ttha)yā prakāṭitaḥ pātum dharitrīm=udait || [86*] Tasmān=Mā-
 177 ra-mahīpatis=samudabhūd=dharm-aika-samsthāpana⁴s=tasmāt=sō=jani [Kā*]ṭa-bhūparibṛi-
 (vṛi)ḍhō

Seventh Plate, First Side

- 178 yah praudha-bāhā-balah ||(|) Kāṭ-ākhyām=iva karttum=artha-sahitām Kṛishṇā-jalē
 paryaṭans=tan-madhya-sṭhi-
 179 ta-Divi-durga-nilayam vargam vyajēṣṭha dvishām(shām) || [87*] Tasmāt=Kāṭa-
 dharādhipād=alabhata śrī-Dodḍa-
 180 mām̐b=ātmajam tam Vēm-āhvayam=Am̐dhra-bhūparibṛi(vṛi)ḍham bhūmam̐dal-ākham̐dalam-
 (lam) | kīrttir=yya-
 181 sya kṛipāṇa-kham̐dita-Gajādhīs-ādi-garvvōddhura-kshmābhṛit-paksha-samunnatēr=vviharatē
 rōdō-dig-a-
 182 m̐t-ām̐ttarē || [88*] Śvaśurasy=Ānnavōtasya mātulasya cha bhūpatēḥ | rājya-bhōgān sa
 bhūmjānaḥ(na)-

¹ na is redundant.

² The plate bears the numeral 6 on the left margin.

³ The first record ends here.

⁴ The letter is written above the line.

- 183 s=tasya bhūmēḥ parīkshakaḥ || [89*] S=Ōnnavēma-mahīpaṇi cha¹ Kumāragiri-bhūpatiṃ(tim) |
kramād=rājyē su-
- 184 samsthāpya tayō rājya-dhuraṇḍharaḥ || [90*] Velliṣēri-kulō jātān=ittham bhūpān samu-
ddharan | svāmi-bhṛitya
- 185 iti khyātō Vēma-bhūpō vibhātī¹ saḥ || [91*] Kumāragiri-bhūpasya svāmin=ōmttē
samanittataḥ |
- 186 sa Vēma-bhūpas=tasy=ājñān pālayan=pāti mēdinīm(nīm) || [92*] Vēm-Ānyamāvarau khyātau
nāmnā
- 187 sva-svakaṣatrayōḥ | grāmau samunnatiṃ nētum=udyuktō Vēma-bhūpatiḥ || [93*] Abhyāgat-
ārechhana-vidhī-
- 188 kshaya-vṛitti-hētōr-Vēmēśvar=Ōnnavara-Vēmavarēśvarēbhyaḥ | grāmaṃ samagratarā-
sa-sya-phal-ābhira-
- 189 maṃ prāg=datta-śiṣṭam=adiśat=Kaḍamiṃ dvijēbhyaḥ || [94*] **Abdē Śakasya jaladh-
īkshaṇa-mūrtti-chaṇḍrē Māghē**
- 190 **dinē Śaśi-sutasya sa Chitrabhānu | Sōmagraḥ**ō=annavara-Vēma-varēśvarēbhyaḥ prāg-
datta-śiṣṭam=adadā-
- 191 t=Kaḍamiṃ dvijēbhyaḥ || [95*] Isṭ-ārtha-siddhi-paritusṭa-nij-āśayānām=āśīrbhir=Annavara-
Vēmavara-dvijā-
- 192 nām(nām) | śrī-Vēma-bhūpatimaṇis=saha putra-pauttrair=āKalpam=astu dharaṇī-
bharaṇē dhu-
- 193 rīṇaḥ || [96*] Annavaramu Vēmavarālaku grāma-grāsamu ichchina Kaḍami paṇchukonna
[Anna]-

Seventh Plate, Second Side²

- 194 varapu polamōra-sīma nirṇa(rṇa)yamu | pāṭimīṇḍi Janārdanadēvaraguḍi daksha(kshi)
ṇānanu |
- 195 paḍumaṭ-ādigānu Gorami-kāluva mōvanu puṇṭta | Gorami-kāluva tūrpu | Uttaraṃ mu-
- 196 khamai pōyi pedda-puṇṭta-galaśenu | ā-pedda-puṇṭta ā-Gorami ādigānu tūrpu mukhamai
- 197 pōyi Gōdāvari mōchenu | aṭṭē Uttaraṃ mukhamai lō-laṅka sahitamai nakkaviri-laṅkkaku
- 198 vellī Kaṇḍavelli-polamu mōchenu || * * * || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasu-
- 199 ṇḍharām(tām) | shashṭir=varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhā[yā*]ṇ jāyatē kṛimih || [97*] Sva-dattād-
dviguṇaṃ puṇyaṃ pa-
- 200 ra-datt-ānupālanaṃ(nam) | para-datt-āpahārēṇa svadattaṃ nishphalaṃ bhavēt || [98*] Ēk=
aiva bhagi-
- 201 nā lōkē sarvvēśam ēva bhūbhṛitām(tām) | na bhōgyā na raka(kara)-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasu-
- 202 ṇḍharā || [99*] Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sētur=nṛpānām kālē kālē pālaniyō bha-
- 203 vadbhīh | iddham(ttham) sarvvān=bhāvinah pāṛthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yācha-
- 204 tē Rāmacaṇḍraḥ || [100*] Śrī-Pallavatriṇētra || śrī-Umā-Mahēśvarābhyān=namah ||

¹ The letter is written below the line.

² The plate bears the numeral 7 on the left margin.

No. 23—ANDHRA SAHITYA PARISHAD PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN

(1 Plate)

THE LATE B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDY

(Received on 26.1.1956)

These plates seem to have been secured by the late Mr. T. Achyutarao, during the period of his official career as Assistant Inspector of Schools, Eluru, in 1915. They are noticed in the *Annual Report on South India's Epigraphy* for the year 1917-18 as C.P. No. 15 and are described by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri thus "The plates are much damaged and mutilated and the record is incomplete. The ornamental seal which bears in relief the usual Chālukyan emblems and the well-known legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkūśa* in bold characters, now carries only four of these plates of the set. The remaining one or two plates are missing. Even the plates extant are so badly damaged that their contents could not be read entirely."¹ Out of the four extant plates, the upper two corners of the first plate and the lower right corners of the second and the third are broken away and lost, while the writing on the second side of the last plate is badly corroded. Consequently, on only one side of the set the writing is well-preserved. Even the seal with the legend is missing and has not been recovered.

In spite of the serious nature of the damage to the plates, the matter in the first two plates can be pieced together and re-constructed with the help of the published copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty. But unfortunately much of the important information about the donor and the donee and their ancestors is lost. I edit this inscription with the help of the ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The **characters** of the inscription are of the Telugu-Kannada type of about the 10th century A.D., commonly styled as the Vēṅgī script. Regarding individual letters, it may be noted that the initial *a* occurs in line 60, *ā* in lines 41, 42 and 57 and *ī* in line 49. Final *t* occurs in lines 6 and 35 and final *n* in lines 41, 48 and 55.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text is written in an admixture of prose and verse. The date portion of the record, if it existed in the original, is unfortunately lost. Nevertheless from verse 22, etc. it is obvious that the charter belonged to the reign of Śaktivarmān I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. Only two other copper plate records besides the present one are known so far to belong to this king, namely, the Pabhuparru grant² and the Pennēru plates noticed by Sir Walter Elliot.³ Neither the originals nor good impressions of these two grants are now available.

As for the contents, after the usual preamble in prose introducing the first king of the family, Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana and then his nine successors with their periods of reign upto Viṣṇuvardhana IV, the charter describes in verse, Vijayāditya (II) *alias* Narēndra as the establisher of a hundred and eight temples of Nīlakanṭha (Śiva) to reckon as many victorious battles that he had fought and states that he reigned for 48 years (verse 1). The next verse praises the rule of his son and successor Kali Viṣṇuvardhana (V) who reigned for an year and a half. Verses 3-4 describe Kali Viṣṇuvardhana's son and successor, Vijayāditya (III) as one who severed with

¹ A. R. Ep., 1918, Pt. II, p. 132, para. 5.

² *Āndhra Sāhitya Parishad Patrika*, Vol. II, p. 402 and Plates.

³ For an attempt to correct the text of this grant, see Venkataramanayya, *Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, App. III, p. 311 ff.

his glittering sharp sword, the head of Maṅgi in the battlefield, chased Kannara and Śaṅkila into the impregnable country, protected Baddega from fear and ruled the kingdom along with his four brothers for $44\frac{1}{2}$ years.¹ His brother was commander Vikramāditya, whose victorious son Chālukya Bhīma I, well versed in polity and generous, ruled for 30 years (verses 5 and 6). Chālukya Bhīma's son was Vijayāditya IV who, having conquered king Vāsava and set up a pillar of victory at Viraja, ruled for six months (verse 7).² His (Vijayāditya's) son Ammarāja I ruled for 7 years (verse 8). Tāla I having overthrown the boy-king Vijayāditya V, the son of Amma, ruled the earth for a month; defeating Tāla in battle, Vikramāditya II, son of Chālukya Bhīma I, ruled for eleven months; thereafter Yuddhamalla II, son of Tālapa ruled for 7 years (verses 9-11). Bhīma II, son of Kollabhiṅgaṇḍa Vijayāditya IV, protected and ruled the earth for twelve years having attacked, defeated and expelled Yuddhamalla from the country (verse 12). Bhīma's son born with an ornament-like tissue around his neck was Ammarāja II³ who, by destroying the powerful elephant corps of the enemies earned the title *Tribhuvanāṅkuśa* and ruled the earth for 25 years. Then Dānārṇava who was the son of Bhīma and the step-brother of Amma and who bore the epithet *Rājanārāyaṇa*, ruled the kingdom for three years (verses 13-16). On Dānārṇava's death there was anarchy for 27 years (verse 17). Dānārṇava's son by Āryādēvī was Śaktivarman who, while yet a boy exhibited his unequalled might to the entire world in his battle for the Chōlas (*Chaulika-raṇa*) and routed the haughty princes Baddema and Mahārāja. He (i.e. Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa) laughing within himself at (god) Nārāyaṇa who had to assume different forms to destroy his enemies, killed, in his own form the wicked Rāvaṇa-like Chōḍa Bhīma and seized the goddess of fortune on the very battlefield after destroying thousands of horses and the vast sea of chariots of the lord of Utkala (verses 18-23).

The prose passage following this containing the details of the grant is unfortunately badly damaged. Nevertheless from the extant portion of the writing, it can be made out that the king, the glorious Viṣṇuvardhana, having assembled the farmers and officials of Varanāṇḍu-vishaya made a grant in their immediate presence to the Brāhmaṇa Vennama. The object of the grant, whether it was a village or something else, cannot be made out.⁴ The available portion of the text, as already pointed out, has no date.

¹ This Maṅgi and Baddega have been identified respectively with the Nolamba and Līmulavāḍa chiefs of the same name and Śaṅkila and Kannara with the Haihaya Śaṅkaragaṇa and his brother-in-law Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II respectively (Venkataramanayya, *Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, pp. 93, 120, etc.). The impregnable country was evidently the kingdom of Baddega. [The impregnable country in which Śaṅkila and Kṛishṇa were chased appears to be Kiranapura which is mentioned side by side with Chakrakūṭa or Bastar supposed to be held by Baddega (*ibid.*, p. 126) in the Pithāpuram inscription of Mallapadēva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 233, verse 10). Or, it may be Achalapura also (*A. R. Ep.*, 1923, pt. ii, para. 10). Again the word *sārddham* in verse 3, is actually an indeclinable particle, meaning 'together with' and not 'increased by half'. Therefore, Guṇaga Vijayāditya ruled in fact only for 44 years.—Ed.]

² Viraja may probably be identified with Viraja on the bank of the Vaitaraṇī and the king Vāsava either with Dēvēndravarmā IV (885-95 A.D.) or with Vajrahasta I (c. 895-939 A.D.), both belonging to the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty. Or, he may be identical with a king of Utkala or Mahākōśala as the above Viraja is in Utkala. [Viraja was apparently situated in the country of 'Six-thousand villages', situated on the bank of the Kṛishṇā (*Ganzuly, The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 70). Again there is no mention of any king called Vāsava. The expression *vasarim āsām* actually means 'the east'—Ed.]

³ [This verse has been misunderstood. In fact it describes that Amma II was declared heir-apparent even when he was in the womb of his mother, *kaṇṭhikā* being an insignia of royalty. Cf. *Tat-sutam Vijayādityam kṛita-kaṇṭhikā-paṭṭa-bandh-ābhishēkam* in the Pāgaṇavaram plates of Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 214, text lines 24-25). Cf. also above, Vol. IV, p. 227.—Ed.]

⁴ After addressing the officials, the record introduces a family belonging to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. The genealogy of the family in the original must have contained at least six names of which Vennamayya, the only name that can be read in the damaged portion of the text, occurs as the second. It is difficult to say whether this family is that of the actual donor whose grant the king ratifies or that of the donee. However, the manner in which the address is recorded appears to suggest that the object of the charter was a grant of land.—Ed.]

The importance of this record lies in the fact that barring the Conjeevaram inscription of Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma,¹ it is the earliest document which gives an account of the interregnum, while the records of this dynasty of the post-restoration period are silent on this point.

Dānārṇava died in or about the beginning of 973 A.D. If Śaktivarman was just six years old in 973, he would be nearly sixteen in 983 or 984 A.D. Taila II (973-997 A.D.) was the Western Chālukya adversary of the Chōḷas during the period and was the contemporary of Uttama-chōḷa *alias* Madhurāntaka (969-985 A.D.). His Nilgund inscription² clearly points to the continued hostility between Taila II and his Chōḷa adversary. The inscription, dated 20th September 982 A.D., refers in a conventional style to his victories over the Āndhra, Chōḍa, Pāṇḍya and Utkala kings. The ruler of Āndhra may be identical with Śaktivarman, the rightful lord of the kingdom of Vēṅgī and not Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma who was in all probability an ally of Taila II. The Pāṇḍya was a vassal of the Chōḷa king or perhaps his ally. The Lord of Utkala might be the Lord of Kalinga, i.e. Vajrahasta II (980-1004 A.D.). Vajrahasta II probably made a common cause with Śaktivarman who was closely related to him through his grandmother, a Kalinga princess,³ and the Chōḷa king against Āhavamalla and his ally Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma, the usurper in Vēṅgī. Even for some time after 982 A.D. (i.e. the date of the Nilgund inscription) the Chōḷa king was at war with Āhavamalla in his desire to wrest Nolambavāḍi and Bāṇappāḍi from the Western Chālukyas. It may be noted that in 992 A.D., Āhavamalla was ruling over the Nolambavāḍi territory from his provincial capital at Roddam on the bank of the river Pinākinī (Pennār) on the western borders of the Anantapur District.⁴ It was probably during the period of protracted hostilities between the two powers that the *Chaulika-raṇa* referred to in the present record (verse 21) was fought.⁵ It speaks of the signal victory which Śaktivarman obtained in the *Chaulika-raṇa*. Krishna Sastri held the view "that Śaktivarman is said to have risen to fame, even in his youth (*bālyē*) by his victory in a battle with the Chōḷas."⁶ This does not appear to be correct. The word *bālyē* according to Sanskrit lexicons and well-known texts on *Dharma Śāstra* means the period of minority extending upto the age of sixteen. The event referred to, therefore, seems to have taken place when Śaktivarman had not completed his sixteen years. The Pabhuparṇu grant speaks of this battle as '*Draṁiḷ-āhava*' or 'the battle of the Draṁiḷas or Tamils'. The *Chaulika-raṇa* or *Draṁiḷ-āhava* must be taken to mean 'a battle for the Chōḷas or Draṁiḷas', rather than 'with the Chōḷas'.

This battle must have taken place sometime after 982 A.D. and before the death of Uttama-chōḷa in 985 A.D. If the event is placed in 983 or 984 A.D. Śaktivarman would still be under sixteen years. It was in this battle that Śaktivarman participated and won a signal victory after a sanguinary fight in which he was severely wounded.⁶ The Pabhuparṇu plates describe Śaktivarman

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff. This record has been wrongly attributed to Rājarāja Chōḷa I.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 204, lines 7-9.

³ *JAHRS*, Vol. XI, pp. 84 ff.; *A. R. Ep.*, 1937-38, C. P. No. 26.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. IX, No. 77.

⁵ [It is not possible to explain the term *chaulika-rana* and to fix its date as easily as the author proposes to. The Sogal inscription of Taila II dated as early as 980 A.D. (above, Vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff.) suggests that there had already been a battle between the Chālukyas and the Chōḷas.—Ed.]

⁶ [Dr. Venkataramanayya is of the view that Śaktivarman must have taken part in the civil wars between the descendants of Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariṇjaya. The *Draṁiḷ-āhava* or *Chaulika-raṇa* must have formed part of these dissensions. *The Eastern Chālukyās of Vēṅgī*, p. 303 ff., App. II.—Ed.]

as having killed a certain *Ēkavīra* who was sent against him by his enemy *Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma* and to have made the haughty princes *Baddema*, *Mahārāja* and others flee for protection. The identity of these princes is uncertain. The record (verse 22) further states that king *Jaṭā-Bhīma* who resembled *Rāvaṇa*, met with his death in a fierce battle at the hands of *Śaktivarman*. If this statement in the present record and in the *Pabhupaṅṅu* grant¹ is to be believed, it would appear that *Śaktivarman* re-established himself on the throne of *Vēṅgī* and the circumstances that led to this were probably as follows: *Jaṭā-Bhīma* or *Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma* and *Āhavamalla Taila II* were allied and it was almost impossible for *Rājarāja I* to oppose them in his campaign against *Gaṅgapāḍi*. The death of *Āhavamalla Taila* gave *Rājarāja* an occasion to march against the Western *Chālukyan* dominions. *Satyāśraya* might probably have sought the assistance of his father's old ally, *Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma* who set out with a large army to join him and oppose *Rājarāja*, who meanwhile despatched a large contingent of army to the *Āndhra* country with a view to divert the attention of *Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma*. This compelled the latter to return to his own country without proceeding to the succour of *Satyāśraya*. The *Chōla* general pursued him in hot haste. But, in the meanwhile *Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma* was met by his great adversary *Śaktivarman I* and dragged to a pitched battle. In the sanguinary fight that followed with the *Chōla* army in the rear *Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma* was slain and *Śaktivarman* gained the *Vēṅgī* throne, thus putting an end to the so-called interregnum.² There is nothing to support³ the view that *Rājarāja* placed *Śaktivarman* on the throne of *Vēṅgī* after putting an end to the interregnum there, as is hitherto held by scholars like *Venkayya* and *S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar*. A shrewd politician that he was, *Rājarāja* lost no opportunity of concluding a marital alliance with *Vēṅgī* by giving his daughter *Kundavā* in marriage to *Vimalāditya*, the heir-apparent who was the younger brother of *Śaktivarman I*. *Rājarāja's* claim to have conquered *Vēṅgī* and *Kaliṅga* seems to be an empty boast invented by the *Chōla* panegyrists to glorify their sovereign.

The only geographical division referred to in the record, viz. *Varanāṇḍu-vishaya*, may be identified with the region lying between *Ēlūru* and *Vijayavāḍa*, forming part of the former *Nuzvid Zamindari*. An epigraph⁴ from *Ghaṇṭasāla* in the *Dīvi* taluk of the *Masulipatnam District* mentions *Varanāṇḍu-dēśa*, which is probably the same as the *Varanāṇḍu-vishaya* of the record under review.

¹ *Āndhra Sāhitya Parishad Patrika*, Vol. II, pp. 402 ff.

² There is a fragmentary inscription in Tamil verse, on a pillar in the dilapidated *mandapa* in the courtyard of the *Vēṅḡgōpālasvāmin* temple in *Madakśira*, *Anantapur District* (*A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No. 751), which records that the king of *Vēṅgī* ran away on hearing that the *Chōla* king had ordered his general *Sōliyavaraiyan* to conquer that country. Unfortunately the inscription is not dated and does not contain the name of the *Chōla* king. It is not unlikely that the king of *Vēṅgī* mentioned in the record is no other than *Jaṭāchōḍa Bhīma*, who was occupying *Vēṅgī* temporarily. The *Chōla* general is obviously the same as *Araiyan Rājarājan alias Vikrama-chōla Sōliyavaraiyan* figuring in a record of *Rājendra Chōla I*, dated in his 10th regnal year, from *Kottaśivaram* which is not far away from *Madakśira* (*A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No. 23). It is likely that the general started his career during the reign of *Rājatāja* and continued to serve during *Rājendra's* reign, till at least the latter's 10th regnal year (1022 A.D.). There were no hostilities between *Rājendra* and his brother-in-law *Vimalāditya* giving an occasion for *Sōliyavaraiyan* to pursue the king of *Vēṅgī* during *Rājendra's* reign. Hence the *Chōla* king, who is referred to in the *Madakśira* inscription seems to be *Rājarāja I*. [But, according to *Dr. N. Venkataramanayya*, the king referred to therein is *Rājendra Chōla I*. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 62 and note. The inscription states that the *Chālukki* gave up *Vēṅgī*, when pursued by *Sōliyavaraiyan*, the *Chōla* general. It is impossible to identify the *Chālukki* with *Jaṭāchōḍa*.—Ed.]

³ [*Śaktivarman's* accession in circa 999 A.D., 12 years prior to A.D. 1011 when his brother *Vimalāditya* ascended the throne, coincides with the conquest of *Vēṅgī* claimed by *Rājarāja*. See *Dr. N. Venkataramanayya*, op. cit., p. 208.—Ed.]

⁴ *SII*, Vol. X, No. 193.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verses 1, 3, 6 *Sragdharā*: verse 2 *Prakarshinī*; verses 4-5, 9-11, 25, 28 *Anushtubh*; verses 7, 12, 21-23, 29 *Śārdūlarikṛīṭa*; verses 8, 13-16 *Vasanta tilaka*; verses 17-20 *Āryā-gītī*; verses 24, 26-27 *Āryā(?)*.]

First Plate

- 1 [Svasti śrīmatām]² [sa]kala-[bhuvana-saṁ]stūyamāna-Mānavya-sagō[trāṇām Hāriti-putrāṇām
- 2 Kauśikī-vara]²[-prasāda]-labdha-rājyānām Mātri-gaṇa-paripālītānām [Svāmi]-[Mahāsēna-
- 3 pādīnudyātā]²[nām] bhagavan-Nā[rāyaṇa]-prasāda-sa[mā]sādita-vara-[va]rāha-[lāṁchhan-
ē][kshaṇa-kshaṇa-
- 4 vaśi]²kṛit-ārāti-maṇḍalānām=Aśva[mēdh-āva]bhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛita]-vapu[shām Cha-
- 5 li]²[kyā]nām kulam=alaṁkarishṇōḥ Satyāśraya-vallabh-ēndrasya bhrātā **Kubja-Vishṇu-**
varddhanō=[shṭā][daśa
- 6 va]²[rshāṇi] Vēṁgī-dēśam=apālayat || tad-ātma-jō **Jayasimhas**=tra[yas-trim]śatam(tam) |
ta[d-a]-
- 7 [nuj-Ēndrarāja-nandanō] **Vishṇuvarddhanō** nava | tat-sūnur=**Mmaṁgi-yuvarājaḥ**
paṁchaviṁśatiṁ(tim) | tatputrō Ja[ya]-
- 8 [**simha**]²s=trayōdaśa | tad-avarajaḥ **Kōkkiliḥ** shaṇ=māsān | tasya jyēshṭhō bhrātā Vishṇu-
varddhana[m=uchchā-
- 9 tya sapta-]²[trimśatam] | tat-putrō **Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakō**=shṭādaśa | tat-sutō
Vishṇuvarddhanash=shaṭ-trim[śatam] ||²

Second Plate, First Side

- 10 Tat-sūnur=bhānu-bhāsō raṇa-vigaṇa[na]yā Nilakaṇṭh-ālayānām sa-grām-ārāma[kānām]
sa-la-
- 11 lita-ramaṇī-saṁppa(pa)dām sat-padā[nām] [|*] kṛitvā prōttuṁgga(ga)m=asṭ-ōttara-
śatam=abhunag=vīra-dhīrō=shṭa-[yuktā]-
- 12 ś=chatvāriṁśat=samā[h*] kshām jana-nuta-**Vijayāditya-nāmā** narēndrah || [1 ||*] Tat-
sūnus=satatam=a-nū-
- 13 na-vi(vṛi)shṭ[iṁ]-dīn-ām-lha-dviya-gaṇik-ār[tthī]-sārtha-sasyam(syām) | santōsham sakalam=
avāpa[ya]-
- 14 n=apād=gām=aty-arddham kila **Ka[li]-Vishṇu[va]rddhanō**=bdam(bdam) || [2 ||*] tat-
priya-tanayaḥ || Aṅgā[t=sam][grāma]²-
- 15 raṁggē(gē) nija-la[sa]d-asinā **Maṁ[ggi(gi)rā]**j-ōttamāṁgam ttuṁggā³-drē[h*] śṛiṁgam=
urvyām=aśani[r=iva mud=a]³-

¹ From inked impressions. [The transcript of the author has been thoroughly revised in order to make it suitable for publication.—Ed.]

² The readings in brackets bearing this foot-note number are restored with the help of the other well-known copper plate grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty.

³ Read *tuṁg-ā*.

- 16 pātayat=**Ka**[nnar-ā]m kam [|*] [niśsam]kam **Samki**[lēna] prathita-jana-padā[d=durgga-mān=n]irrga[mayya] [drāg=dhāvan-ya]¹
- 17 t=pravē[śya] [prabhu]r=abhaya-manā[h] pratyapād=**Baddeg**-ām kam(kam) || [3 ||*] **Sa** śrīmān=**Vijayā**[ditya][ś=chaturbhi]¹
- 18 [r=bhrātṛi]bhis=saha[|*][cha]tvārimśat-samās[=s]ā[rddham] chaturbhir=abhunag=bhuvam-(vam) || [4 ||*] Tad-bhrātu[r=**Vi**] [**kramāditya**]¹-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 bhūpatēs=sach-chamū-patēh | vilasat-kaṇṭhik-ōd[d]āma-kaṇṭhasya tanayō nayī || [5 ||*] Dīn-ānāth-ā[turāṇām]¹
- 20 dvijavara-samitēr=yyāchakānām yatīnām nānā-dēs-āgatānām paṭu-vaṭu-naṭa-sad-gāya-[kānām ka]¹-
- 21 vīnām(nām) [|*] bandhūnām=andhakānām=abhilashita-phala-śrāṇanād=rakshaṇād=yō māt=ēva triṇ[śad-abdān sama]¹-
- 22 m=abhunag=asau chāru **Chālukya-Bhīma**h || [6 ||*] Tat-putraḥ sva-bhuj-āsi-khaṇḍita ∪ — — —
- 23 d-balād=Vāsavī[m] jītv=āsām(śām) Virajē pratisṭhita-[ja*]ya-stambha[h*] patiddhōḥ² raṇ[ē | svarṇṇ-ā]rū[ḍha]¹
- 24 tulō=tra bhā(bā)ḍham=a-tulō dhātṛi-talē=kshatriyē mitr-ābhā(bhāḥ) pari[ra*]kshati sma **Vija**[yā]⁻¹
- 25 **ditya**[h*] sam-ārddhām dharām || [7 ||*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ praṇata-vairi-śirō-vilagna-ratna-dvirēpha-parichum[bi]⁻¹
- 26 [ta-pā]da-padmaḥ | Mēruṁ hasamś=tulita-hāṭaka-rāsi-bhāsā varshāṇi sapta ssa(sa)ma-p[ā][d=bhuva]¹m=**A**-
- 27 **mmarājah** || [8*||] Tat-sutam **Vijayādityam** bālam=uchchāṭya līlayā | **Tāl**-ādhipatir=ākramya mā-

Third Plate, First Side

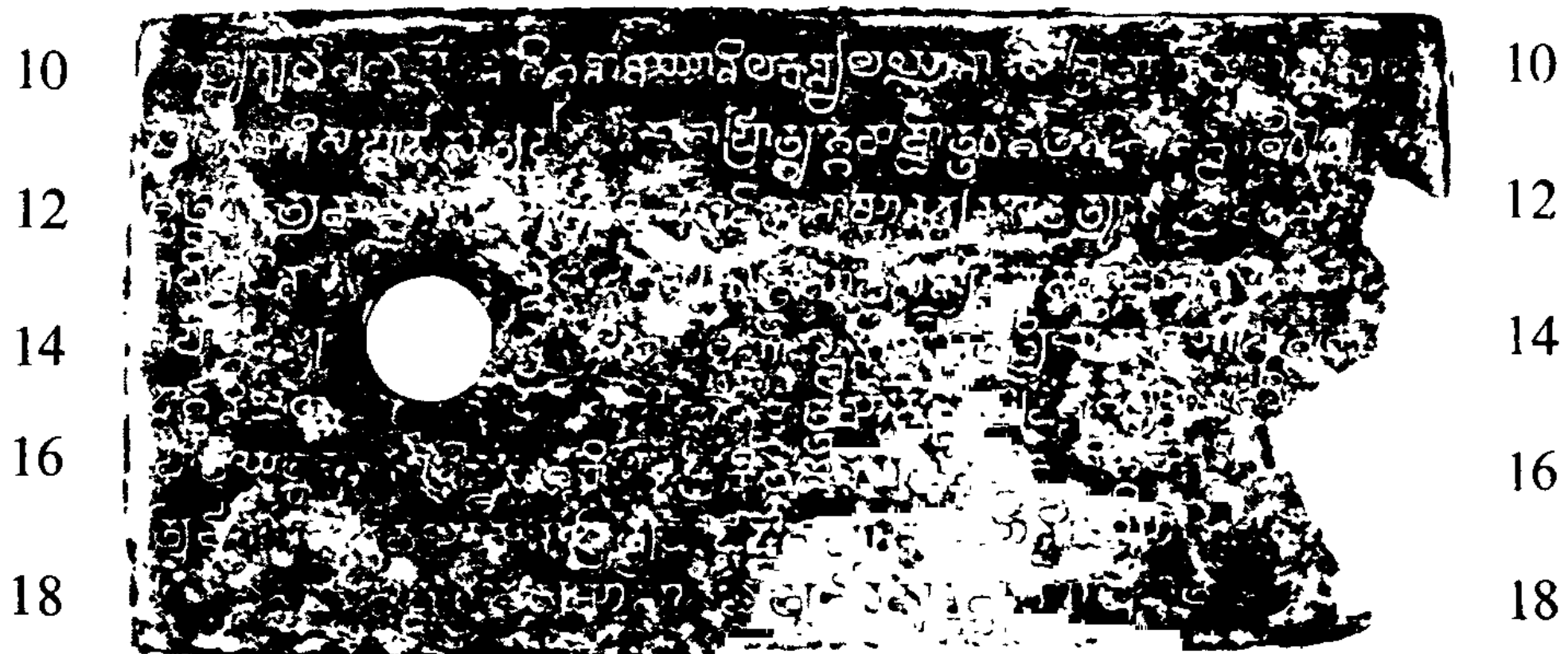
- 23 [sa]m=ēkam=apād=bhuvam(vam) | [| 9 ||*] Tam jītvā yudhi Chālukya-Bhīma-bhūmipatēs=sutaḥ | **Vikramāditya**-
- 29 [**bhūpō**]=pān=māsān=ēkādaśa kshitīm(tim) || [10 ||*] Tatas=Tālapa-rājasya sūnus=sūnṛita-vāk-prabhuḥ | **Yuddha**-
- 30 **malla**-dharādhīśas=sapta varshāṇy=apād=bhuvam(vam) || [11 ||*] Sannaddham yudhi Yuddhamallam=avē(va)nēr=nnirdhāṭya dhāṭy=āha-
- 31 rat=kṛitvā bh[in]na-[ra]thān=api parānsī(ñ=śi)shṭāmś=cha śisṭ-ētarān | śrīmat-**Kollabhi**-gaṇḍa-nāma-Vija-

¹ See footnote 2 on page 245.

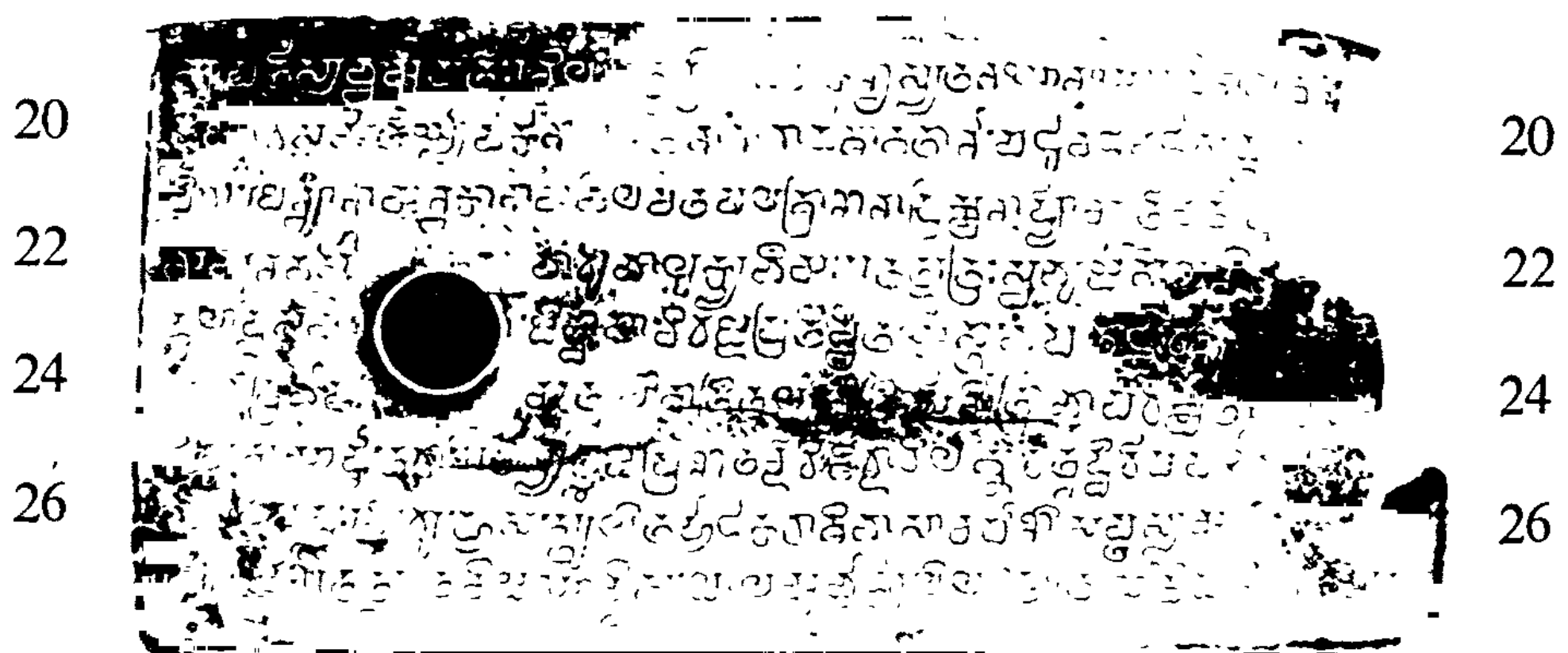
² Read *prasiddhō*.

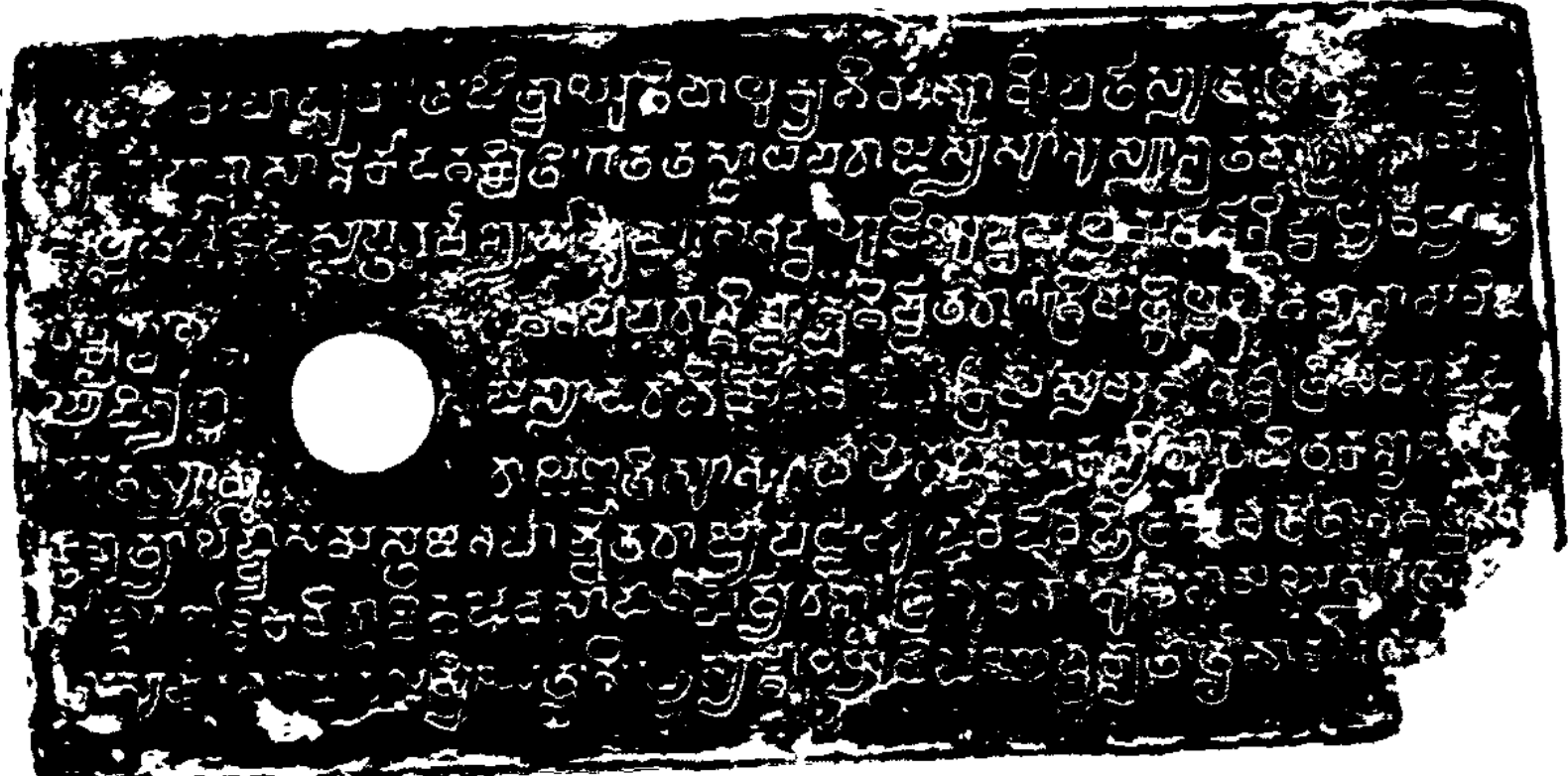


ii, a

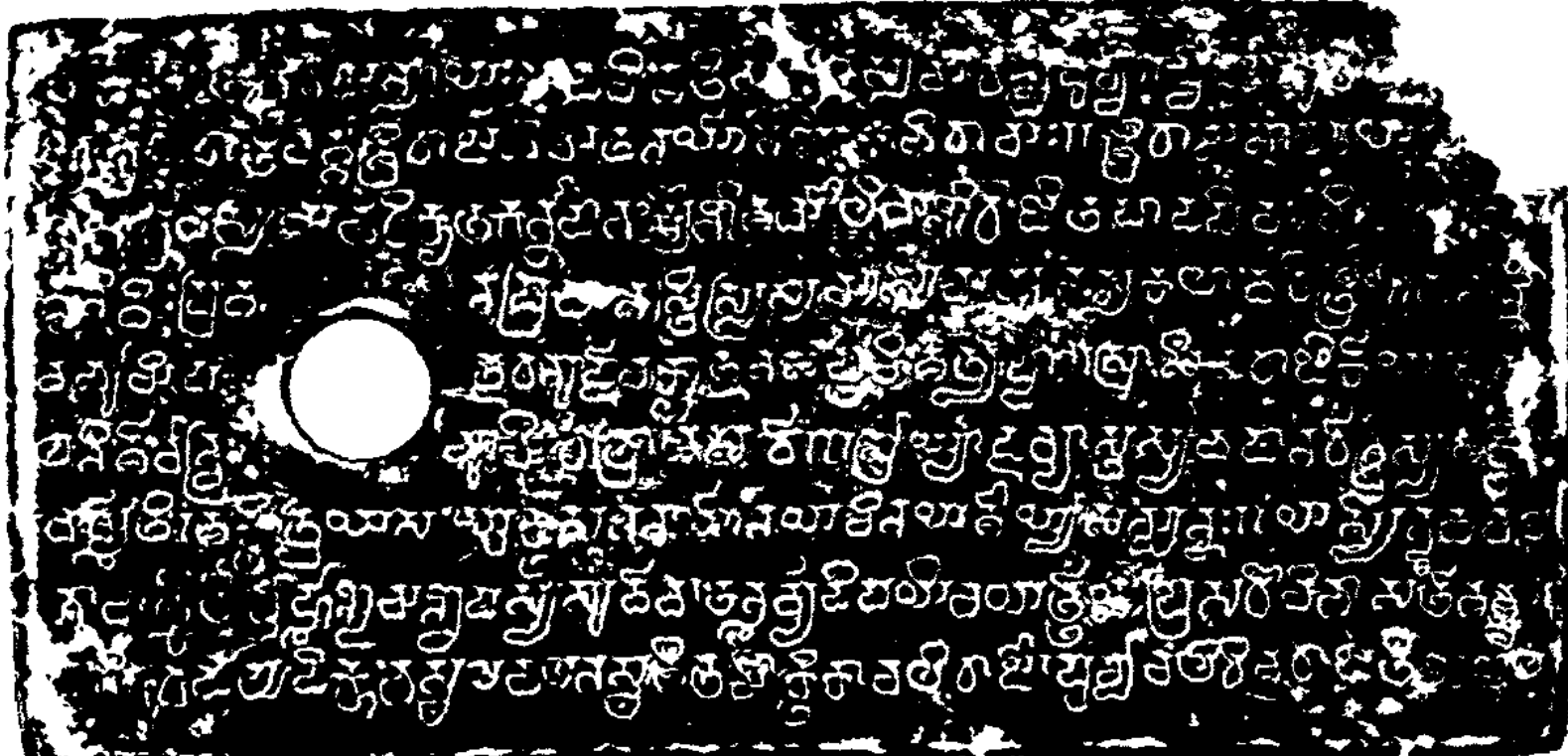


ii, b

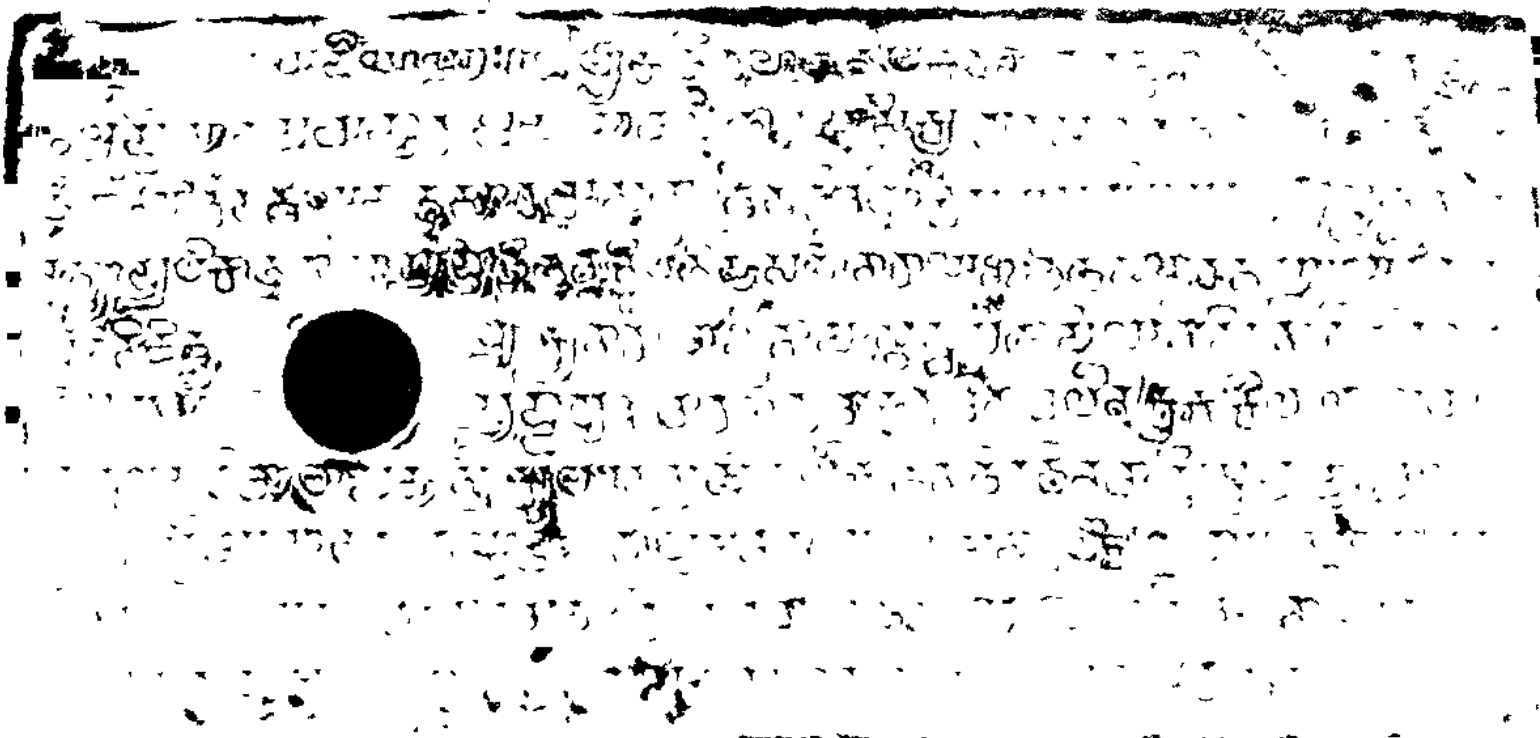


28		28
30		30
32		32
34		34
36		36

iii, b

38		38
40		40
42		42
44		44

iv, a

46		46
48		48
50		50
52		52
54		54

iv, b

56		56
58		58
60		60
62		62
64		64

Scale : One-half

- 49 n=matsy-ādy-alik-ātmatām prāpya prāg=jitavān=kil=ēti hasatā Nārāyaṇam chētasā || (|)
Īśas=samṣyati Rāvaṇa-
- 50 pratinidhiś=Chālukya-Nārāyaṇēn=āshā(pā)sta-dvi[sha]t=āpi yēna nidhanam śrī-Chōḍa-
Bhīm-ā-
- 51 dhipaḥ || [22 *||] Mādyad-dāruṇa-vāraṇ-ēbha-makaram vīr-āvalī-nakrakam kilāl-āmbu-
vilōla-
- 52 m=aśva-laharī-mālā-sahasr-ākulam(lam) | nirmmathy=Ōtkalik-ādhināta(tha)-rathini(nī)-
vārddhim sva-bāhū-balāt ta-
- 53 tratyām śrī(śrī)yam=ādadaṭi yudhi yaś=Chālukya-Nārāyaṇaḥ || [23 *||] Sa Sarvvalōkā[śra]ya-
śrī-Vishṇuvarddhanamahā-
- 54 rāja(jā)dhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-paramabrahmaṇya-paramamāhē[śva*]rah
Varanāṇḍu-vishaya-ni-
- 55 vāsinō rāshṭraku(kū)ṭa-pramukhān kuṭim(ṭum)binas=sarvvān=samāha(hū)ya mantri-
purōhita-sēnāpati-yu-

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 56 [rikāddhyakshā] py=a. yē variyāḥ
[Bhāra]dvāj-ābdhi-
- 57 r=ap[ā]ra kala-śāstrō jātaḥ ||
[24 *||] Āsī-
- 58 t=tasya sutas=Satyakā[ma-vā] . . . chāryy-ā[hvayaḥ |] sa[tya] karmma-
niratō yō=
- 59 [r]tth[air=lāna]-chōditaḥ || [25*] litan=nayavatām sārddham=
āśravaṇa-pratyā-
- 60 śrava[ṇa]y-āshṭa mahīyajñīyah | [| 26 *||] Atha Vennamayya-
nāmna-
- 61 [s=ta]sya sū m-ārdityō=jani dvija-kulō-
- 62 t[ta]ma[h ||] 27 || *[Jāta] ma [ta]tva(ttva)ś=cha va
. Vyākara[ṇa] prakshālana-vāriṇ=ātiśī-
- 63 . . . prakshālī[ta]-pī[pa]mala[h*] [28*] Yaś=śaśvad=budha-bandhu-dīna-[vitatē]r=ṇṇati-
(tyā) hit-ārttha-pradō yas=sāhāyyā-
- 64 patē nūija-patēḥ kīryyasya khaḷgasya cha [| Bhāra]dvāja-munēr=mmunis=tu[ta*]matēḥ
. ma mātrī(trī)ṇā[ṇ] hi sva-
- 65 gōtra-parivarttamāna-ma[mano] yudhi sthira-dhīḥ | [[29*]] Tasmād=abhyadhikō-
bhavan=guṇa-vīryya-vasa-[ka]¹

¹ The rest of the text is lost.

No. 24—KALESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA I, SAKA 1319

(1 Plate)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, HYDERABAD

(Received on 8.1.1962)

The inscription, the impression of which was supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is inscribed on a pillar in the 16 pillared *maṇḍapa* of the Muktiśvara temple at Kālēśvaram in the Manthani Taluk, Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. It consists of a little over five lines of writing in Telugu characters prevalent in the coastal districts of the Andhra country in the early part of the 15th century A.D. It appears to be slightly damaged on the right hand corner at the top, and embodies a single Sanskrit verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīṭita* metre. The first line begins with a cypher, which perhaps is the auspicious symbol for *siddham* or *Om*. It has few mistakes. Excepting the omission of a single letter 'dra' after 'cham' in the chronogram 'nidhi-cham-viśva' there is nothing else in it which calls for notice. From a grammatical point of view, the inscription may be considered imperfect as the verse lacks a finite verb, *kurvan* (l. 3), the only verb in it being infinitive. The finite verb has to be supplied to complete the sense of the sentence.¹ It records that king Dēvarāya, son of Harihara, while celebrating the festival of the conquest of the quarters (*dig-vijaya*) at Kālēśvara on the bank of the Gautamī (i.e. Gōdāvarī) made the gift of the *tulāpūruṣa* on *Saumyavāsara*, the first day of the year Īśvara, corresponding to the Śaka years *nidhi* (9), *chandra* (1), and *Viśva* (13), that is the Śaka year 1319. The date is quite regular. It corresponds to Wednesday, 28th February 1397 A.D.

This inscription is of considerable historical importance, as it brings to light for the first time a hitherto unknown expedition of Dēvarāya, which appears to have sped victoriously through Teliṅgāṇa to Kālēśvaram on the banks of the Gōdāvarī. King Dēvarāya, son of Harihara, mentioned in this inscription is obviously Dēvarāya I, son of Harihara II of Vijayanagara. At the time of the expedition recorded in it, Harihara II was still ruling the empire and Dēvarāya was governing the eastern province of the Udayagiri rājya.² Kālēśvaram where Dēvarāya celebrated the festival of his *digvijaya*, was situated at the time in the territories of the Velama kings of Teliṅgāṇa. The cause of the expedition must be sought in the enmity that existed between them and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, on account of the former's alliance with the Bahmanī Sultāns of Gulbarga, the hereditary foes of the Rāyas. Lakshmaṇa Paṇḍita, the *Prāṇāchārya* of Bukka II, son and heir-apparent of Harihara II, attributes, as a matter of fact, the cause of the hostility to the defiant attitude and the pride of the Āndhra ruler, on account of the accession of strength by his alliance with the Yavanas (Muhammadans).³ This alliance was extremely distasteful to Harihara II, as it gave an advantage to the Bahmanī Sultān in his wars with Vijayanagara. The Velamas on their part cherished their friendship with the Sultān. The poet Viśvēśvara, who flourished in the court of Siṅga II of Rājukoṇḍa refers with pride in the introduction of his *Chamatkāra* to the amity that prevailed between his patron and the Pārasīka-nṛpati (the Bahmanī Sultān).⁴ Harihara II made persistent attempts to break this alliance.

¹ [There is nothing grammatically imperfect in the verse. the finite verb *abhavat* is understood.—Ed.]

² See Sewell, *Hist. Ins.*, p. 205.

³ *Vaidyārājavallabham*, Intro. V. 49. See *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. II, p. 43; Vol. III, p. 36.

Atha vijētum=abhaṅgura-vikramō Hariharēśvara-sūnur=udārādhiḥ Agamad=Andhrapatim smaya-manthuram Yavana-Saṅgha-taraṅgitasampadam.

⁴ *S3m* (S3nēh ?)-5llāsini Pārasīka-nripatau sandh-ānusandhāyan(yakaiḥ). Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library, Triennial Catalogue, R. No. 2679, p. 114.

He sent no less than three expeditions including the one referred to in the present inscription against the Velamas to achieve this object. The expedition described in the present record is, as far as it is known, the second of the series. The first expedition was sent some time before Śaka 1306, Raktākshi, 1384 A.D. from Vijayanagara under the command of Bukka II. It penetrated into the heart of Teliṅgāṇa, and reached Kottakoṇḍa, a place in the north-west of Warangal. Singa II *Sarvajña* and his cousin Vēdagiri I of Dēvarakoṇḍa with the help of the military force obtained from the Bahmanī Sultān opposed the invasion. In an engagement which took place at Kottakoṇḍa between the Bahmanī forces and the Vijayanagara army, the latter appears to have sustained defeat. Sāluva Rāmaya-dēva, son of Sāluva Kāyadēva Mahārāja, one of the officers in charge of the expedition, perished in the fight.¹ It was probably on this occasion that Vēdagiri I had, as stated in the *Velugōṭivāri-vamśāvali*, slain the enemies in the neighbourhood of Warangal.²

The defeat at Kottakoṇḍa appears to have been decisive, for, Harihara II did not renew for several years subsequent to the failure of the expedition, his attack on the Velamas of Teliṅgāṇa. A favourable opportunity, however, offered itself during the last years of his reign. The Bahmanī kingdom was torn by internal dissensions. During the last year (1396-97 A.D.) of the reign of Muḥammad II, a rebellion broke out at Sāgar, and the rebels defeated the Sultān's army thrice; the fortress, however, fell at last into the hands of the Sultān not by force, but by treachery. Soon after this victory, the Sultān died of fever on 21st Rajab, A.H. 799 (20th April, A.D. 1397). He was succeeded by his two sons Ghīyāṣ-ud-dīn and Shams-ud-dīn, who reigned for a few months each; one after the other and were dethroned as a result of palace revolutions.³ It was the time when Harihara II could launch an attack on the Velamas, with every chance of success, as the latter would not be able to get much help from their ally, the Bahmanī Sultān. To accomplish his object, he sent two expeditions, more or less simultaneously⁴—one from the south under his son Dēvarāya, the Governor of Udayagiri, and the other from the west under his heir apparent, Bukka II—against the Velama territories. Of the two expeditions, the former, whose triumphant culmination at Kālēśvaram on the banks of the Gōdāvarī is described in the record under consideration, is earlier in point of time. Nothing is known about the events that happened during the expedition except that it penetrated successfully through the Velama territories and reached the Gōdāvarī at Kālēśvaram. Dēvarāya must have started from Udayagiri, the headquarters of his viceroyalty in the Nellore district, and passed through the kingdom of the Reddis of Koṇḍavīḍu, which lay between the Velama and Vijayanagara territories, before he reached the target of his attack. How Dēvarāya effected the passage of his troops through foreign territory, whether it was by force or by peaceful agreement, cannot be ascertained in the present state of knowledge.

More information is available about the other expedition which set out from Vijayanagara under the command of Immaḍi Bukka or Bukka II. Lakshmaṇa Paṇḍita, in the introduction to his *Vaidyārājavalī* cited above, describes Bukka II's expedition at some length :

“The army with its flags hoisted, swords flourished, and the noises of drums and conches accompanied by a medley of neighbours, and trumpeting quickly and completely surrounded the city of the Andhra King.

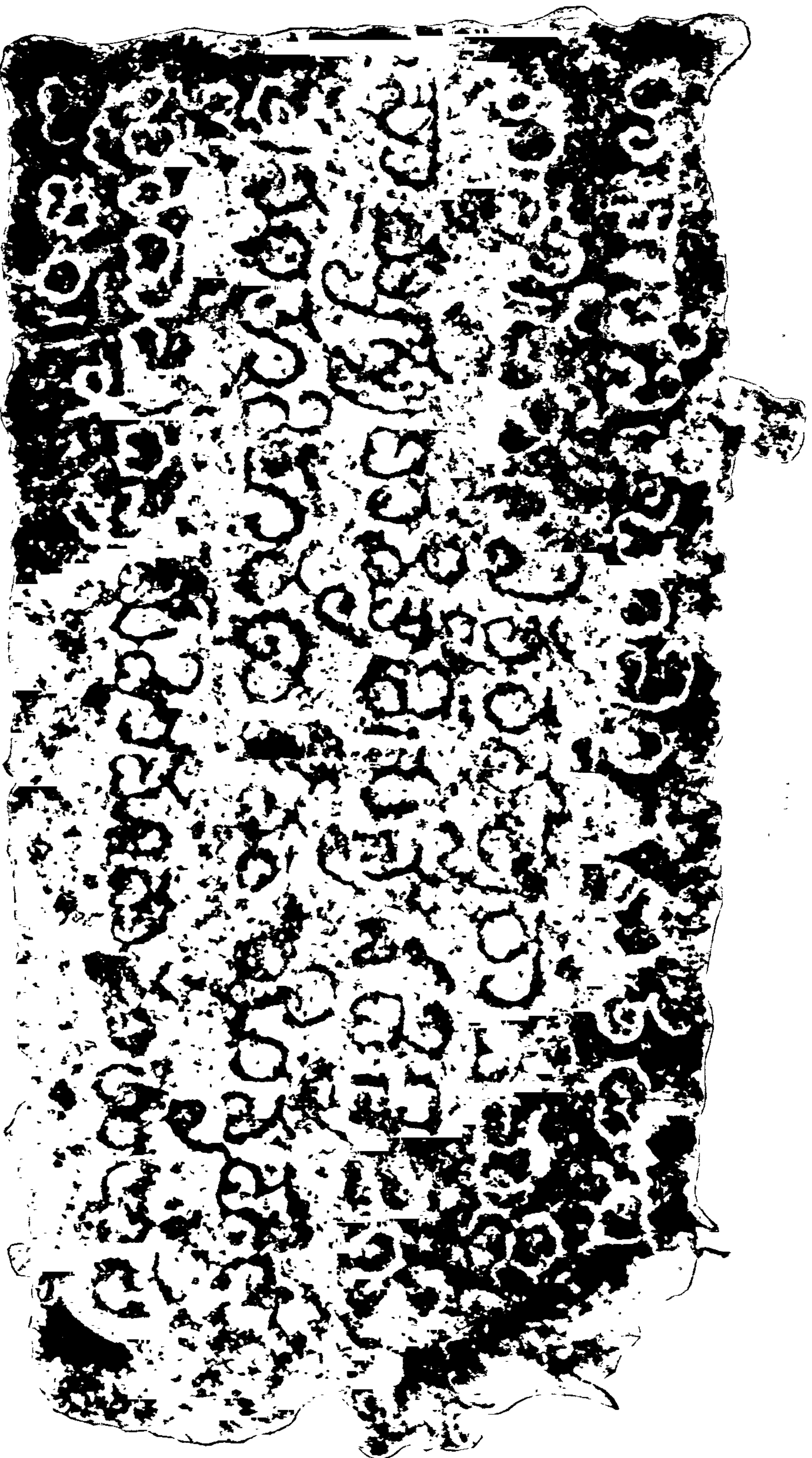
¹ *Ep. carn.*, XII, Ck. 15.

² *Velugōṭivāri-vamśāvali*, verse 37.

³ Briggs : *Ferishta*, Vol. II, pp. 350-62.

See f.n. 2 on p. 201.

KALESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA I, SAKA 1319



Size : One-half

“ This roused the manliness of the Turushkas, who swiftly mounted their horses and began a deadly fight with their bows, and shook the van of the enemy's forces.

“ Then the battle grew by steps in intensity and swords and arrows were freely employed.
.....

“ When the army of the Rākshasas in human form (Turushkas) has been shattered by the warriors of king Bukka, even the Andhra ruler gladly takes upon his head the lotus-like feet (of Bukka), the treasure that saves him in distress.

“ Thus did he (Bukka) conquer all the kings of the four quarters beginning with the Andhra ruler.....”¹

Lakshmaṇa Paṇḍita does not mention the name of the city of the Andhra king which Bukka II surrounded with his army, and where he fought a battle with the Turushkas (Muhammadans) and defeated them in the fight; but his inscription at Pānagallu (Pangal in the Mahboobnagar district) makes it clear that it was at this fort belonging to the Velama king, that he defeated the Turushkas; for, it is stated that the city of Lord Śambhu, Pānugallu, defended by many Turushka warriors and stone ramparts was conquered by him (Harihara's son, Bukka) on Sunday in the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada in the year Īśvara (which was) the Śaka year represented by treasures (9), moon (1), fires (3), and moon (1) (Śaka 1319), corresponding to 3rd September, A.D. 1397.²

It is evident from what is stated above that the Vijayanagara expedition against the Velama kingdom from the west was as successful as that launched under the command of Dēvarāya from the south.

The *Tulāpurusha-mahā-dāna* performed by Dēvarāya at Kālēśvaram on the occasion of the festival celebrating his conquest of quarters (*dig-vijay-ōtsava*) is one of the sixteen major gifts (*mahā-dānas*) described in the Purāṇas and by Hēmādri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa*.³

I acknowledge with pleasure the help given to me by Sri E. V. Veeraraghavacharya, M.A., and Sri Parabrahma Sastri, Assistant Epigraphist, Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, in the preparation of the article.

TEXT⁴

1 Śāk-ābdē⁵ nidhi-chaṁ[dra*]-viśva-gaṇitē Śrī-Gau[tamī]-

2 rōdhasi Śrīmīn=Īśvara-vatsar-ādima-di[nē]

¹ *Further Sources*, Vol. III, pp. 37-39.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 38-39; Vol. III, p. 33. Śāk-ābdēshu nidhi-chaṁdra-vahni-śaśibhiḥ sammiśritēshv=Īśvarē varshē māsi Nabhasya-nāmani tathā pakshē valakshē dinē | Śambhōr=Bhāskara-vāra-bhāji vijitā śrī-Pānugallu puri tēn-ānēka-Turushka-Vīra-Vijaya-grāvāvali-vēllitā . The week day according to L.D. Swamikanu Pillai's *Ephemeris* was not Sunday but Monday. [This inscription has been recently copied by us. The name of the month quoted is *Sahasya*, i.e. Pushya and not *Nabhasya*. The author has missed the *tithi*, having misunderstood the expression *Śambhōh* which goes with the preceding word *dinē* and yields the numeral 11, i.e., the 11th *tithi*. The details of the date regularly correspond to the 30th December, 1397 A.D.; cf. *South Indian Research*, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 172 ff. and *History of the Redḍi Kingdom*, p. 164, fn. 24. This makes it clear that with a difference of 10 months between the two dates, the Kālēśvaram and the Pānugallu expeditions were by no means simultaneous.—Ed.]

³ For a full description of the *Tulāpurusha-dāna*, see P. V. Kane, *The History of the Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part ii, Ch. XIV, p. 869.

⁴ From the ink-impression sent by the Government Epigraphist for India. The inscription is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, App. B. No. 90.

⁵ This word is preceded by a cypher probably standing for the expression *Om* or *Siddham*.

- 3 Saumyasya vārē kṛitī | kurvvan dig-vijay-ō-
 4 tsavam Harihara-śrī-Dēvarāyō nṛpaḥ śrī-[Kā-]
 5 lēśvara-dhānni dhanya-mahimā dānaṁ tulāpū-
 6 ruṣhaṁ(sham):
-

No. 25—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIRANGAM

(1 Plate)

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12. 6. 1962)

The two inscriptions published below are marked *A* and *B* for convenience of reference. Both come from Śrīraṅgam, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras. Inscription *A*¹ which is in **Kannaḍa language** and **Kannaḍa characters** of about the 12th century is engraved on the right side of the entrance into the *Nālikēṭṭōncāśal* of the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at the place. It is damaged and worn out in places. Inscription *B*² engraved on the wall (outside) of the store-room (*kottūram*) facing the Garuḍamaṇḍapa in the same temple is a fragmentary record in Tamil **language** and Tamil and Grantha **characters** of about the 12th century.

Inscription *A* dated in the 29th year (A.D. 1098-99) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I records a provision made for burning two lamps in the temple of the god Śrī-Raṅga deva by the *Kannaḍa-Sandhucigrahi* and *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāś-
raya-kula-tilaka [Tri]bhuvanamalla. It records the names of seven shepherds (*kōṇs*) of which, the following are clearly decipherable : Aḷagiyaṁaṇavāḷa-kōṇ, Karuṇākara-kōṇ, Narasiṅga-kōṇ, Tirumāliruṇjōlai-kōṇ, and Aḷasiṅga-kōṇ. These shepherds undertook to supply the required quantity of ghee for burning two lamps in the temple. The inscription also refers to the application of lime-mortar to the shrine of Sēnāpati (Vishvaksēna?) caused to be done probably by the same donor. Due to its damaged condition, the other details in the record are lost. Considering the royal titles prefixed to the name and the date of the epigraph there is no doubt that Tribhuvanamalla is identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king.

Inscription *B* consists of three unconnected lines. The first line contains the passage which mentions that the 15th year, obviously of some important king or chief, fell in the cyclic year Khara. The second line mentions Vishṇuvardhana Pratāpachakravartti Pōsala and the third line mentions a *pradhāna* whose name is not clear, and the *vēḷaikkāṇar*. It may be noted that the regnal year 15 and the cyclic year Khara do not coincide in the reign of any Hoysaḷa king. That the record belongs to about the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century is borne out by its palaeography, the Tamil letters *r* in *Vēḷaikkāṇar* and *k* in *Mūka-Tāta* in line 2 being typical only of the alphabet as obtained during the above mentioned period.³ If the year 15 equated with Khara is taken to belong to the reign of Vishṇuvardhana, the first Hoysaḷa king of that name, it will point to the year 1111-12 A.D. which corresponded with Khara. It will follow then that Vishṇuvardhana should have commenced to reckon his reign sometime from 1096 A.D. This, if true, pushes his date of accession back by four years from A.D. 1100, which was hitherto held⁴ as the initial year of the king's reign.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1941-42, No. 204.

² Ibid., 1954-55, No. 440.

³ It may, however, be mentioned here that the 15th regnal year of Chōḷa Rājārāja III (c. 1210-1246 A.D.) fell in the cyclic year Khara, and one may be tempted to attribute the record to this king's time. But in the light of the definite palaeographic evidence, this attribution is ruled out.

⁴ *The Cōḷas*, second edition, p. 326 and n. 115.

Though both these records may appear to be simple donative ones, if they are examined carefully against the background of the political conditions of the Tamil country of the period they seem to be invested with a special political significance. It will be presently shown how the Chālukya and the Hoysala happened to be interested in the affairs of the Tamil country.

Both the dates of Inscriptions *A* and *B*, i.e. A.D. 1098-99 and A.D. 1111-12 point to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I when all was not well on the northern and western fronts of the Chōla dominions. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king and his quondam subordinate the Hoysala Vishṇuvardhana had initiated aggressive campaigns on the frontiers of the Chōla territory. The trend of the campaigns has been discussed in this journal in detail.¹ It may be observed here that if the transactions recorded in the present epigraphs were made in the presence of the Chālukya and the Hoysala dignitaries mentioned in them, the campaigns with which their presence at Śrīraṅgam could not be entirely unrelated, will have to be placed in 1099 A.D. as indicated by the earlier of the two inscriptions edited here.²

It may not be out of place to restate here some of the facts pertaining to the conquest of the territories in the western frontiers of the Chōla territory. Several inscriptions of the Hoysala king describe graphically how his general Gaṅgarāja took the territory comprising Talakāḍu, Kōlāla (Kolar) and the whole of Gaṅgavādi Ninetysix-thousand as far as Koṅgu.³ The success was so complete that Vishṇuvardhana assumed the title *Talakāḍu-koṇḍa* and also issued coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Talakāḍu-goṇḍa*.⁴ Punisarāja, another Hoysala general is stated to have swept across the country as far south as the Nilgiris and Kīraṇūr in Palani Taluk of the Madurai District. The authenticity of these campaigns is attested to by the evidence of two inscriptions. One of them in Tamil characters of the 14th century from Ādutturai in the Perambalur Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākramapāṇḍya, quotes an old charter issued in the 4th year (1121-22 A.D.) of the reign of Vikrama-chōla to certain *pallī* residents having lease-rights in some villages in Muḍikoṇḍaśōlavalanāḍu and Magadai-maṇḍalam according to an oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgaśōla. The charter relates to the privileges granted to the *pallīs* in recognition of their services in restoring the images of the deities and in providing for their worship. It is stated that the images were carried away by looters to Dōrasamuddiram (i.e. Dvārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas) in the wake of the disturbances caused by the *Periya-Vaḍuḡaṇ* (*Periya-Vaḍuḡaṇ-kalaham*) and that the said *pallī* residents rescued the images after paying a ransom, apparently to the looters. It is also stated that the privileges such as the heralding of *Paṇṇāṭṭāṇ Tambirāṇ* before announcing the deity on the occasions of the procession and the honour of donning of silk-cloth on their head (*paṭṭu-parivaṭṭam*) were granted according to the oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgaśōla. Since this oral order of Kulōttuṅga is recorded in the 4th year of the reign of Vikramaśōla, it is clear that this Kulōttuṅga must be identified with Kulōttuṅga I,⁵ the father and the predecessor of Vikrama-chōla. After quoting the inscription of Vikramaśōla, this inscription of Parākramapāṇḍya records the renewal of the charter in respect of the descendants of the *pallīs* of the time of Vikramaśōla. Thus, although the reign periods of

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 191 ff.

² Ibid. If this date is accepted, the campaigns cannot be directly related to the dispute between Parāntaka and Vikrama for the Chōla throne, for Parāntaka succeeded heir-apparent only in 1111-12 A.D. Should it yet be related to the campaigns, it may be construed that the Chālukya was campaigning in the Chōla country because of the traditional enmity between the Chālukya and the Chōlas and that the Hoysala invaded later, i.e. sometime after 1107 A.D. on behalf of Vikrama-chōla. The relationship between Vikrama-chōla and Hoysala Vishṇu-vardhana is discussed on the basis of a passage in the *Kulōttuṅgaśōlan-mā*. See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 225-26.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 83; VI, Cm. 160.

⁴ *Coins of Southern India*, p. 152 D, plate No. 90.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 35; Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

⁶ *Contra*, *ibid.*, where Kulōttuṅga has been wrongly identified with Kulōttuṅga II.

Vikramaśōḷa and Parākramapāṇḍya are separated by an interval of about two centuries,¹ the record affords a clear proof of the troublous conditions that prevailed in the area during the period. The other inscription² from Karūr in Tiruchirapalli District, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa, refers to the restoration of an image of Naṭarāja (Kūṭṭaṇār) lost in the midst of a riot by paying a ransom. Though this inscription does not indicate the cause of the riot, it is obvious that it refers to a raid connected with the one recorded in the Āḍuturai epigraph, due to the fact that the events which are recorded in both the inscriptions, and which formed part of the incursions by the Hoysaḷas might have happened in or before the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōḷa. The names *Periya-Vaḍugaṇ* and *Dōrasamudram* prove beyond doubt that both the Western Chālukya and his quondam subordinate the Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana were involved in these raids. They must have happened before the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, as is evident from the Āḍuturai inscription.³ Therefore *Periya-Vaḍugaṇ*, the Great Northerner may be safely identified with Vikramāditya VI with whose connivance the Hoysaḷa should have started his military adventures in the western frontiers of the Chōḷa territories.

The fact of the Hoysaḷa's incursions into the Tamil country having now been conclusively proved to have occurred before the close of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I, an attempt may be made to find out the date of his invasion. The claim made in some inscriptions⁴ of Viṣṇuvardhana about the conquest of Koṅgu, as far south as the Ānamalai Hills, indicates the date of these incursions to be circa 1117 A.D. The present inscriptions from Śrīraṅgam would point to a still earlier date (1100-1111 A.D.) when the Western Chālukya and the Hoysaḷa forces might have begun to penetrate towards the south as far as Śrīraṅgam. The Hoysaḷa's victorious march upto Rāmēśvaram⁵ in the east rings now with a high degree of probability, though it remains to be confirmed by future discoveries of epigraphs in the area between Śrīraṅgam and Rāmēśvaram on the east coast of the Tamil country. The probability that these campaigns had started only during the years after 1107 A.D., is strengthened by a Kannaḍa inscription⁶ from Hirehaḍagalli in Bellary District. This record lists the endowments made for a temple in Śaka 978 (A.D. 1057) followed by several such endowments created in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 31 (A.D. 1107) and after, by many feudatories, prominent among whom was Vīra-Viṣṇu Tribhuvana-Poysaḷadēva, who is no doubt identical with Hoysaḷa Viṣṇuvardhana. The record at this stage lists all the known conquests of this king upto Koṅgu in the south. Hence, it may be surmised that the presence of the [*mahā*] *pradhāna* of the Hoysaḷa in Śrīraṅgam in 1111-12 A.D. cannot be entirely unrelated to the campaigns of his master and that the Hoysaḷa invasion occurred sometime between 1107 and 1112 A.D.

Another piece of information which is likely to be of some interest in this connection may be recorded here. A Tamil inscription⁷ from Brahmādēśam in Villuppuram Taluk of South Arcot District records the gift of 100 *kāśu* for a *sandhi* lamp to be burnt in the temple of Brahmēśvaram by Vāchhaladēvi, the daughter of Chālukki Tribhuvanamalladēva of Raṭṭa-rājya. The inscription

¹ Dr. Derret in his book *The Hoysaḷas* (p. 53, note) assigns the events narrated in this record to the period from 1218 to 1236 A.D. on the basis of this long interval. The full details of this record given here by us prove conclusively that this inscription does refer to the Hoysaḷa incursions into the Tamil country during the reign of Viṣṇuvardhana. Derret's identification of the *Periya-Vaḍugaṇ* with Kākatīya Gaṇapatidēva is untenable. Further the relationship between the Hoysaḷa and the Kākatīya was never so close during the thirteenth century as suggested by him.

² *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 387.

³ It may be noted here that the two institutions which suffered from the raids were Śiva temples.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 83; VI, Cm. 160.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, part II, para. 47.

⁶ *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 118.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, No. 177.

is dated in the 14th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartigaḥ Kulōttuṅgachōḷa. The Chālukki Tribhuvanamalla is no doubt identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king and therefore, Kulōttuṅga in whose reign the record is dated may be identified with Kulōttuṅga I. The date of the record would then be 1083-84 A.D. Palaeography also supports this date for the record. It may be noted here that the date of this inscription is earlier by more than a decade to that of the Chōḷa inscription from Śrīraṅgam. Thus the totality of the evidence relating to the movements of the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas in this region and during this period seems to make the presence of Vāchchaladēvi.¹ pregnant with some political significance.

Inscription *B* of Viṣṇuvardhana at Śrīraṅgam brings to our mind the traditional story of the conversion of the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana by the great Vaishṇava teacher Rāmānujāchārya and of the latter's exile in Mēlkōṭe. It may be observed, however, that this inscription, fragmentary as it is, does not throw any light on this traditional account.²

TEXT³*A*

- 1bha⁴ mahārājā[dhi]rāja-paramēśvara-parama-bhaṭṭārakam Satyāśraya-kuḷa-tilakam
- 2 bhuvanamalla[bhaṭṭārara] Ka[nna]da-sandhivigra[hi] daṇḍanāyakam
- 3 [Kulōttuṅga][mahā]dēvargge yāṇḍu ippa[tto]mbhatt-āgalu
- 4 kshētrada Śrī[raṅga]dēvara vēlak-erakakkam koṭṭa
- 5 [ya]-kōṇ [| *] [Aḷa]giyamanavāḷa-kōṇ | Tiru-
- 6n| Karuṇāgara-kōṇ | Śrī [Aḷa]siṅga-kōṇ | ⁵ Tirumāri[ji]lu⁶
- 7ant=emṭu mānasada [va]sadal=oppisida[r |] Avaru diva[sam]
- 8ppavam dēvara vēlakimge taṇḍ=erevar ā-chamdr-ārkkā-sthāyi=āgi
- 9 idharmmam Śrīraṅgadēvara Śrīvaishṇavara rakshe |
- 10vasēnāpatiya kōgileyam suṇṇada sōte
- 11 da[r] ||

B³

- 1 ⁷dinaiṇjāvad=āṇa Khara-samvatsarat[tu]....
- 2 shṇuvarddhana-pratāpach-chakravatti Pōsala....
- 3[hā]pradhāna-[Sā]lamanye vēlakārar⁸ Mūka-Tāta⁹

¹ This Vā(Bā)chchaladēvi is not known to us from any other source.

² The indirect bearing that some inscriptions copied in former Mysore State have on this question, is discussed in the Mysore Archaeological Reports. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911-12, pp. 40-41.

³ From impressions.

⁴ The beginnings of all the lines are lost. Since there is unengraved space after the ends of each line it appears that the original stone was broken and the fragments were built into the wall.

⁵ This is apparently the same as Aḷaḡiṣiṅga-kōṇ in Tamil.

⁶ This should be Tirumāliruṇjōlai which is the name of Alagarkōyil near Madurai.

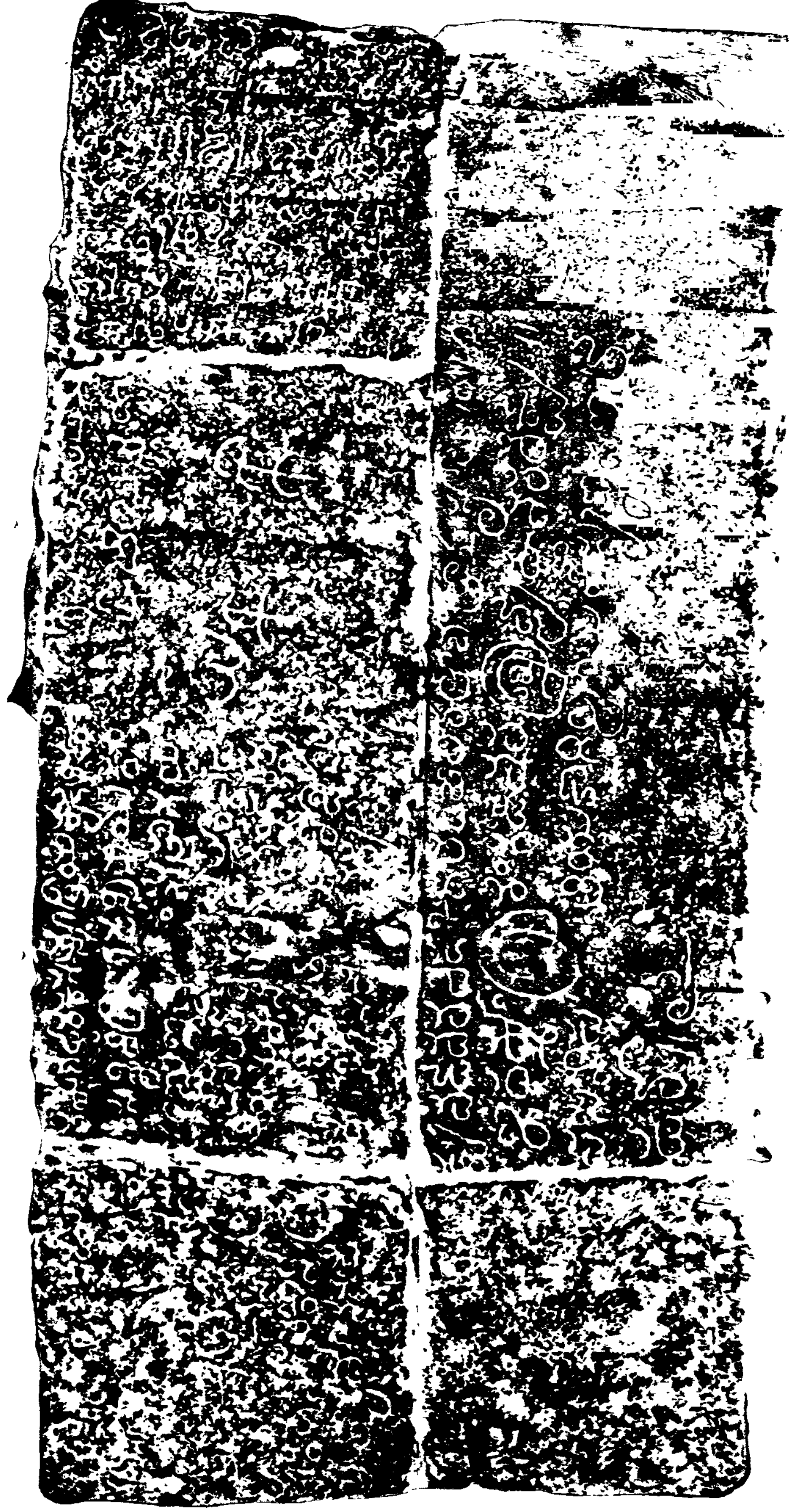
⁷ The beginning or end of each of these three lines is lost.

⁸ The letter *ra* is introduced in the narrow space between *kā* and *r*.

⁹ There is a sign for the medial *e* after this letter.

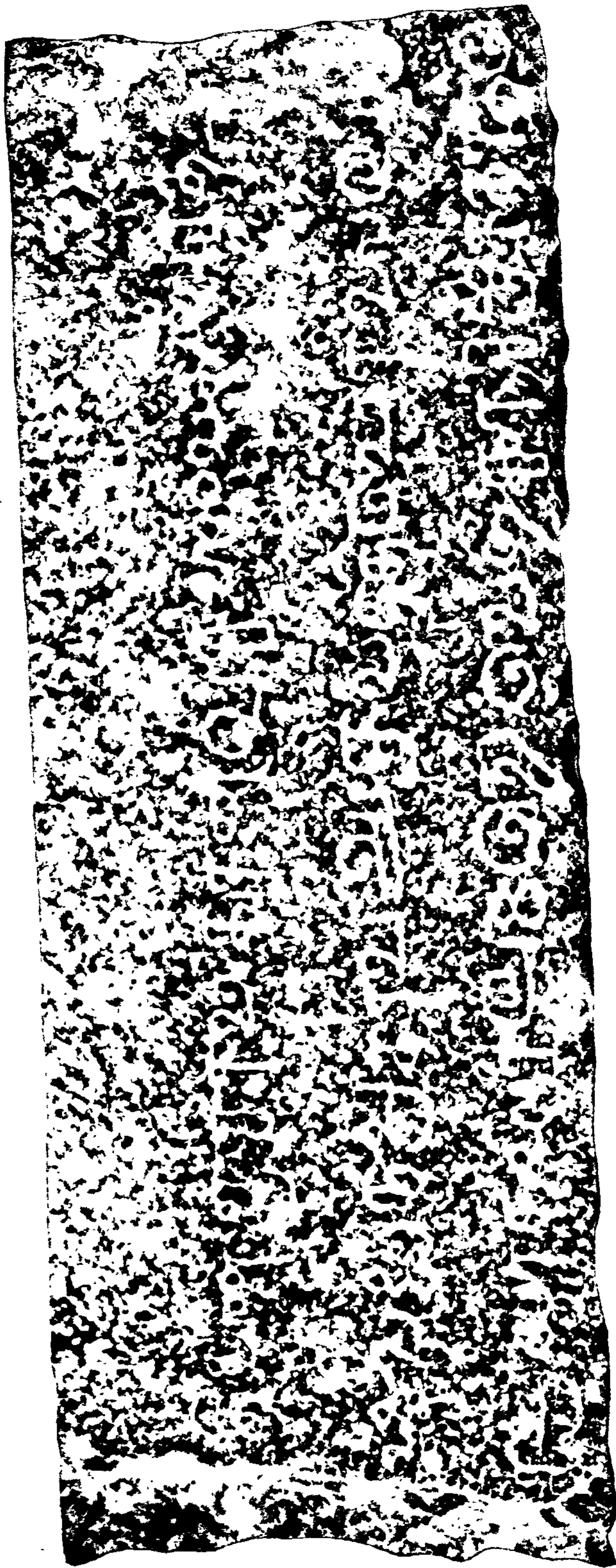
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIRANGAM

A



Scale : One-sixth

B



Scale : One-fourth

No. 26—A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM GANGAPERURU

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTCAMUND

(Received on 19. 3. 1962)

The inscription edited here is engraved on a broken part of an octagonal stone pillar. It was found in the ancient habitation site in the village of Gaṅgaperuru in the Siddhavattam Taluk of the Cuddappah District in 1939.¹ Subsequently it was removed to the local Śiva temple for safety. There are only three lines of writing on it covering an area of 21.5 cm in height and 33.5 cm in breadth.

The inscription is written in the beautiful Brāhmī **alphabet** which was in vogue in these parts during the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Individual letters, excluding the flourishes, are well-formed and measure each about 2.2 cm in height and 2.6 cm in breadth. The **language** is Prakrit. Of the initial vowels only *a* occurs in this epigraph. There is no mention of any king in it, nor is any date given.

The contents of the epigraph disclose that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-khambha* (*chhāyā-stambha*) or a memorial pillar of Gona² who is stated to have died during a cattle raid by Śivadāsa. He is called the *pūta* (son) of an *āchārya* whose name is unfortunately lost. The filial relationship expressed between the *āchārya* and Gona cannot obviously be taken literally. All that is meant here by mentioning the latter as the son of the former, is that Gona was a devout pupil of the *āchārya*. It is possible that he received from the latter the *dīkshā* (initiation) so as to enable him to succeed to the spiritual preceptorship. Gona is given the epithet *sudasa* which may be taken to mean 'handsome' (=Sanskrit *sudarsana*) although to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit word its spelling should be *sudassana*.

The reason for the erection of this pillar in memory of Gona is given in lines 2-3. It is stated there that he died (*saga-ga[ta]sa*=Sanskrit *svarga-gatasya*, literally meaning one who has gone to the heavens) in a fight (*sagāme*=Sanskrit *saṅgrāme*) in a cattle-raid (*go-gahave*=Sanskrit *go-grahave*). It is this passage which makes the epigraph a very interesting one. A number of inscriptions recording the erection of memorial pillars called in them variously³ as *chhaya-thambha*, *chhāya-khambha*, *chhāya-khambho*, *chhāyā-thabha*, *chhāyā-thabha*, *chhāya-khambha*, *chhaya-khambha* and *chhaya-khabha* have in recent times been discovered during the intensive excavations conducted at the famous ancient Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa in Andhra Pradesh. Several of them have been edited in this journal, above Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-17. One of them⁴ was in memory of a prince of the Ikshvāku family who was in the service of king Ehuṇula Chāntamūla. But here no reason is stated for the erection of the pillar in memory of the prince although it is presumable that he died fighting for his lord and hence the king, out of gratitude, arranged for the setting up of the pillar. Another⁵ was set up for the memory of a religious personage who seems to have been, according to the inscription, a highly respected person. Even here, no reason is given for the erection of the

¹ A. R. Ep., 1939-40, No. B 17.

² Macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

³ Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 10-11.

⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM GANGAPERURU



2

2

Scale : One-half

No. 27—HANUMAKONDA NIROSHTHYA KAVYA INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.3.1962)

The inscription¹ edited below is incised on a rock at the top of the hillock called Siddhēśvaruṅ-guṭṭa standing about a mile and a half to the south of Hanumakonda near Warangal in the district of the same name in Andhra Pradesh. The hillock is a precipitous one and the inscription is engraved on the vertical wall-like part of the rock at its top. On the rock-wall opposite the inscribed one is a sculpture of a standing Jaina Tīrthaṅkara carved in bas-relief. In between these two rock-walls is a slightly damaged four pillared *maṇḍapa*. Owing to the steep climb of the rock, the existence of the inscription is not easily known and it is with considerable difficulty that it could be copied. It is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The manner in which the inscription is engraved is interesting. The engraver had prepared the surface of the rock into a large rectangular panel of about 20 feet by 3½ feet size, of which only one-third, i.e. about 6'8" by 3'6" portion has been used for engraving the inscription. In view of the fact that the inscription is incomplete, it is obvious that originally the engraver wanted to utilise the remaining two thirds portion also for inscribing the rest of the composition which may have been long enough to have occupied this space. Unfortunately, for reasons not known, the engraver could not accomplish his work. Despite the fact that the inscription is incomplete, it is of interest from literary and palaeographical points of view. A text² of the inscription has been published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi in the Telugu periodical *Bhārati*, Vol. I, No. 9, pp. 130-32. There he has stated that it was originally noticed by Col. Colin Mackenzie. The published text is, however, full of errors not only in the reading of the last seven lines which, the author says, he could not check up with the impressions owing to their inaccessibility, but in the reading of the first nineteen lines also. Consequently he could neither make the real purport of the epigraph clear nor bring out its significance satisfactorily.

The inscription consists of twentysix lines of writing. The characters are Telugu and on palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to about the 13th century A.D. The letters are neatly engraved and they have been preserved well, owing mainly to the fact that the inscription is found engraved at an inaccessible place. The language is Sanskrit throughout. There are altogether thirtyseven and a quarter verses, all in the simple *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

It is a specimen of *prastuti* type of inscriptions, the extant portion stopping with the descriptions of the Andhradēśa in general and of Ēkaśilānagarī (the then capital of Andhradēśa) in particular. Unfortunately, due to the incomplete nature of the epigraph, it does not contain any historical information; nor does it contain any date. But we may not be far from truth if we attribute it to the second half of the famous Kākatiya period (1000-1326 A.D.) of the Andhra history for the following reasons, as well as on grounds of palaeography. The *kāvya* style of the record indicates the fact that the composition is of a poet steeped in the high poetic traditions for

¹ A. R. Ep., 1957-58, No. B 36.

² This has been reproduced in *Śrī Siddhēśvara-charitramu*, edited by K. Lakshmitanjanam, as Appendix I.

which the period is well known, as exemplified by such works as the *Pratāparudrīya* of Vidyānātha. The elaborate description of Ekaśilānagarī, the chief city of the country, which may have formed the prelude to the subsequent description of the king and his kingdom over which he ruled, also shows that the inscription was composed during this period when the power of the Kākatīyas had reached its zenith.

The object of the inscription is not known owing to the fact that the full text of the composition has not come down to us. But the extant portion, as has already been stated above, describes the Andhra-dēśa in general and the Ēkaśilānagarī in particular. The most interesting feature of this inscription is that the poet has successfully attempted, here in this *kāvya*-like composition, to show his capacity to compose a work not using the *aksharas* of the labial class. Compositions of this kind are called *nirōshṭhya*, and there are examples in Sanskrit literature illustrating this class of works. For instance the entire chapter VII of the famous *Daśakumāra-charita* of the great poet Daṇḍin, is composed in this style; and the work called the *Nirōshṭhya-Rāmāyaṇa*¹ attributable to about the same period as that of the inscription under study, is another instance of this kind of *kāvya*. The uniqueness of this inscription lies in the fact, that among the numerous Sanskrit *kāvyas*, known from inscriptions, this is the only example of this class of compositions. Besides, this piece of composition contains quite a few *ślōkas* noted for their *śabda*- and *arth-ālaṃkāras*. Especially noteworthy is the verse 28 (in lines 19-20) which is an excellent example of *śabd-ālaṃkāra*.

It is also unfortunate that the inscription does not contain any information about its author. If, however, we are permitted to have recourse to a strong circumstantial evidence, it is possible to say that the poet of this epigraph was identical with one called Narasimha six of whose interesting inscriptions mentioning his name specifically, have been copied from Warangal proper² and from Urusu³ in its neighbourhood. An important point in favour of the attribution is that it has the support of an internal evidence from at least two inscriptions. No. B 108 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1950-51, has the passage, *ahn=aikēna hi Kākatīya-charitē* which shows clearly the fact that the author of the inscription had written, in a single day, about a Kākatīya king or the Kākatīya dynasty. The present record, as has been said above, being in the form of a prelude to an elaborate narrative possibly dealing with the Kākatīyas of the time, it is probable that it formed the beginning portion of the *Kākatīya-charita* referred to in the passage. That the poet was actually a contemporary of the Kākatīya king Vīra-Rudra is mentioned in the other inscription (No. B 57 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58) from Warangal and the verse containing the reference reads as follows :

Avyād=urvvīm=udadhi-raśanām=agraṇīh Kākatīnām
vidyā-śālī vidita-vinayō Vīra-Rudr-ābhidhānah |
yātrā-kālē vijita-harītō yasya sēnā-gajānām
madhyē kaśchin=Malaya-śikhari Mālyarān Maṃdarō vā ||⁴

At the end of the epigraph the word Nṛsiṃha is also engraved. This Vīra-Rudra may be identified, as has been done already in *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, p. 7, with Pratāparudra II (1291-1330 A.D.). This identification is also based on palaeographic grounds. It may, therefore, be said that the period of the author of the present record is also the same.

¹ *History of Sanskrit Literature* by M. Krishnamachariar, p. 794, note 2. The author of this work is said to be one Mallikārjuna. But particulars regarding his date, etc. are not available.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108; *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117; *ibid.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 56-57.

³ *Ibid.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 128-29.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 7.

Another important piece of evidence, according to us, that helps in the identity of the author of the present inscription with that of the two inscriptions from Urusu is the technique in which the inscriptions have been engraved. As has been mentioned at the beginning, the inscription under study is engraved on a prepared surface of the rock of which only one-third portion has been made use of for engraving the record. The inscription from Urusu (No. B 128 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59) has also been engraved on the rock in almost the same manner. There too the surface of the rock has been dressed and the engraver has apparently divided it into three approximately equal panels all of which have been utilised fully for engraving the inscription. In the other inscription from the same place (No. B 129 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59), however, though there was a similar attempt at panelling of the dressed up surface into three portions, only two of the three panels have been used for engraving that record. Though it might be said that the manner of engraving is a peculiarity of the engraver who need not be a contemporary of the author, it may not be unreasonable if we presume that the inscription mentioning the name Nṛasiṃha was engraved during his time and the engraver who inscribed that record in panelled out surface was also most probably the engraver of the present record employing the same method of preparation of the rock surface for writing. That the engraver of the two records at Urusu was one and the same can be inferred from another circumstance also. The inscription (No. B 129 of 1958-59) stated to contain a text entitled *Yōga*. . is in Nāgarī script, while the other (i.e. No. B 128 of the same year) dealing with the story of a Siddha couple is written both in Nāgarī and Telugu scripts. But the manner in which these scripts are used in this inscription, namely only the first line being in the Nāgarī script while the rest of the inscription is in Telugu, suggests that the engraver, after finishing the engraving of the other Nāgarī record, wanted to inscribe this also in Nāgarī (and hence its commencing with the line in Nāgarī), but abandoned the idea and adopted the Telugu script for engraving the remaining part of the epigraph. If this is accepted, which, we think, is quite a plausible one, then a connection is established not only between these two inscriptions but also between them and the inscription under examination here, and this may be taken to be in favour of the attribution of the authorship of the texts of all the inscriptions to one and the same poet Narasiṃha.

There is also another significant piece of evidence in support of this attribution. As shown above the most interesting feature of this inscription is that it forms part of a *kāvya* where the letters of the labial class are deliberately avoided and hence it is an example of the class of *Nirōshṭhyakāvyas*. Interestingly, in the inscription containing a single verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre from the Warangal Fort (*A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108) also, as is seen from its text given below, no letters of the labial class are present.

- 1 *Rik-chhūyā rachitā nirarggala-girā*
- 2 *yēn=ādḥika-sthēyasī śāstra-gra-*
- 3 *ntha-kṛitā Nṛisimha-kṛitinā hṛit(d)-*
- 4 *granthi-gandha-chchhidā | ahn=ai-*
- 5 *kēna hi Kākatīya-charitē tēn=[ā]-*
- 6 *shṭa-śishṭ-ā[ḍṛi]tāḥ kāshṭh-āghāṭa-ni-*
- 7 *sarga-nirggata-yaśaḥ sargēṇa*
- 8 *sargūḥ kṛitāḥ | [| *]*

It shows that its author had a predilection for composing texts of this kind. This inscription, as has been said above, mentions the name of its author, i.e., Narasiṃha. It is, therefore, quite likely that this Narasiṃha was also the author of the inscription under study which is a longer and a finer composition in this *nirōshṭhya* style.

Six¹ out of the seven inscriptions, as has been referred to above, mention the name of the poet Narasimha and at least from five of them including the one under examination it is easy to judge the high calibre of the poet. In fact the two records from the Warangal Fort (*A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108 and *ibid.*, 1957-58, No. B 56) are specific in this regard as will be seen from the following passages from the inscriptions. No. B 108 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51 reads :

ahn=aikēna hi Kākatīya-charitē tēn=[ā]shṭa-śisṭ-ā[drī]tāḥ

kāshṭh-āghāṭa-nisarga-nirgata-yaśaḥ-sargēṇa sargāḥ kṛitāḥ ||

In No. B 56 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58 the poet draws a comparison between himself and the incarnation of the god Narasimha in double entendre. The stanza runs as follows :

A-prāpta-sabhā-stambhō=py=a-vipanna-

Hiranyakaśipur=apī |

a-vikṛita-mukhō=pi daśasu pragalbhatē

rūpakēshu Narasimhaḥ ||²

That the credit to which the poet has laid claim to has not been done without any basis may be said to be proved by the two actual *kāvya*s, though unfortunately incomplete, recorded in the two inscriptions from Urusu mentioned above. In one of them (No. B 128 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59) he calls himself a *kavi* and in the other (No. B 129 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59) he styles himself as a *Maharshi* at the end of what appears to be the [first] chapter of a *kāvya* he had composed (*Narasimha-maharshi-kṛitau Yōga.....mas=sargāḥ |*). Interestingly, in both the records he is stated to be the son of one Viśvēśvara who according to the latter inscription is said to be the royal preceptor (*rāja-guru*). That the poet Narasimha was the author of other works also is known from the two other records (*A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108 ; and *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117) which refer to the poet's commentary on the *Rigvēda*, called the *Rikchhāyā*, and his other work entitled the *Kākatīya-charita* as well as the *gaṇas* referred to as *Nṛsimhōktā gaṇāḥ*.³

TEXT⁴

1 ओं⁵।[*] अंध्राः संति गरीयांसः कांचनच्छायशालयः । यथा हाटकशैलस्य
कटका रत्नशालिनः ॥[१*] केदारा यत्र

2 शालीनां तरंगितजलांतराः । कृष्णांगच्छायहरिता यथा जठनिधेस्तटाः ॥[२*]
शालिसंक(र)क्षिणीहस्तताळैः कंकणनादि-

3 तैः । त्रासिताः किल गच्छन्ति यत्कीरास्तद्गिरा जिताः ॥[३*] रसालसालहि-
तालतालकेतककेतने । कांतारे यत्र कांतानां जा-

¹ *A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108, *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117, *ibid.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 56-57 and *ibid.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 128-29.

Ibid., 1958-59, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 6.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol which is, however, not clear.

4 तः शृंगारसंगरः ॥[४*] रसालहालागंधेन घनेनाधीकृता दृशः । अळीनां यत्र
हा हंत लक्षयंति न गेहिनीः ॥[५*]

5 संतानकांतारलतागंधग्रंथिलचेतसः । यत्रालयः कर्णिकारे निर्गंधे च¹ निरंतराः ॥[६*]
हालिकस्त्रीकटाक्षाणां कांत्या

6 गिळितचेतनाः । न जानंति कृषिं यत्र केचित्कर्षकनंदनाः ॥[७*] गतानि
हालिकस्त्रीणां शिक्षयंति निजैर्गतैः । नेत्राणि नेत्रैर्हस्यश्च हरिण्यश्च य-

7 दंतरे ॥[८*] केदारसस्यकांतीनां संक्रांतानां ततस्ततः । च्छ(छ)लेन नीलसिचया
यदीया जायते धरा ॥[९*] शंखकंकणजालस्य लल-

8 नाकरसगिनः । कळेन यत्र नादेन कलहंसाः शतं जिताः ॥[१०*] लक्षयंते
यत्र निचिता लक्षशः शालिराशयः । गेहांकणे यथाकाशे तटि(डि)त्कां²-

9 तिधरा घनाः ॥[११*] खिलाः शालीनतां यांति यत्र कं(ट)करक्षिताः ।
कटं(डं)करीयनिकटनिराघाटकटिस्थलाः ॥[१२*] कदलीकानने यत्र हरितच्छ-

10 दहारिणि । कीरा निरंतरं यांति निजजातीयशंकया ॥[१३*] हाला[:*]
कलंत्यः सततं यत्रत्यात्सहकारतः । निर्दिशंति निरातंकं नर्तनायै शिखंडि-

11 नः ॥[१४*] यत्र कांचनसंकाशा रसालानां रजःकणाः । टंकघृष्टस्य तरणेर्यथा
लेशाश्चकासति ॥[१५*] कर्पकस्त्रीकेशहस्तैर्हस्तनाळीकसंयतैः । न हतात्ता

12 यत्र धत्तशंकातंकं शिखंडिनि ॥[१६*] नगराणि गरीयांसि नाकिरक्षयाणि
लक्षशः । स्थानीयानां सहस्राणि यत्रत्यान्यतिशेरेते ॥[१७*] न नंदनं
चैत्ररथं न

¹ Cf. वर्णप्रकर्षे सति कर्णिकारं दूनोति निर्गन्धतया स्म चेतः, *Kumārasambhava*, 3, 28.

² The *anuvāra* is engraved at the beginning of line 9.

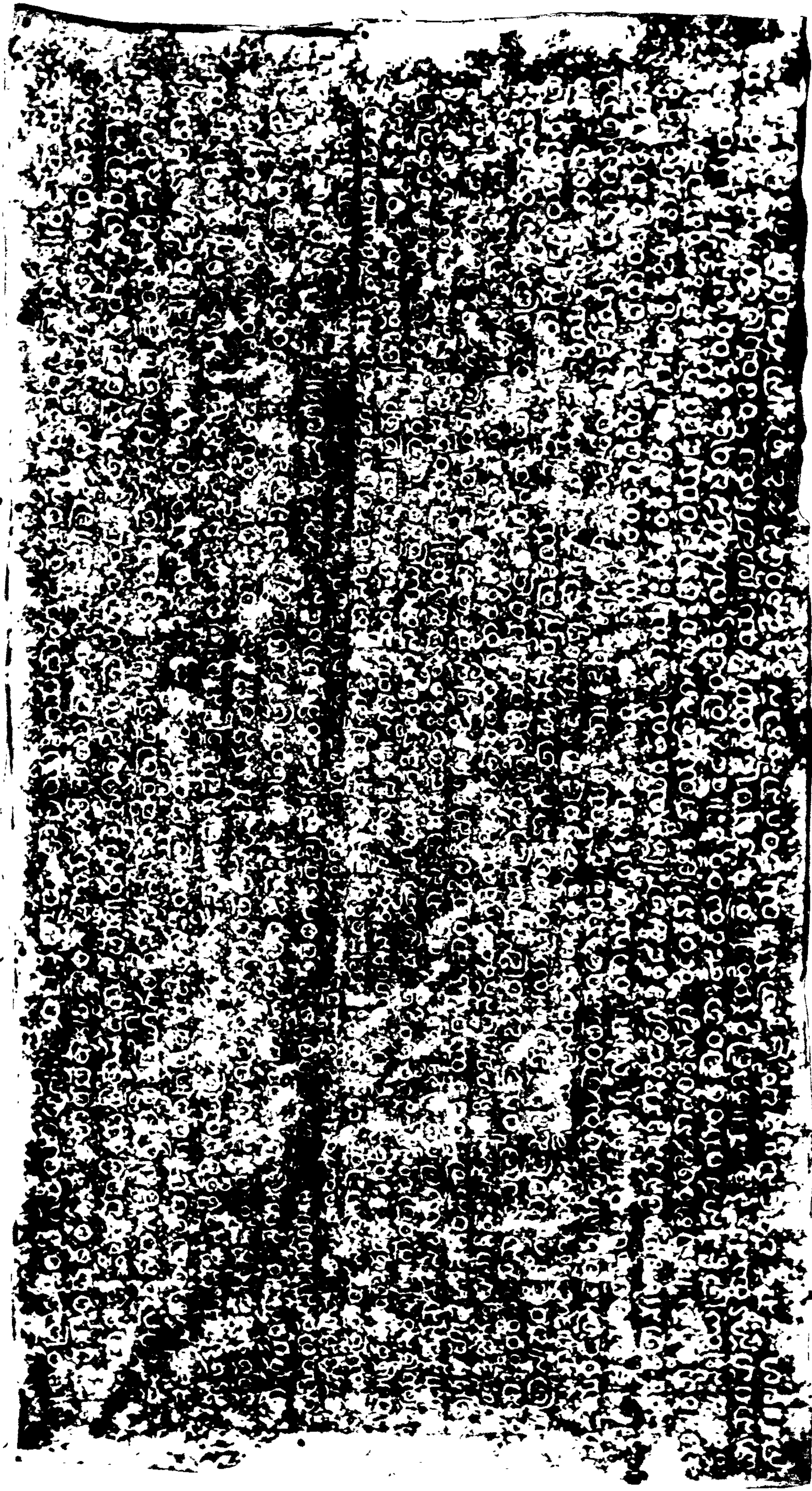
- 13 च यत्र निरीक्ष्यते । कांतारं नंदनं कृत्स्नं कृत्स्नाः ¹चैत्ररथाह्वयाः ॥[१८*]
करिणः करिणीसक्ता यत्र संश्रिततारकाः । सकळत्रान् शंकयंते गात्रा-
- 14 होनान् गजाननान् ॥[१९*] सिचयैरास्तृता नीलैश्शतशः स्यंदना घनाः । नदंतः
किंकिणीजालैर्यथा कांतैस्तटि(डि)द्गणैः ॥[२०*] तट[ग]का यत्र शतशः सा-
- 15 [र]ण्यश्च सहस्रशः । सरिनाथां² दर्शयंति तेषां च किल गेहिनीः ॥[२१*]
आदित्यघृष्टिसंकाशा दृश्यंते यत्र गृष्टयः । क्षीरं ददत्यः कृत्स्ना-
- 16 नां त्रिजगत्यघनाशिकाः ॥[२२*] एकास्त्येकशिलाख्यात्र नगरी या गरीयसी ।
सागरांतां धरां कृत्स्नां [श्रि]ता कांत्या निरीक्ष्यते ॥[२३*] कळा गिरः
कृशा(शां)गीणां
- 17 रशनाः किंकिणीघनाः । यत्रांगदानि चांघ्रीणां निद्राहान्यै किल श्रियः ॥[२४*]
चंद्रशालासंश्रितानां चंद्रास्यानां निरंतरैः ।
- 18 यत्रास्यचंद्रैर्गगने चंद्रज्ञानं न शक्यते ॥[२५*] यत्र रथ्यांगणगता घनसारस्य
राशयः । दृश्यंते चंद्रिकासंधा यथाकर्का त्रा-
- 19 . . . ³णैः ॥[२६*] इन्द्रनीलैश्चंद्रकांतैस्तथा यत्र निरंतरैः । अंधकाराश्चंद्रिकाश्च
दर्शयंत्येकदा गृहाः ॥[२७*] कांतया घ्नंति यत्कांताः कांतानां
- 20 हृदयं दृशा । कांतया घ्नंति यत्कांताः कांतानां हृदयं दृशा ॥[२८*]
कळिदकन्यालहरीसंघरिखणहारिणः । कटाक्षा यत्र नारी-
- 21 णां कृष्णयंति न किं जनान् ॥[२९*] हालारयेण तरळा यत्राराळदृशा(शां)
दृशः । खङ्गलेखा दर्शयंति रतिनाथकरस्त्रि(श्रि)ताः ॥[३०*] अधरा यत्र
नारीणां सक-

¹ The *sandhi* has not been observed here.

² Read सरिनाथान् ।

³ There is space here for three letters which seem to have been erased.

HANUMAKONDA NIROSHTHYA KAVYA INSCRIPTION



Size : One-ninth

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- 22 लानधरीकृतान् । आख्यांति नलिनश्रेणीः कटाक्षार्च कटाक्षिताः ॥[३१*]
तज्जयंति यत्र नार्यः करकंकणरिखणैः । आक्रीडदीर्घिकाहंसीर्गति-
- 23 तस्करतां गताः ॥[३२*] कर्णिकारत्नकिरणसंकीर्णहरिदंकनाः । आकर्णयन्ति [सं]गीतं
कृतश्लाघं यदेगनाः ॥[३३*] कर्णकल्हारकलिकाहालार्गीक-
- 24 रलेहिनः । यत्राळिनस्त्रासयन्ते क्रांताः कटकशंकृतैः ॥[३४*] कटाक्षकांतिकळया
हासचंद्रैः कळंकितैः । न हासयन्ति ना-
- 25 धानां हस्ता(हासा)न् यन(न्न)लिनेक्षणाः ॥[३५*] कनोनि^१काकळंकिन्या कांतिकंचद्रिकया
स्त्रियः । आहारयन्ति यत्रत्याश्चंद्रिकाहारिणः ख-
- 26 गान् ॥[३६*] ललाटेनार्द्धचंद्रेण कृत्स्नचंद्रैस्तदाननैः । यदंगनाः कळासक्तिन्नि(क्तीन्नि)दिशन्ति
निजार्जिताः ॥[३७*] नासालंकाररत्नानि नक्ष[त्र]^२

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) There is the great Andhradēśa full of rice (fields) of golden hue, resembling the dales of the golden mountain (i.e. Mēru) with gems.

(Verse 2) There, the rice-fields, containing waving waters inside, resemble the shores of the sea with dark-tinged verdant.

(Verse 3) The parrots (that come to eat the grains) fly away being frightened by the sounds produced from the bangles due to the clapping of the hands by the women-guards of the rice-fields and also being overcome by their utterances.

(Verse 4) In the groves of trees like *rasāla* (the mango), *sāla*, *himtāla* (the marshy date), *tāla* (the palmyra) and *kētaka* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*), youthful couples are engaged in amorous activities.

(Verse 5) There, the bees, being blind-folded due to (intoxication) of the strong smell emanating from the honey of mango trees, could not see even their consorts.

^१ नि and का are written below the line.

^२ Stops here abruptly.

(Verse 6) The bees, there, are not only attracted by the smell of the creepers of the Santāna forest but also by the colourless *Karpikāra* trees (due to their attractive colours).

(Verse 7) Some of the peasant youths of the place, having been attracted by the bewitching glances of the peasant maidens, forget (their work of) ploughing.

(Verse 8) The gaits of the peasant maidens of the place seem to serve as lessons to the swans while their glances serve as models for the female deer.

(Verse 9) The entire country (seems to be) covered by a blue raiment because of the spreading of the sheen of the crops in the fields.

(Verse 10) The sound produced by the group of conch-shell bangles (seen) in the hands of the damsels of the country has outstripped (that of) the innumerable swans.

(Verse 11) The multitudinous heaps of paddy seen in the courtyard of the houses, there, look like the clouds in the sky, possessing lightning.

(Verse 12) Where the fallow lands protected by thorns (i.e. full of thorns) and containing undemarcated interspaces with cattle beside them, become bashful (i.e. become objects of pity).

(Verse 13) There the parrots, thinking that they belong to their own group, resort always to the groves of plantain trees with attractive green leaves.

(Verse 14) The honey that flows always from the innumerable mango trees, there, seems to suggest that it is intended for the peacocks to dance without pain.

(Verse 15) The golden-hued pollen of the mango trees, there, resemble the dusts of the sun, produced by chiselling.

(Verse 16) The hair of the peasant women in the act of being dressed by their dart-like hands give the appearance of the spread-out plumes of the peacock.

(Verses 17 and 18) The countless big cities of the country outshine the numerous divine cities: because, instead of the Nandana, (the pleasure garden of Indra) and the Chaitraratha, (the sporting park of Kubera), its entire forests constitute the Nandana and the whole (of the wooded land) constitutes the Chaitraratha here.

(Verse 19) The male elephants of the country, with their half-closed eyes caused by their being with their mates look like the couples of elephant-headed (gods) possessing also elephant's body.

(Verse 20) The heavy chariots covered with numerous blue clothes and resounding with the (jingling sounds) of the small bells (attached to them), resemble the clouds with groups of shining lightnings (accompanied by thunder).

(Verse 21) In the country are hundreds of tanks and thousands of rivulets ; and they indeed appear to be the ocean and his consorts respectively.

(Verse 22) The young cows of the country resemble the rays of the sun ; the former by giving milk become the removers of suffering (of the people) of the three worlds, while the latter, (by causing the rains,) become the purifiers of the three worlds.

(Verse 23) Here is the great city called Ēkaśilā which by its splendour seems to spread over the entire region upto the shores of the ocean.

(Verse 24) The melodious speech, the deep sound of the small bells of the waist-band, and the anklets,¹ of the tender-limbed damsels of the place are responsible for the sleeplessness of the goddess of Prosperity.

(Verse 25) The assemblage of numerous damsels with moonlike faces, on the top-most floor of the houses of the city, makes it difficult to know about the existence of the real moon in the sky.

(Verse 26) The heaps of camphor seen in the shops of the bazaar look like a collection of moon-beams.....²

(Verse 27) The houses of the city with never-diminishing (heaps of) sapphire and moon-stones appear to show simultaneously the darkness and moonlight together.

(Verse 28) In this city, the beloved, by their bewitching glances, cause affliction to their lovers ; (similarly) the lovers, by their beautiful sights, cause affliction to their beloved.

(Verse 29) Whom do not the glances of the women of the place, (like those of the gōpis on the bank of the Yamunā), which excel (in beauty) the collection of crawling waves of the daughter of Kalinda (i.e. the Yamunā) attract (or make into a Krishṇa) ?

(Verse 30) The glances of the women with curved eyes, made tremulous by the power of liquor, look like the rows of swords held in the hands of Rati-nātha (i.e. Cupid).

(Verse 31) The lips of the women of the city have rendered everything else inferior to them ; and their side-looks (appear to) suggest that they have blessed the groups of lotuses (i.e. excelled them in beauty).

(Verse 32) By the gestures of their hands (adorned) with bangles, the women of the city frighten the swans in the sporting ponds for having stolen their gaits.

(Verse 33) The damsels of the city, the rays of whose ear-rings become merged into the spaces of the quarters, listen to music appreciatively.

(Verse 34) The bees that are attracted by the driplets of honey in the water-lilies serving as ear-rings of the ladies of the city, are frightened away by the sounds of the bangles in their hands (produced by the gesture of waving).

¹ The word अंगद together with अंग्रिणी is used here in the sense of an anklet, which is peculiar.

² A simile is given here by the author but owing to the loss of a few *aksharas*, it cannot be made out.

(Verse 35) Do not the lotus-eyed damsels of the city by their (enchanting) smiles resembling the moon marked by the (dark) sheen of their glances mock at the daughter of their lords ?

(Verse 36) By the rays of their moon-like faces, the pupil of their eyes serving as the dark patch of the moon, the women of the city seem to feed the birds which feed upon the moonlight (i.e. Chakōras).

(Verse 37) The women, with their faces resembling the full moon and their forehead resembling the half-moon, demonstrate that all the arts are acquired by themselves (i. e. by looking at their faces it is easy to know that they are *kalāvatīs*).

(Verse 38) The gems in the nose-ornaments (of the damsels) resembling the stars.

No. 28—CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF SOMESVARA I, SAKA 970

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29.7.1959)

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was discovered at Chikkerūr, in the Hirēkerūr Taluk of Dharwar District in the Mysore State. The stone bearing the inscription, which is set up in the field opposite the Hanumanta-dēva temple appeared at first sight to be quite small with only five lines visible on its exposed face. On digging up, however, it was found that the major portion of the stone containing the record lay buried underground. The epigraph which contains twenty-nine lines in all, was copied by Shri B. R. Gopal in December 1957. The writing on the portion that was underground is better preserved than that on the portion that was exposed. The corners of the top portion are broken off resulting in the loss of some letters on both the sides including some details of the date. But, fortunately, details enough to assess the importance of the record are preserved.

The record is written in Kannada **alphabet**, usual to the period to which it belongs. However, a few orthographical and palaeographical points may be noted. The usual reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* as in °pūrvakkam and °chamdr-ārkkam (line 16) is not as a rule followed, cf. °chamdr-ārka (line 5). Attention may be drawn to the medial *u* sign written in three different types, e.g. see *rum* in *sāsirvvarum* and *ppu* in *intappudakke* in line 17; *Gu* in *Guṇḍayanum* and *pu* in *purōhita* in line 22. Also compare the first letter *rum* in line 19 with *rum* in *sāsirvvarum* in the same line.

The **language** of the record is also Kannada and the composition is in prose, excepting the imprecatory verse which is in Sanskrit.

The inscription is dated in Śaka 970 [Sarvadhā]ri, Śrāvaṇa śu. 13, Monday, S[īmha-samkrā]-nti. The details regularly correspond to 1048 A.D., July 25, f.d.t. .02.

The inscription registers a grant of land and a house-site made to a *satra* at the *modal-agrahāra* Kiriya-Kereyūr by *pasūyite* Rēvakabbarasi, by purchasing the land from the Thousand *mahājanas* of that place. Witnesses to this deed were the Thousand (*mahājanas*) respectively of Piriya-Kereyūr, Īsavura and Tiḷivalli, the Thirtytwo (*mahājanas*) of Tāṇagundūr, *Kannada-sandhivigrahi* *Mahāprachaṇḍa-daṇḍanāyaka* Kālīdāsayya, *Pradhāna-daṇḍanāyaka* Nāraṇayya, *Patthale-verggaḍe* Bhōgavārayya, Guṇḍayya, the *perggaḍe* of Mudrāvaṇa and *Purōhita* Dāvaṇa-gahisāsa. The document was written by *Sēnabōva* Kētimayya. It is stated that Rēvakabbarasi paid 30 *gadyāṇas* as the price of the five *mattar* of cultivable land and a house-site and 100 *gadyāṇas* towards *siddhāya*. The latter amount is stated to be utilised on the basis of *pāga-vriddhi* which apparently means (for investment to fetch) interest at the rate of one *pāga*, i.e. *hāga* which is equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ *pana* (per *gadyāṇa* per year). Thus this sum of 100 *gadyāṇas* evidently represented the lump sum paid in order to guarantee the income on account of *siddhāya* to the *mahājanas* of Kiriya-Kereyūr.

¹ A.R. Ep., 1957-58, Introduction p. 4 and App. B. No. 253.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it contains an early reference to Kalyāṇa as the capital city of the Chālukyas.¹

Kalyāṇa in the Bidar District of the Mysore State, was a city of great importance in the history of the medieval period having been the headquarters of the later Chālukyas and after them their successors, the Kalachuryas. As the centre of activity of Basavēśvara, the famous protagonist of the Vīraśaiva religion, Kalyāṇa acquired special significance in the religious history of Karnaṭaka also.

On the basis of the material then at his disposal, Fleet remarked that the earliest mention of Kalyāṇa as the capital of the Chālukyas was found in an inscription of 1053 A.D.² But our record which refers to Kalyāṇa already as the *nelevīḍu* furnishes a date six years earlier than the above.

It is to be noted, however, that two records, both supposed to be dated in 1033 A.D., mention Kalyāṇa as the capital. But both of them are of doubtful authenticity since they contain a wrong date and are written in characters much later than the period to which their contents pertain. They are from Rājūr³ and Bijapur.⁴ The former quotes the Śaka year as 45869, Śrī-mukha, Vaiśākha śu. Pūrṇimā, Monday, Uttarāyaṇa-saṁkramaṇa. Ignoring the Śaka and the *saṁkramaṇa*, the details may be equated to 1033 A.D., April 16. The second one is dated in Śaka 958, the other details, barring the weekday, being identical with the former. The weekday is here given as Sunday. These details are irregular. Again, as remarked above, the palaeography of the records does not conform to that of the period.

The question then arises as to when precisely the city was chosen to be the seat of the government. A study of the Western Chālukyan capitals, from the day the Chālukyas regained power to the date of the present record would help us to find out an answer to this question.

It is well known that Taila II of the Western Chālukya family overthrew the Rāshtrakūṭas in 973 A.D. and re-established the Chālukya suzerainty. The capital of the Rāshtrakūṭas was Maḷkhēḍ, and Taila, on assuming power, continued to have this city as his head-quarters.⁵ This city seems to have remained the capital till the time of Jayasīṁha II. The Kanyākumārī⁶ inscription of Vīra Rājendra and the Karandai plates of Rājendra Chōḷa⁷ dated in his 8th year (1020 A.D.) testify to the fact that Mānyakhēḍa, the city of their adversaries, as the target of the attack of Rājendrachōḷa.

By 1019 A.D. Jayasīṁha changed his capital to Ētagiri⁸ and this must have taken place soon after the destruction of Maḷkhēḍ at the hands of the Chōḷas. An inscription from Bēgūr⁹ dated 1031 A.D. shows that this place continued to be the capital at least till then. Soon after, i.e. by 1033-34 A.D. the headquarters appear to have been shifted from Ētagiri to Koḷlipāke, as could

¹ The stone is broken off here and, of the word Kalyāṇa, only parts of *lyā* and *na* are visible. But in corroboration with the statement of this record is another from Mudgal in the Lingsugur Taluk of the Raichur District, which refers to the same king and states that he was ruling from the *nelevīḍu* of Kalyāṇa. It is also dated in Śaka 970 (current), the cyclic year quoted being Sarvajit. Other details of the date are lost. *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58, App. B. No. 365.

² *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 355, foot-note 1.

³ *SII*, Vol. XI, Pt. i, No. 69.

⁴ *A.R. Ep.*, 1933-34, App. E. No. 126.

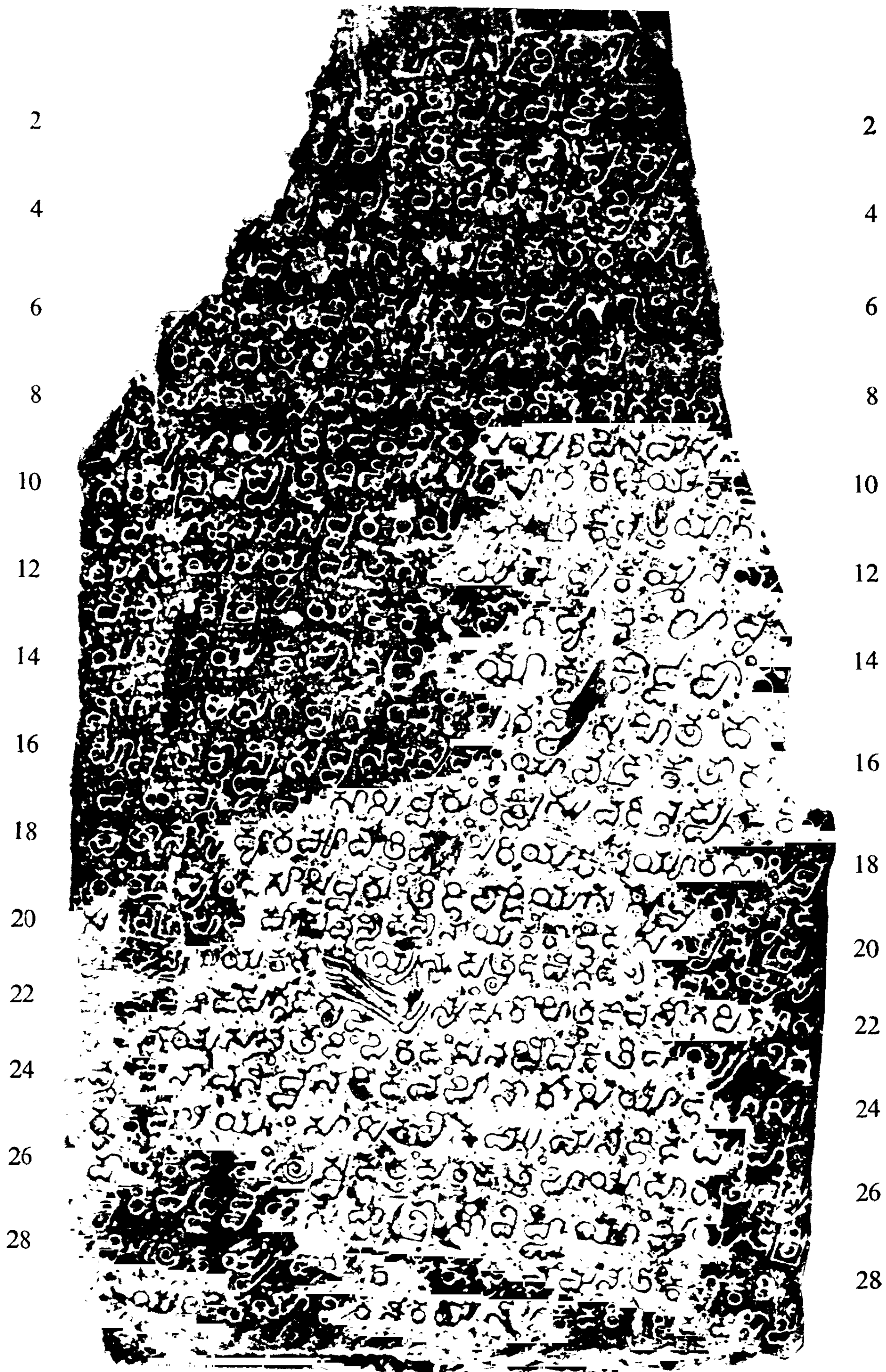
⁵ An inscription from Kākhaṇḍki dated 993 A.D. refers to him as ruling from Mānyakhēḍa, which is the modern Maḷkhēḍ (*A.R. Ep.*, 1933-34, App. E. No. 170).

⁶ *Travancore Arch. Series*, Vol. III, Pt. i, p. 119, verse 70.

⁷ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIX, Pt. ii, p. 151.

⁸ *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38, App. E. No. 58. It mentions Ētagiri as his capital.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 20.



Size : One-fourth

be seen from two inscriptions bearing that date from Hallūr and Bhairanmaṭṭi.¹ But this change was just temporary, for a number of records ranging in date from 1033 A.D. to 1044 A.D. mention Poṭṭalakere or Hoṭṭalakere as the Chālukya capital.² A Kannada work, *Basavapurāṇa* also associates Jayasimha II with this place.³ In the absence of any dated record after 1044 A.D., the latest date mentioning Poṭṭalakere and a record earlier than 1048 A.D., the date of our record, mentioning Kalyāṇa as the *neleviḍu* of the Chālukyas, we may safely surmise that the latter city must have become the capital sometime between these two dates.⁴ It is interesting to note that all the places mentioned above, viz. Ētagiri (modern Yādگیری), Koḷlipāka (modern Kulpāk or Kolanupāka), and Poṭṭalakere (modern Paṭancheru)⁵ are situated in the same area, i.e. in the former Hyderabad State.

Incidentally we may notice here that the donor Rēvakabbarasi is called the *Pasāyite*. The term *Pasāyita* or *Mahāpasāyita* (also *Pasāyita*) quite commonly occurs in Kannada records, and it denotes an office, the precise nature of which is difficult to determine. This Rēvakabbarasi is in all probability identical with her namesake who figures in a record from Hosūr⁶ as the wife of Vāvaṇarasa who was a subordinate of Sōmēśvara I. The record furnishes an instance of ladies holding responsible offices in the administrative set-up of the country.⁷

The following geographical names occur in the record. Banavāsi-nāḍu, Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70, Kiriya-Kereyūr. Tāṇagundūr, Piriya-kereyūr, Tiḷivalli and Īsavura. The first one is the well-known division comprising parts of the present Dharwar, North Kanara and Shimoga Districts. Nāgarakhaṇḍa-70 was a subdivision of the Banavāsi-nāḍu. Kiriya-Kereyūr and Piriya-Kereyūr are identical with the modern Chikkerūr (the findspot of the record) and Hirekerūr respectively, in the Hirekerur Taluk, Dharwar District. Tiḷivalli is another village of the same name in the Hangal Taluk of the same district. Tāṇagundūr and Īsavura are Tālgund and Īsūr in Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District.

TEXT⁸

- 1 [Svasti [[*] Samasta-bhu]vanāśraya śrī[Prithvīvalla]-
- 2 [bha-Mahārā] jādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Pa[ramabhaṭṭā]-
- 3 [raka-Satyāśraya]kuḷatilaka-Chāluky-ā[bharaṇam]
- 4 [śrīmat-Traiḷō]kyamalladēvara vijaya-rājya[m=uttarōttar-ā]-
- 5 [bhivṛiddhi]-pravarddhamānam=āchaṇḍr-ārka-tāraṇ sa[luttam=i]-
- 6 [re Kalyāṇada neleviḍino] Sa(Śa)ka-varsha 970 ne[ya Sa]-
- 7 [rvadhā]ri samvatsara Śrāvaṇa su(śu) 13 Sōmavāraṇ Si[mha-sam]-

¹ *SII*, Vol. XI, Pt. i, No. 71 and above, Vol. III, p. 231 respectively.

² For instance the Sonvāḍe plates (*Journal*, B. I. S. M., Vol. X, p. 88); *SII*, Vol. XI, Pt. i, Nos. 68, 74, 92; *A.R. Ep.*, 1932-33, App. D. No. 122; *ibid.*, 1936-37, App. E. No. 55; *ibid.*, 1953-54, App. B. No. 242; *ibid.*, 1957-58, App. B. No. 376; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 74 and 153. The last one spells the name of the place as Ghaṭṭada-kere which apparently is a mistake for Poṭṭalakere.

³ *Sandhi* 51.

⁴ See *Journal of the Karnatak University*, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 45 ff, where it is suggested that 'Jayasimha II was making experiments as to which of the towns would be most suitable for the permanent capital of the Chālukya empire and the choice in favour of Kalyāṇa was decided probably by its northernmost position'.

⁵ Fleet identified this place with Daṇṇāyakanakere in the Bellary District (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 163). But Shri B. Shivamurti Shastri has rightly suggested this identification. (Cf. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, pp. 111-12.)

⁶ *SII*, Vol. XI, Pt. i, No. 65.

⁷ For some more instances, see *QJMS*, Karnataka Number, pp. 43 ff.

⁸ Form impressions.

- 8 [krā]ntiyan[du] Chatus-sameya-samuddharane guṇa-gaṇ-ābha[raṇe-rī-]
 9 mat=**Pasāyite Rēvakabbarasiyar** Banavāse-[nāḍu Nā-]
 10 gari(ra)khaṇḍav-eppattara modal=agrahāraṁ **Kiriya-ke[reyū]-**
 11 **ra** mahājana-sāsirvvara kayyol sattrake vṛittiyāge..
 12 ya gaḷeyal=aydu matta¹ gaddeyum=ēlu kay=maneya [ni]-
 13 vēśanakkam krayakke koṭṭa poṁ-gadyā² 30 ā vṛi[tti]-
 14 ya siddhāyakke pāga-vri(vṛi)ddhiyolu koṭṭa poṁ-ga[dyā]-
 15 ṇam 100 antu gadyāṇa 130 hiraṇya-sahitam dhā[rā]-
 16 pūrvvakam koṇḍu sarvvanamasyamāgi yā(ā)-chaṇḍr-ārka-tāraṁba[ra]-
 17 m=i dharmmamam sāsirvvarum rakshisuvar=int=appudakke [sā]-
 18 kshi Tāṇaguṇḍūra mūvattirbba[rum] Piriyaḷereyūra sāsirvva-
 19 rum Īsavurada sāsirvvarum Tiḷivalliya sāsirvvarum Kanna[ḍa]-
 20 sandhi-vigrahi mahā-prachanḍa-daṇḍanāyakam³ Kālidāsayyanu[m*] pra-
 21 dhānam³ daṇḍanāyaka Nāraṇayyanu[m*] patthaḷe-verggaḍe Bhōgavārayyanu[m*]
 22 Mudrāvaṇada perggaḍe Guṇḍayyanum purōhita Dāvaṇa-gaḥisāsa-
 23 ru[m*] Ubhaya-sanmatadin baredam Sēnabōvam Kētimayyan=i dha-
 24 mmaman=āvan=ōrvvan=aḷidavam Bāṇarāsi(Vāraṇāsi)yolā sāsi-
 25 ra kavileyum sāsira liṅgamuman=aḷida mahā-
 26 pātakam(an)=akkuṁ || Sava(sva)dattam(ttām) paradattam(ttām) bā(vā) yō harētu(ttu) vasu-
 27 ndharī(rām) [|*] shashtir-varsha-sahaśrāṇi(srāṇi) viṣṭā(ṭhā)yām jāyatē kṛi-
 28 mi[h*] || Keyyede yekkeya Kuṇuvam mane teṁkaṇa Kēri-
 29 ya Lōkaṇōjara neramane || Kaṇḍarisidam Dāsōjam ||

¹ Read *mattar* though this form also occurs in inscriptions.

² i.e. *gadyāṇa*.

³ The *anusvara* is redundant.

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No 29.—JAMBGAON PLATES OF INDRA III, ŚĀKA 836

(2 Plates)

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These plates were discovered at **Jāmbgaon** in the Gangapur Tahsil of the Aurangabad District in the **Marathwada** Division of the Maharashtra State. They were first noticed by Mr. N. S. Pohnerkar in the *Marathwada University Journal*, Vol. I, No. I, pp. 7-14. He discussed their contents further in the same Journal, Vol. II, No. II, pp. 49 f., correcting some of his previous readings. As Mr. Pohnerkar's transcript shows many lacunae, I wished to edit the plates with good facsimiles. At my request, Mr. P. J. Chinmulgund, I.C.S., Secretary, Education and Social Welfare Department, Maharashtra State, arranged to have the plates sent to me by the Deputy Director of Archaeology, Aurangabad. Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly supplied their excellent facsimiles from which and from the original plates the record is edited here. I am thankful to Dr. Gai for the help he rendered in this connection.

This is a set of **three copper plates**, each measuring about 38 cm. by 25 cm. Each plate has a ring-hole, about 2.5 cm. in diameter, for the ring which holds the plates together. The ends of this ring are soldered under the bottom of a seal. The ring is about 9 cm. in diameter and about 1 cm. in thickness. The **seal** is square in shape, each side of which measures 6 cm. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. The record consists of 67 lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and the second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining seventeen on the third plate. The last line consists of only two words viz. *Maṅgalam mahā-śrīḥ*, inscribed in the lower right corner. The writing is generally in a good state of preservation except in a few lines on the left near ring-hole on both the sides of the second plate, where it is damaged by some cracks. The scribe and the engraver have done their work very well. A few letters were omitted by haplography in line 7 on the first plate, but they have been supplied in the margin at the bottom of the same plate.

The seal, which, as stated before, is square in shape, bears in relief on a countersunk face, the figure of **Garuḍa**, squatting on a lotus seat and facing full front. Each of his two hands is holding a hooded serpent which appears to entwine his waist. On his proper right, in the upper corner, is the figure of Gaṇapati, with a *chauri* lower down and below it a lamp. On his proper left, in the upper corner, is the figure of Durgā riding a lion with a *svastika* mark below. On each side of the head of Garuḍa, there is a small circle which may represent the sun and the moon. Below the figure of Garuḍa, there is an indistinct legend which may have been *Śrīman-Nityavarshadēvasya*. Of this legend, only the letters *mannitya* are more or less clear. Nityavarsha, as is well-known was a *biruda* of Indra III, who issued the present plates as shown below. The plates weigh 5 kg. and 70 g., and the ring and the seal together weigh 2 kg. and 250 g.

The **characters** belong to the northern alphabet. The following peculiarities may be noticed:— In initial *ā*, the length is denoted by a slanting stroke added to the vertical of *a* (see *ā śailā*°, line 14); *k* has a loop on the left except when it appears as the superscript letter of a conjunct (see °*akāri*, line 7 and *kshamām*-, line 38); the left limb of *kh* has not yet developed a tail (see *mukha*-, line 2); *ñ* is still without a dot (see *Śārṇqī*, line 5); *ṭh* has no vertical stroke

at the top (see *luṭhaj-jānavō*, line 9); the subscript *ṇ* is laid on its side (see *alamkarishṇō*, line 11); *dh* has not yet developed a horn on its left limb so as to be distinguished from *v*; still, there is no horizontal stroke connecting the two verticals of *dhā* as is generally noticed in other records of the age (see *dhāma*, line 1); *ph* has a curve near the top of its vertical (see *-visphurad-*, line 27); *bh* and *h* are almost similar in form (see *śrī-Raṇavigrahaḥ* and *samabhavach-* both in line 25); the form of *bh* in *Kailāsād=Bhavānī-* (line 8) is noteworthy; *r* has two forms, one of which shows a tail (see *nirupamō niravadya-*, line 12); the left limb of palatal *ś* is not yet separated from the right vertical (see *saṁśraya-śrīḥ*, line 3).

The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses, of which there are thirty-nine, are not numbered. As regards **orthography**, the following peculiarities are noteworthy:— The medial vowel *ṛi* is wrongly used for *ri* coming after *t* (see *nistrīmśa-*, line 36 and *shaṭ-trīmśad-*, line 53); the consonant after *r* is doubled (see *Śrī-Dantidurgga-*, line 5); *v* is used for *b* (see *vandhur-*, line 1). Finally, *n* is used for *anusvāra* in *śansati*, line 20.

The record opens with *svasti*. This is followed by two verses, the first being the usual one in praise of Hari and Hara and the second in that of Kṛishṇa (the destroyer of Kāṁsa). Then comes a verse (3) in glorification of the reigning king Indrarājādēva (i.e. the Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III).¹ This is followed by the *praśasti* of the ancestors of the king in eighteen verses (4-21). To the description of the reigning king himself which follows, ten verses are devoted (22-31). The initial metrical portion of the grant thus contains 31 verses, most of which occur in the two sets of the Bagumra plates of this very king already published.² Only seven verses, viz. 12, 17, 25, 26, 28-30 are new. They contain mere conventional praise and therefore do not add to our historical information. This metrical portion is followed by the formal portion of the grant in prose, a considerable part of which is also common to the two grants mentioned above. The portion in lines 41-44, however, is new, but it contains conventional praise of the donor. Again the portion *tath-āgāmibhir*, etc. in lines 57-58, appealing to future kings to preserve the present grant is new. The record has, finally, seven benedictive and imprecatory verses (32-38) and one verse (39) mentioning the name of the composer. It ends with the auspicious formula *Maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ* in the last line.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Khaīrōṇḍhī** situated near Paīṭṭhāṇa by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Nityavarshanarēndra (i.e. Indra III), who meditated on the feet of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Akālavārsha (i.e. Kṛishṇa II). In the description of the donor occur some other *birūdas* of his viz. *Kīrtinārāyaṇa*, *Raṭṭakandarpa*, *Rājamārtanḍa* and *Vijayāvalōka*. The king had gone to **Kurundaka** from his capital **Mānyakhēṭa** for the performance of his *paṭṭabandha* or coronation ceremony. He made this grant while he was being weighed for the *Tulāpuruṣha Mahādāna*. He donated Kurundaka, and other villages together with five lakhs of *drammas* and also restored to their rightful owners *dēvabhōga agrahāra* villages,³ which had been confiscated by earlier kings. The donated village Khaīrōṇḍhī had the following boundaries— **Pippalagrāma** on the east, **Sirisikā** on the south, **Sēdiālē** on the west and **Nandaauraka** on the north. The **donee** was the Brāhmaṇa Dāmōdara-bhaṭṭa of the Bhāradvāja gōtra and Vājasaneyā śākhā,⁴ the son of Bhīmāsita-bhaṭṭa. He was proficient in the four Vēdas and had hailed from the district of **Vēṅgī**. The grant was made in the **expired Śaka year eight***

¹ For a similar instance of the reigning king being described in the beginning of a record, see the Surat plates of Śrīyāśraya Śīlāditya, dated K. 443, *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 132 f.

² Edited first by R. G. Bhandarkar in *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 253 ff. with an English translation by S. R. Bhandarkar; re-edited by D. R. Bhandarkar, above, Vol. IX, pp. 24 ff.

³ The Bagumra plates tell us that the number of such restored villages was four hundred. They were granted together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drammas*, above, Vol. IX, pp. 33 and 36.

⁴ [See below, p. 236, note 3.—Ed.]

hundred and thirty-six, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The *tithi* was the seventh of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, the week-day Friday and the *nakshatra* Mrigaśiras. The last verse states that this excellent *praśasti* was composed by Śrī-Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who was the son of Nēmāditya, and who was serving Indrarāja. He was also the composer of the two sets of the Bagumra grants mentioned above.

It will be noticed that the present grant was made on the same occasion as the two previously published Bagumra grants viz. the coronation ceremony of Indra III. The present grant mentions, however, two additional details of the date viz. the week-day Friday and the *nakshatra* Mrigaśiras, which were not known before. This date corresponds, for the expired Śaka year 836, to the 24th February, A.D. 915. On that day the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended at 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The week-day was Friday as required and the *nakshatra* was Mriga throughout that day. The cyclic year was Yuvan according to the northern luni-solar system, which, as Kielhorn has shown,¹ was current in South India down to Śaka 855. The date can thus be completely verified.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we shall next turn to the historical information furnished by it. This has indeed been previously discussed by the editors of the Bagumra plates. Still, there are some particulars on which it is possible now to shed some more light.

As stated before, the present record contains, after two *maṅgala ślōkās*, a verse in praise of the reigning king Indra III, which runs as follows:—

स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धतदुर्द्धारिचक्रः ।

अपहृतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥

While editing the Bagumra plates, D. R. Bhandarkar translated this verse as follows²:—

“Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III), whose long arms (*were made her*) refuge by the goddess of wealth, who has routed out in battles the circle of his enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (*and who is*) the lion (*i.e. the best*) among men, just as Upēndra (Vishṇu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (*were made her support*) by (*the goddess*) Lakshmī, who held up in battles (*his*) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (*his*) legions (*to Pātāla*) (*and who was*) a man-lion (*in his fourth incarnation*).”

This translation misses an important historical reference, of which D. R. Bhandarkar had then no idea. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who drafted this *praśasti*, was fond of *ślēsha* (*double entendre*) as seen in several verses of this grant. He has compared Indra III with Vishṇu in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation. He has used the several adjectives in this verse in such a way that they can be construed with both Indrarāja and Upēndra (Vāmana). One of these is *apahṛita-bali-maṇḍala*, which, like the other adjectives, has to be understood in two ways. Bhandarkar took *bali-maṇḍala* to mean (i) the territories of the mighty and (ii) Bali and his legions. We can as well take the second sense to be ‘the dominion of Bali’; for we know that Vāmana deprived him of it and thrust him to Pātāla. But apart from this, there is another covert reference in this adjective which Bhandarkar failed to notice. As shown below, Indra exterminated the contemporary Bāṇa king Vijayāditya II *alias* Prabhumēru. The Bāṇas called themselves Māvali or Mahābali and traced their descent from the mighty demon king Bali.³ So the sense here seems to be that just as Vāmana had formerly deprived the demon king Bali of his dominion, even so Indra III annexed the kingdom

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 268-69.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 38.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 224 f.

of the Bali king Vijayāditya Prabhumēru. As we shall see, there is again a reference to this event further in verse 27, which also has not yet been properly understood. In fact this comparison of Indra III with Vāmana was suggested to the poet's mind by Indra's victory over the Bāṇa king, who claimed descent from Bali. The annexation of the kingdom of the Bāṇa king was the most noteworthy event in the early part of the political career of Indra III as the devastation of Kanauj was in its later part. The latter outshone the former and so it is generally the only achievement of Indra III mentioned in later records.¹

Verse 4 describes the race of the Yadus descended from the Moon. The next three verses (5-7) eulogise **Dantidurga**, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. D. R. Bhandarkar took the description in verse 6 as stating the chronological order of Dantidurga's conquests. "Dantidurga first reduced", says he, "the lowermost, i.e. the southern country, then turned his arms against the Madhyadēśa and finally conquered the city of Kāñchī." The wording of the verse seems, however, to have been suggested rather by the *double entendre* on *madhya-dēśa* and *Kāñchī* than by any sequence of Dantidurga's conquests. Such descriptions are by no means rare in Sanskrit *subhāshitas* and inscriptions.²

Verse 8 mentions **Kṛishṇa I**, the uncle of Dantidurga, who succeeded him. His praise in the next verse is merely conventional. He was followed by his son **Nirupama** (Dhruva). The name of Gōvinda II, the elder son of Kṛishṇa I, whom Dhruva deposed, is here omitted. The only events mentioned in the description of Dhruva-Nirupama are that he wrested white umbrellas from the trembling hand of the lord of Kōśala and a king of North India. Kōśala is evidently Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, roughly corresponding to modern Chhattisgaḍh. The ruler of this country defeated by Dhruva probably belonged to the Nala dynasty. In this period the Nalas, who originally held the former State of Bastar and the adjoining country, ousted the Sōmavamśis from Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. An inscription³ of the Nalas referable to the eighth century A.D. still exists in the temple of Rājīvalōchana at Rajim in the Raipur District of Chhattisgaḍh. It mentions three kings of the Nala family, viz. Prithvirāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatuṅga, who flourished towards the close of the seventh and in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Dhruva seems to have defeated a successor of Vilāsatuṅga. The king of North India may be either Vatsa of the Pratihāra or Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, both of whom were defeated by Dhruva.

Verse 11 mentions Dhruva's son and successor **Jagattuṅga**, who is none other than the mighty Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III. He made several brilliant conquests both in North and South India, but, strange as it might appear, the present inscription dismisses him with half a verse. His successor was his son **Śrīvallabha**, better known to historians as Amōghavarsha I. He was engaged in a long and protracted war with the Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī, in the course of which the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was shaken to its very foundations. The Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya II is said to have fought, during twelve years by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Raṭṭas (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭas) and their feudatories, the Gaṅgas. Amōghavarsha I ultimately rescued his kingdom from the grip of the Chālukyas and was thereby known as Vīranārāyaṇa as his exploit resembled that of the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), who, in his Varāha incarnation, uplifted the earth submerged in the ocean. Amōghavarsha wreaked a terrible vengeance on the Chālukyas, which is graphically described in verse 14. By his forces he captured all trouble-makers and uprooting the enemies, the fierce Chālukyas, he exterminated them as

¹ See the Sangli and Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV, above, Vol. VII, pp. 27 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 249 f.

² See e.g. CII, Vol. IV, p. 270, verse 25; *Saduktikarnāmṛita*, p. 197.

³ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49 f.

one burns the uprooted sheafs of chickpea, gathering thorny shrubs by means of a stick. The poet has used the word *stamba* here in the two senses of (i) a multitude and (ii) a sheaf. D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion that we have here a reference to the devastation of Stambapura, modern Tāmralipti or Tamluk,¹ is farfetched; for Amōghavarsha I is not known to have raided and devastated Tamluk in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

With verse 15 begins the description of **Kṛishṇa II**, the son and successor of Amōghavarsha I. Verse 16 gives a graphic description of his fight with the Gurjaras or the Pratihāras of Kanauj, which old men are said to remember still at the advent of the rainy season. The next verse (17), which occurs here for the first time, gives an interesting description based on *double entendre* of how his enemies spent their days, whether in mansions or in forest-resorts, by his favour.

Verse 18 describes **Jagattuṅga**, the son of Kṛishṇa II. The next three verses introduce a digression to state the pedigree of his wife, **Lakshmī**. She was the daughter of **Raṇavigraha**, the son of **Kōkkalla**, born in the family of Haihaya Sahastārjuna, who was the lord of the Chēdi country. As D. R. Bhandarkar has already shown, Raṇavigraha was the *biruda* of the Kalachuri king Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavaḥa described as the son and successor of Kōkkalla in the Banaras copper-plate inscription. His personal name was Śaṅkaragaṇa which is noticed in the records of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas when they refer to him as an associate of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa II. Jagattuṅga married the Chēdi princess Lakshmī and from her had a son named Indra, who is the donor of the present plates. Jagattuṅga seems to have predeceased his father; for in the formal part of this grant, Indra III is described as meditating not on his feet but on the feet of his grandfather Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II).

Verses 22 to 31 describe the reigning king **Indra III**. They mention his *birudas* *Raṭṭa-kandarpa* and *Kīrtinārāgaṇa*. Five of these verses are new,² but they contain mere conventional praise and so do not add to our historical information. Verse 27, however, though already known from the Bagumra plates, deserves careful study. It runs as follows:

कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा ।

उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥

S. R. Bhandarkar, who supplied the translation to R. G. Bhandarkar's edition of the Bagumra (then called Navsāri) plates, rendered this verse as follows³:— "Who, the Indrarāja rooting out Mēru with ease, was not surprised at his (*thus*) surpassing Upēndra (Vishṇu) who lifted Gōvardhana." This translation is incorrect in one respect. *Vismīta* means here not 'surprised' but 'puffed up'.⁴ R. G. Bhandarkar did not attempt to elucidate the historical allusion in this verse. D. R. Bhandarkar, who next edited the Bagumra plates, gave the following translation⁵:—"This Indrarāja, having uprooted Mēru (Mahōdaya ?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at his defeating (*king*) Upēndra, who had saved Gōvardhana, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (Mount) Mēru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 27.

² Viz. verses 25, 26, 28, 29 and 30.

³ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 267-68.

⁴ Cf. आनीयतां स विहगवाहनमात्रविस्मितो दूतः in the Sanskrit play *Dūtārākya* ascribed to Bhāsa, Act I (*Bhāsa-nāṭika-chakram*, p. 446).

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 40.

(his) vanquishing (the god) Upēndra (Kṛishṇa), who had uplifted the Gōvardhana (mountain)”. D. R. Bhandarkar rightly translated *vismitam* as ‘puffed up’, but he supposed that there was here a reference to Indra’s devastation of some place called Mēru and his defeat of a prince named Upēndra who had saved Gōvardhana. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who composed this *praśasti*, is well known as the author of the *Nalachampū*, which abounds in puns. He says in that work that he knows that his work has become obscure on account of *bhaṅga-slēsha*.¹ Bhandarkar therefore, thought that the adjective *hēl-ōnmūlita-Mēru* was intended to be understood both with (i) Indra III and (ii) the god Indra. Similarly, *kṛita-Gōvardhan-ōddhāra* is to be construed with (i) the king Upēndra and (ii) the god Upēndra (Kṛishṇa). Bhandarkar did not, however, explain the mythological reference implied in the god Indra’s uprooting (Mount) Mēru; nor have I come across any legendary story to that effect. But while discussing the historical allusions in this verse, Bhandarkar observed as follows:—“The historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name Upēndra by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indrarāja III. But who this Upēndra was and how the epithets *kṛita-Gōvardhan-ōddhāra* and *hēl-ōnmūlita-Mēru* used in connection with the kings Upēndra and Indrarāja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upēndra referred to Mahīpāla of the Pratihāra dynasty of Mahodaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhagalpur grant of the Pāla dynasty gave the other name Chakrāyudha. But I have stated above that beyond all doubt Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha whom he reinstated on the throne were contemporaries of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Gōvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, the word *Mēru* in the expression *hēl-ōnmūlita-Mēru* signifies Mēra or Mēhra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mehra king of North Kathiawad by Indrarāja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that Mēru probably is Mahodaya i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indra III, specified in the Sangli charter. With regard to the other expression viz. *kṛita-Gōvardhan-ōddhāra*, no interpretation has been proposed and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse.”²

Since the time of D. R. Bhandarkar, some more explanations of the two epithets under discussion have been proposed. Altekar pointed out that Mēru cannot be taken in the sense of Kanauj or even Mahīpāla as suggested by Kielhorn and D. R. Bhandarkar respectively. For this exploit of Indra III must have occurred very early in his reign before his coronation in 915 A.D., but “it is almost impossible that Indra would have carried out his expedition against Kanauj during the short interval between his father’s death and his own coronation.”³ Altekar could not suggest any explanation of *hēl-ōnmūlita-Mēru*, but as regards *kṛita-Gōvardhan-ōddhāra*, used as an epithet of Upēndra, he thought that Upēndra was the Paramāra chief Kṛishṇarāja, who flourished in the period 900-925 A. D. He thus explained the cause of the conflict:—“Paramāras were in the beginning very probably feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. At their instigation Upēndra seems to have attacked Gōvardhana in the Nasik District at the beginning of Indra’s reign. Indra defeated him, compelling the Paramāras to transfer their allegiance to his own house. The Harsola grant attests to the fact that the Paramāras were professing allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas subsequent to

¹ Cf. वाचः काठिन्यमायान्ति भङ्गश्लेषविशेषतः ।

नोद्वेगस्तत्र कर्तव्यो यस्मान्नको रसः कवेः ॥

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 27.

³ *The Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 100. Altekar reiterated this view in his chapter on the Rāshtrakūṭas in the *Early History of the Deccan* (ed. by G. Yazdani), Vol. I, p. 286.

Indra's conquests." There is, however, no other reference to this invasion of Gōvardhana by the Paramāra prince Upēndra (or Kṛishṇa). Again, Gōvardhana was not at this time an important place as it undoubtedly was in the early centuries of the Christian era. Besides, Upēndra (i.e. Paramāra Kṛishṇa) is said in this verse not to have attacked but to have rescued Gōvardhana. The Nasik district, in which it was situated, was comprised in the dominion of Indra. It is inconceivable that the Paramāra prince went to the rescue of a place in his enemy's territory. For these reasons Altekar's explanation cannot be accepted.

About the identification of Mēru also some more suggestions have been made. As far back as 1922 S. N. Majumdar identified Mēru uprooted by Indra III with Prabhumēru, the son of Bāṇa-Vidyādhara who married the daughter of the Gaṅga prince Prithvīpati I, a contemporary of Amōghavarsha I.¹ He showed that there was no difficulty in taking this Prabhumēru to be a contemporary of Indra III, the successor of Amōghavarsha's son Kṛishṇa II. Dr. Mahalingam, on the other hand, would identify this Mēru with Prabhumēru's father Vikramāditya-Jayamēru, also known as Bāṇa-Vidyādhara (850-895 A.D.)². He thus supports this identification:—The Bāṇas are known to have fought with the Nolambas. The latter were probably the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Mahēndrādhirāja Nolamba, who claims to have destroyed the race of Bali, was evidently acting on behalf of the Rāshtrakūṭas. After their defeat by the Nolambas, the Bāṇas accepted the suzerainty of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Vikramāditya-Jayamēru seems to have followed the Rāshtrakūṭa prince to his kingdom and while there, constructed a temple of Śiva at Pāli, 12 miles north of Ratanpur. An inscription³ in three parts over the architrave of the temple at Pāli records that it was built by Vikramāditya, the son of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Malladēva. He was evidently identical with the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya I-Jayamēru.

The verse *Kṛita-Gōvardhan-ōddhāram*, etc. is thus variously interpreted. The first thing to be noted in this connection is that this verse does *not* signify any victory of Indra III over a king named Upēndra. What the verse means is that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, who exterminated (a king named) Mēru with ease was not puffed up with pride although he surpassed Upēndra (Kṛishṇa) who had uplifted the (*small*) hill Gōvardhana. The root *ji* in this verse signifies the sense of surpassing,⁴ not of conquering. God Indra, though an elder brother of Upēndra (Vishṇu in the Vāmana incarnation), was always submissive to the latter and had to seek his help against the demons when they rose against him. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, on the other hand, surpassed that god Upēndra (Vishṇu in his incarnation as Kṛishṇa); for while the latter could lift up only a small hill named Gōvardhana, this king Indra had uprooted Mēru. (There is here a pun on the word Mēru. It means (i) the Mēru mountain and (ii) a king named Mēru.) Even so, this king Indra is not puffed up with pride. This is indeed a matter for surprise! It will thus be seen that while there is a pun on the adjective *hēl-ōnmūlita-Mēru* qualifying Indra, there is none on the

¹ *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 339 f.

² See his monograph *The Bāṇas in South Indian History* (JIH, Vol. XXIX, pp. 179 ff.).

³ I first drew attention to this inscription at the third session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta in 1939. See *PIHC*, III, p. 323 and f.n. Since then I have discussed this matter in *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 418.

⁴ An analogous instance of the use of the root *ji* in this sense, which also was long misunderstood, is the following verse which occurs in the Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III:—

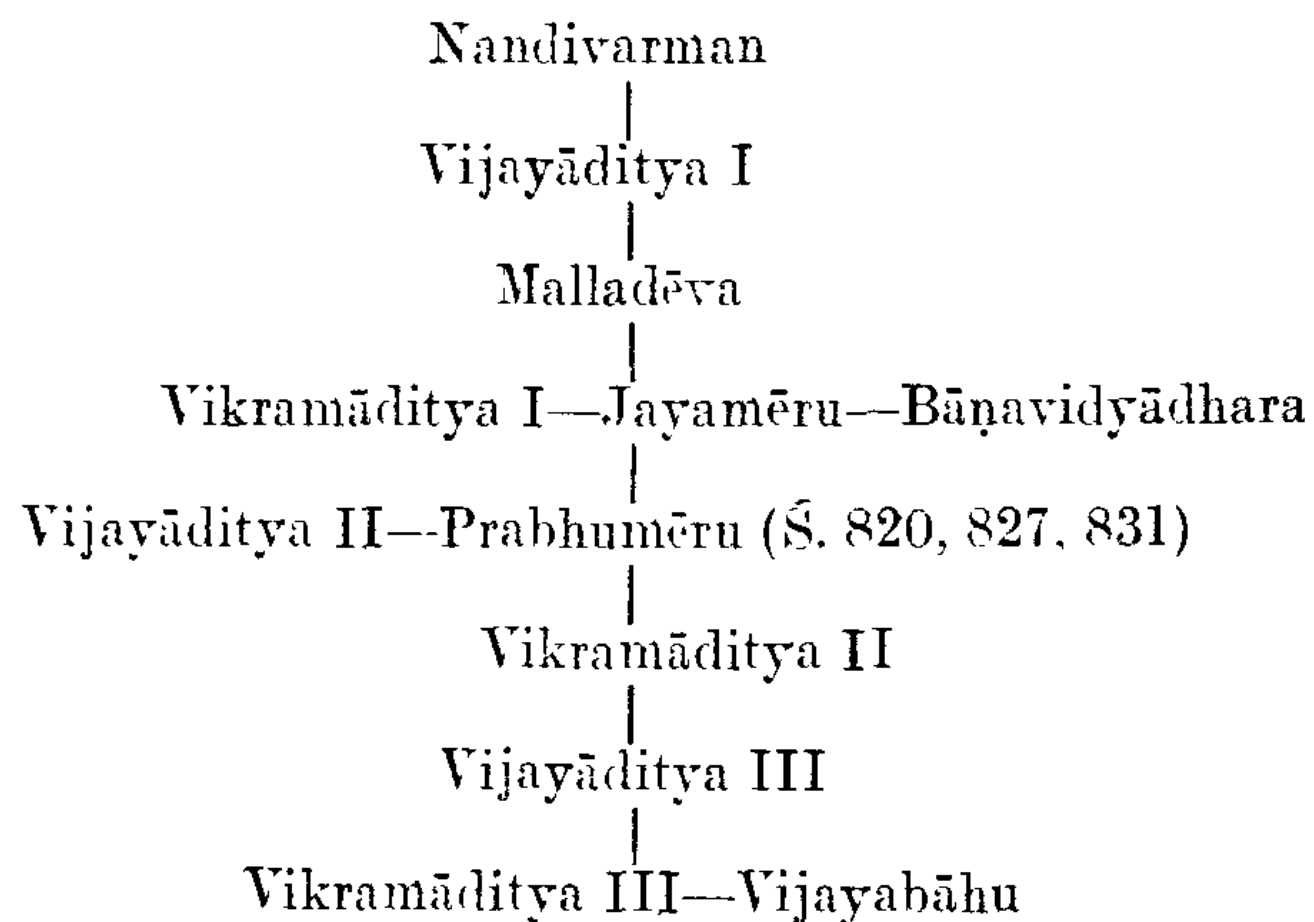
रामहतसहस्रभुजो भुजद्वयांकलितसमदरामेण ।

जननीपत्नीगुरुरपि येन सहस्राजुंनो विजितः ॥ (Above, Vol. IV, p. 284, verse 25)

It was long believed that Kṛishṇa III defeated a Sahasrārjuna (i.e. a Kalachuri king) who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. What it really means is that Kṛishṇa III, who with both his arms embraced intoxicated women (*rāmā*), surpassed Sahasrārjuna, the ancestor of his mother and wife, whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i.e. Paraśurāma). See *CII*, Vol. IV, Introd. p. lxxxii and f.n.

word *Upēndra*¹ nor on its adjective *kṛita-Gōvardhan-ōddhāra*. The supposed puns on these words tacitly accepted by all scholars who have written on this matter till now have led to a veritable wild goose chase.

We shall next proceed to identify the king **Mēru** exterminated by Indra III. It is only in the Bāṇa dynasty of North Arcot District that we come across names or *birudas* ending in *mēru*. While editing the Gudimallam plates² Hultzsch gave the following genealogy of the Bāṇa kings :—



Vikramāditya-Jayamēru was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I. He could not therefore have been defeated by Indra III, the great-grandson of that Rāshtrakūṭa king, as suggested by Mahalingam. Vijayāditya-Prabhumēru, whose dates range from Śaka 820 to 831 (898 to 909 A.D.) was, however, a contemporary of Indra's grandfather Krishna II. He was probably the king Mēru defeated and exterminated by Indra III in one of his campaigns as Yuvarāja towards the close of his grandfather's reign. Verse 3 of the present inscription discussed above shows that Indra III not only exterminated the Bāṇa king but also annexed his territory. Where was that territory situated? Several years ago, I drew attention to an inscription³ on the architrave of the *garbha-griha* of a temple of Śiva at Pāli, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgaḍh, which records that it was constructed by Vikramāditya, the son of Mahābali Mahāmaṇḍal-ēśvara Malladēva. This king, as I showed then, is identical with Vikramāditya I *alias* Jayamēru. Either he or his father seems to have conquered the territory round Pāli and erected a magnificent temple of Śiva there. Mahalingam's suggestion that Jayamēru, after his defeat by Indra III, followed the Rāshtrakūṭa king to his kingdom and while there, took occasion to construct a temple at Pāli is untenable. In the first place, Jayamēru was a contemporary of Amōghavarsha I and not of Indra III. Secondly, the construction of the temple at Pāli must have taken some years. We have no reason to suppose that the Bāṇa king lived so long as a guest of the Rāshtrakūṭa king. Thirdly, even supposing that he did so, there is no reason why he should erect a temple at Pāli which is at least 500 miles as the crow flies north-east of the then Rāshtrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa. It seems therefore better to suppose that the country round Pāli had previously been conquered

¹ It may be noted that there is no pun on Upēndra in verse 3.

² Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 f.

³ This inscription was first very briefly noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, but he could not identify the king Vikramāditya at the time. His reading of some portion of it was also not quite correct. See my article mentioned above, now reprinted in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 31 f.

by the Bāṇas and that they were ruling there for some time. In the reign of Jayamēru's son Prabhūmēru there was a conflict with the Rāshtrakūṭas. Indra III invaded the territory, exterminated the Bāṇa king and annexed his kingdom. This is clearly shown by the epithets *hēl-ōnmūlita-Mēru* and *apahṛita-Bali-maṇḍala* applied to Indra in verses 27 and 3 respectively of the present grant. This invasion must have taken place towards the close of the reign of his grandfather Kṛishṇa II; for it is mentioned in the charters issued by Indra on the occasion of his coronation i.e. in the very first year of his reign. His invasion and devastation of Kanauj took place much later in his reign. As it was a much more glorious exploit, it alone is mentioned in the Sangli and Cambay plates of his son Gōvinda IV.

Indra seems to have made over the conquered territory to his relatives the Kalachuris of Tripurī. His maternal uncle Śaṅkaragaṇa *alias* Mugdhatuṅga is said to have made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas* while he himself ascended the throne at Tripurī. He is also credited with the conquest of Pāli, which he is said to have wrested from the lord of Kōsala.¹ Perhaps he was associated with the *Yuvarāja* Indra in this campaign against the Bāṇa king.² In any case, we find that the Kalachuris were established in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala in this period and had their capital at Tummāṇa, not far from Pāli. As I have shown elsewhere,³ the Kalachuris ruled in Dakṣiṇa Kōsala for two or three generations until they were ousted therefrom by some enemy.

As stated before, the present charter was composed by **Trivikramabhaṭṭa**, the son of Nēmāditya, who was a protege of Indra III. He has been identified with the homonymous author of the Champū Kāvya *Nalachampū*. In the introductory portion of that work, its author tells us that he was the son of Nēmāditya (v.l. Dēvāditya) and grandson of Śrīdhara of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra*.⁴ The present charter does not name the grandfather and the *gōtra* of its author, but apart from this there is no chronological difficulty. The author of the *Nalachampū* mentions the Sanskrit poet Bāṇa⁵ who lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. A verse of that Champū work is cited as an illustration by Bhōja (the first half of the 11th century A.D.) in his *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana*.⁶ Its author may therefore have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The style of the present *praśasti* which is full of *ślēsha* and other figures lends colour to the identification. Trivikrama seems to have hailed from Vidarbha. He has detailed knowledge of the regions, mountains, rivers, cities, temples and *āśramas* of Vidarbha.⁷ He mentions the district of Bhōjakaṭa, the rivers Payōshnī (Pūrṇā), Varadā (Wardha) and Vidarbhā, the town Kuṇḍinapura situated near the confluence of the Varadā and the Vidarbhā,⁸ the temple of Mahā-Varāha near the source of the Payōshnī, the hermitages of Bhārgava, Mārkaṇḍēya and Jamadagni, etc. Much of this information is no doubt traditional, but there are some details which could have been known only by personal observation. The rivulet Vidarbhā, which flows near Kuṇḍinapura is, for instance, not noticed in any work. It is still known by its ancient name near Kuṇḍinapura. Such detailed knowledge of the topography of the regions in Vidarbha suggests that the poet may have originally hailed from that country.

¹ For a full discussion of this matter, see *CII*, Vol. IV, Introd., pp. cxv ff.

² He was associated with Indra's grandfather Kṛishṇa II during his campaigns against the Eastern Chālukyas.

³ *CII*, Vol. IV, Introd., p. cxvii.

⁴ *Nalachampū* (Kashi Sanskrit Series), p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁶ *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharana* (Nirṇayasāgar ed.), p. 522.

⁷ *Nalachampū*, pp. 56, 147, etc.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 190-91.

Several writers have identified our author with the poet Trivikrama who composed the *Madālasāchampū*. This *kāvya* is written in a much simpler style and has not the characteristic features of the *Nalachampū*.¹ The identification cannot therefore be upheld.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Paṭṭhāṇa** is evidently Paṭṭhaṇ, ancient Pratishṭhāṇa on the Gōdāvarī, the well-known capital of the Sātavāhanas. The donated village **Khaīrōṇḍhī** which was situated near Paṭṭhāṇa may be Khirai, which lies about 4 miles north by west of Paṭṭhaṇ. Of the boundary villages, only two can be traced in the vicinity of Khirai. **Nandauraka** may be Agar Nandur on the south bank of the Gōdāvarī and **Pippalagrāma** may be Pippalwāḍī on the north bank of the same river about a mile and a half east of Agar Nandur. The remaining two villages cannot be identified in the vicinity of Khirai. The place **Kurundaka** where Indra III had gone from his capital **Mānyakhēṭa** (Modern Malkhed) for his coronation must have been noted for its sanctity. R. G. Bhandarkar identified it with Kaḍōḍā on the bank of the Tāpī. Jackson proposed to identify it with Kurundwād near the confluence of the Kṛishṇā and the Pañchagaṅgā in the former Kolhapur State. This identification was accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar and Altekar. But this place is far away from Paṭṭhaṇ. If Kurundaka was situated near Paṭṭhaṇ as appears from the present grant,² it may have been near the confluence of the Pravara and the Gōdāvarī (Pravara-saṅgama), which is regarded as very holy. In that case, Kurundaka may be represented by Kaigaon near Pravara-saṅgama. This place is about 30 miles from Paṭṭhaṇ and only three miles east of Jambgaon where the present plates were found.

TEXT³

[Metres : verses 1, 11, 13-14, 25, 27, 32-33, 35-36, 39 *Anushtubh* ; verses 2, 18, 21-23, 26, 28, 31 *Mālinī* ; verses 3, 38 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 4, 7, 12 *Sragdharā* ; verses 5-6, 8-9, 15 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 10, 16-17, 19-20, 24, 29-30 *Śārdūlavikrūḍita* ; verse 34 *Indravajrā* ; verse 37 *Śālinī*.]

First Plate

1 स्वस्ति [१*] स बोध्याद्वेधमा धाम यन्नाभिकमलं कृतं(तम् ।) हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतं(तम्) ॥[१॥*] जयति विवु(बु)ध'व(ब)न्धुर्व्विन्द्य-
विस्तारिवक्षस्थ-

2 लविमलविलोलन्कौस्तुभः कमकेतुः । मुखसरसिजरंगे यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्याः
स्मरभरपरिताम्यत्तारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥[२॥*] स जय-

¹ Some of these may be stated as follows :— (i) The author of the *Nalachampū* used *Ilara-charaṇa-sarōja* in the last verse of each *uchchhṛāsa* as the mark of his composition, but it is not noticed in the *Madālasāchampū*. (ii) The chapters of the former are called *uchchhṛāsas* while those of the latter are called *ullāsas*. (iii) The author of the *Madālasāchampū* does not state his parentage and *gōtra*, like that of the *Nalachampū*. For a fuller discussion of this matter, see my article in the *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference*, XXI Session.

² Kurundaka is no doubt far away from Bagumra where two other charters of Indra III were found, but these latter were of villages confiscated by previous kings and restored by Indra III.

³ From the original plates and impressions.

⁴ There is an unnecessary top-*māhā* above *dha*.

- 3 ति भुजदण्डसंश्रयश्रीः समरसमुद्धृतदुर्द्ध(र्द्ध)रारिचक्रः । अपहृतव(व)लिमण्डलो नृसिंहः
सततमुपेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः॥[३॥*] अस्ति श्रीनाथ-
- 4 नाभिस्फुरदुस्सरसाम्भोजजन्मा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादत्रिः सुतोभूदमृतकरपरिस्पन्द इन्दुस्ततोपि ।
तस्माद्वंशो यदूनां ज[ग]ति स
- 5 ववृधे यत्र तैस्तैर्विलासैः शाङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानां नयनकुवलयैरर्च्यमानश्चचार
॥[४॥*] तत्रान्वये विततसात्यकिवंशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्ग-
- 6 नृपतिः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् [१*] चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्यं शंखचक्रकर-
लाञ्छनमाजगाम ॥ [५॥*] कृत्वास्पदं हृदयहारि ज-
- 7 घन्यभागे स्वैरं पुनर्नृ(र्मु)दु विमर्द्य च मध्यदेशं(शम्) । यस्यासमस्य समरे^१
वसुधाङ्गनायाः काञ्चीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः ॥[६॥*] आ सेतोः सा-
- 8 नुवप्रप्रव(व)लकपिकुलोल्लून्फुल्लल्लवङ्गात् ।^२ आ कैलासाद्भवानीचलचरणरणभूपुरोन्ना-
दितान्तात् । यस्याज्ञाम्भूमिपालाः
- 9 करमुकुलमिलम्भौ(न्मौ)लिमालायमा नामानम्रैरुत्तमाङ्गैरवनितललुठज्जानवो मानयन्ति
॥[७॥*] जित्वा जगन्निज-
- 10 भुजेन पुनर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतुमिव तस्य गतस्य राज्ञः । तत्राभवत्परमधाम्नि
पदे पितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनृपतिः
- 11 प्रथितप्रतापः ॥[८॥*] दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचान्दनपत्रभंगलीलायमानधनविस्तृतकान्तकीर्त्तः ।
श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकरिष्णोस्तस्मा-
- 12 दभून्निरुपमो निरवद्यशौर्यः ॥[९॥*] कीर्त्तः कुन्दरुचः समस्तभुवनप्रस्थानकुम्भः
सितो लक्ष्म्याः पाणितले विलासकमलं पूर्णैन्दुवि(वि)-
- 13 म्व(म्ब)द्युति । एकं कपितकोसलेश्वरकरादाच्छिन्नमन्यत्पुनर्येनोदीच्यनराधिपात् यश^३
इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥[१०॥*] तस्माल्लेभे जगत्तुंगो ज-
- 14 न्म सन्मा(म्मा)नितद्विजः [१*] सोपि श्रीवल्लभं सूनुं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥[११॥*]
आ शैलाच्चारूडामणिसदृशलसन्नूत(त्न)मार्त्तण्डवि(वि)म्बा(म्बा)त्^४ लङ्काङ्का-

^१ The *aksharas* 'स्य सम-', which had been omitted by haplography after यस्यासम-, are written below the last line between two *kākapādas* with an indicative mark above *rē*.

^२ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

^३ Read—नराधिपाद्यश.

^४ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

15 दा हनूमत्करतललुलितोत्तुङ्गकूटात्त्रिकूटात् । आस्तादम्भोधिवीचीचयरचितरणत्कारि-
काञ्चीप्रपञ्चात् ।¹ आ कैलासान्नगेशा-

16 ज्जगदिदमजयत्कोपि यस्य प्रतापः ॥[१२॥*] वि(नि)मग्नां यश्चलुक्याब्धौ(ब्धौ)
रट्टराज्यश्रियं पुनः । पृथ्वीमिवोद्धरन्वीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥[१३॥*] समू-

17 लोन्मूलितस्तम्बा(म्बा)न्दण्डेनानीतकण्टकः [१*] योदहद्वेषिणश्चण्डचालुक्यांश्चणकानिव
॥[१४॥*] उच्चैश्चलुक्यकुलकन्दलकालकेतोस्तस्मादकृ-

Second Plate, First Side

18 ष्णचरितोजनि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुट[कै]रसकृज्जनेन ।¹ कीर्त्तिः परिभ्रमति
यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥[१५॥*] उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजाल-

19 जटिलं व्याकृष्टमीदृग्धनुः क्रुद्धेनोपरि वैरिवीरशिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः ।
धारासारिणि सेन्द्रचापवलये यस्येत्यमब्दा(ब्दा)ग-

20 मे गज्जर्ज्जुर्जरसंगरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो जनः शन्स(शंस)ति ॥[१६॥*] नेत्रानन्दिनि
चित्रशालिनि वहत्यन्तः श्रियं हारिणीमुच्चे(च्चै)र्भद्रकम-

21 तत्वारणपरिस्पन्दं दधाने पुनः । मुक्ताहारविभूषिताः सह सुतैरास्वादितश्रीफला
भर्त्तव्या भवने वने च रिपवो यस्य स्थितिं च-

22 क्रिरे ॥[१७॥*] अजनि जनितभंगो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादधरितमदनश्रीः
श्रीजगत्तुङ्गदेवः । ध्वजसरसिजशंखप्रोल्लसच्चक्रपाणि-

23 विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥[१८॥*] आसीत्कोप्यथ हैहयान्वयभवो
भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गज्जर्ज्जुर्जयरावणोज्जि-

24 तलसद्दोर्दण्डकण्डूहरः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसां यत्कीर्त्तिनामाक्षरैः सिद्धैः
सान्द्रसुधारसेन लिखितैर्व्याप्ताः

25 ककुब्भि(ब्भि)त्तयः ॥[१९॥*] वंशे तस्य सपत्नवंशपरशोः कोक्कल्लभूपात्मजो
राजा श्रीरणविग्रहः समभवच्चेदीश्वरः की-

26 त्तिमान् । यस्यारातिपुरन्ध्रमण्डनमुषः सव्वोपि पृथ्वीपतिः सूर्यस्येन्दुरिव प्रयाति
विकलः पक्षक्षये म-

¹ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

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- 27 ण्डलम् ॥[२०॥*] सकलगुणगणाब्धे(ब्धे)व्विस्फुरद्धामघाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य
लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदेन्दुः सु-
- 28 न्दरीचित्तहर्ता हरिरिव परिणिन्ये तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ॥[२१॥*] चतुरुदधितटान्त-
ख्यातशौर्योथ तस्यामभवदरिघरट्टो रट्टक-
- 29 न्दर्पदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकलजनशरण्यः पुण्यलावण्य-
राशिः ॥[२२॥*] मदनममृतवि(वि)न्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च वि(वि)म्बं(म्बं)
- 30 नवनलिनमृणाल(लं) चन्दनं चन्द्रिकां च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मनिर्म्माणशेषैरणु-
भिरिव चकार स्पष्टमानन्दि वेधाः ॥[२३॥*] देवो य-
- 31 श्चतुरम्बु(म्बु)राशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाका(का)मन्निजविक्रमेण समभूत्¹ श्रीकीर्त्ति-
नारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधियां [ज]-
- 32 ग्मुः समं विद्विषां दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचो मनांसि च भयं सेवांजलिं मौलयः
॥[२४॥*] यस्य वैरिवधूवक्त्रे वा(वा)णलेखा सकज्जला । सान्द्र-
- 33 कस्तूरिकापंकपत्रभंगलतायते ॥[२५॥*] देवः स एष मदनो मदमत्तकान्तसीमन्तिनी-
हृदयपङ्कजराजहंसः । एवं हि यस्य परमा-
- 34 [द्भु]तकारि रूपं लोको विलोकयति विस्मयमन्थराक्षः ॥[२६॥*] कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्धारं
हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्द्ररा-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 35 जेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितं(तम्) ॥[२७॥*] विजयिनि जयलक्ष्मीस्नान-
पुण्यावगाहे प्रसरति रिपुनारीनेत्रयन्त्रप्रणालैः । अपि तनुनिवि-
- 36 मग्ना² यस्य निस्तृ(स्त्रि)शधारापयसि रिपुनृपाणान्दन्तिनो वो(नो)न्नमन्ति ॥[२८॥*]
वेधाः कोपि किमन्य एव निपुणस्तस्यैव किं वा विधेर-
- 37 भ्यासस्य वशादयं परिणतः शिल्पातिरेकक्रमः । लीलानिर्ज्जितरूपमत्तमदनः सौभाग्य-
पुंजो युवा येनायं जनितः समस्त-
- 38 जगतामेकः प्रतिच्छन्दकः ॥[२९॥*] गाम्भीर्यं जलधेः क्षमामवनितः [शौ]र्यं
सहस्रार्जुनात् स्थैर्यं मेरुमहीभूतः शशधरात्कान्तिं प्रतापं

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² Read -तनुविनिमग्ना.

- 39 रवेः । अन्येभ्योपि विचित्य सुन्दरतरानादाय तांस्तान्गुणान्धात्रा कू(भू)पमिमं
विधाय कलशः सृष्टेः समारोपितः ॥[३०॥*] सकलजनन-
- 40 मस्यः सोथ कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देव[भो]गाग्रहारान् । उपरि परशुराम-
स्यैककुग्रामदानस्फुरितगुण[ग]रिम्णस्त्या-
- 41 गकीर्त्या व(ब)भूव ॥[३१॥*] यश्च सकलजलनिधिवेला[वन]ान्तर[र]ममाणकिन्नर-
किंपुरुषकान्तकामिनीकीर्त्यमानकीर्त्तनीयकीर्त्तिः
- 42 कीर्त्तिनारायणो निजनिरुपमरूपसौन्दर्यनिर्जितकमनीयकन्दर्परूपदर्पो रट्टकन्दर्पः ।¹
सकलदु-
- 43 द्वररिपुतिमिरपटलपाटनपटुप्रतापप्रसरेण विराजमानो राजमार्त्तण्डश्चण्डदोर्दण्डमण्डल-
विश्रा[न्त]वि-
- 44 जयश्रीव्विजयावलोकः स्फुरदारुढवज्रपाणिव्विविधविवु(बु)धजनाश्रयणीयश्रीः श्रीमदिन्द्र-
राजदेव इत्यनेकविधधन्यनामधेयः
- 45 समभवत् । स च परमभट्टारेण² महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवपादानु-
द्ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा[धिराज]-
- 46 परमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभः श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षम(न)रेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सव्वानेव
यथासंव(ब)द्धयमानकान्द्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपति[ग्राम]-
- 47 कूटायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमान्य-
खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टव(ब)न्धो-
- 48 त्सवाय कुरुन्दकमागतेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यशोभिवृद्धये ।¹
वेङ्गिविषयविनिर्गतभारद्वाजसगो-
- 49 त्र[वा]जिषसत्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिणे चतुर्वेदाय दामोदरभट्टाय भीमाशीतभट्टसुताय पड्डाण-
समीपः खड्गरोण्डी नाम ग्रामः यस्य च
- 50 पूर्वतः पिप्पलग्रामः दक्षिणतः सिरिसिकाग्रामः पश्चमतः सेडिआले ग्रामः उत्तरतः
नन्दौरकग्रामः एवमाघाट-

¹ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

² Read -भट्टारक ।

³ Read -वाजसनेय । [The reading is सगोत्रयात्रिय which may be corrected to सगोत्रायात्रेय.—Ed.]

JAMBGAON PLATES OF INDRA III, SAKA 836—PLATE II

I Seal of Jambgaon Plates of Indra III, Saka 836



(from Photograph)

II Seal of Andura Plates of Govinda IV, Saka 851 (See page 257)



(from Photograph)

Third Plate

- 51 चतुष्टयेनोपलक्षितः सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः सभूतोपात्तप्रत्य[1*]यः
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयो-
- 52 चाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः आचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसम-
कालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयोपभो-
- 53 ग्यः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवव्र(ब्र)ह्मदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्ध्या शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्व[प्टा]सु
षट्त्वं(ट्त्रिंशदधिकेषु युवसंवत्सर[फाल्गु]-
- 54 नशुद्धसप्तम्यां मृगशिरसि नक्षत्रे वारे भृगुनन्दनस्य संपन्ने श्रीपट्टव(व)न्धोत्सवे
तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुरुन्द[का]-
- 55 दीन् ग्रामान् पंचभिर्द्रम्मलक्षैः सह प्रतिपाद्य द्विजेभ्योन्यानपि पूर्व्वपृथ्वीपाल-
विलुप्तान्देवभोगाग्रहारान्पुनर्न[म]स्या'न्विदध-
- 56 ता व(ब)लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिसंतर्पणायाद्योदकातिसर्ग्वेण प्रतिपादितो(तः ।)
यतोस्योचितया व्र(ब्र)ह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजय-
- 57 तः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदल्पापि परिपंथना
कार्या । तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामा-
- 58 न्यं भूमिदानफलन(म)वेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यैश्वर्याणि परिकलय्य तृणाग्रलग्नजलवि-
न्दुचंचलं च जीवितं समालोच्य
- 59 स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्ध[म्मो]नुपालनीयः [1*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छि-
द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानु-
- 60 मोदते(देत) स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन
व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो तिष्ठति भू-
- 61 मिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[३२*॥] विन्ध्याट-
वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हर-

¹ The *akshara* म of नमस्यान् is incompletely incised, but there should be no doubt about this reading.
See the adjective नमस्यान् of देवभोगाग्रहारान् in verse 31 above.

- 62 न्ति ये ॥[३३*॥] स(अ)ग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वर्षणवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः ।
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्धि दत्तं यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[३४*॥] व(ब)हु-
- 63 भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३५*॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप । महीं म-
- 64 हीभृतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ॥[३६*॥] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले
काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्व्वनितान्भाविनः पार्थिवे-
- 65 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥[३७*॥] इति कन(म)लदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि-
न्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्म-
- 66 नीनेर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥[३८*॥] श्रीत्रिविक्रमभट्टेन नेमा-
दित्यस्य सूनुना । कृता शस्ता प्रशस्तेयमिन्द्रराजांघ्रिसेविना ॥[३९*॥]
- 67 मंगलं महाश्रीः¹ ॥

¹ These *aksharas* are incised in the lower right-hand corner.

No. 30—AHRAURA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 15.10.1962)

The village of **Ahaurā** in the Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh is well known in the area for the temple of the goddess Bhaṇḍārīdevī,¹ situated on a hill. The inscription under study is engraved on a boulder about a hundred yards from the said temple which is much frequented by the people of the locality. The **inscribed boulder** is also close to the inhabited area of the village. It is surprising that, in spite of this, the inscription required such a long time to be brought to the notice of scholars.

According to an announcement of the Press Trust of India appearing in the newspapers including *The Leader* of Allahabad, dated the 11th November 1961, an exploration party of the Allahabad University, led by Prof. G. R. Sharma of the Department of Ancient Indian History, and Archaeology, visited the village of Ahaurā and discovered the inscription. The newspaper report contains also Sharma's views regarding the importance of the inscription, to which reference is made below.

While publishing the inscription in the *Bhāratī* (Research Bulletin of the College of Indology, Hindu University, Varanasi), Part I, No. 5, 1961-62, pp. 97-105, Prof. A. K. Narain of the College of Indology, however, states that Shri R. G. Pandey, Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, stationed at Varanasi, had previously discovered the inscription and sent a report on its existence to the Superintendent of the Survey, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna. Narain is stated to have visited Ahaurā on the 27th December 1961 in the company of Pandey and Shri A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and taken photographs of the inscription and the temple as also impressions of the former. Some of these he published as illustrations of his paper in the *Bhāratī*. The facsimile of the inscription published by Narain is, however, unsatisfactory. The same issue of the *Bhāratī*, pp. 135-40, also contains a paper on the inscription from the pen of Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

In January 1962, Shri A. N. Lahiri, while he was passing through Calcutta, was good enough to show me an impression of the inscription which, unfortunately, was not quite satisfactory. A few months later, Shri H. K. Narasimhaswami, then in charge of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, was so kind as to send me a better estampage and a good photograph of the Ahaurā inscription for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The estampage was one of the impressions of the record taken in March 1962 by Shri S. Sankaranarayanan, one of the Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy. I was also informed that Sankaranarayanan's paper on the record was appearing in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.²

The **inscription** contains eleven lines of writing, which cover an area about 82·5 cm. in height and about 112·5 cm. in breadth. A large number of letters are completely broken away

¹ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

² See Vol. XXXVII, pp. 217 ff.

from lines 1-6, though the preservation of the writing in the extant part is fairly satisfactory. A line of writing contains about 26 *aksharas*. The number of lost *aksharas* in the damaged section is higher in an upper line than in the lower, those visible in line 1 being only four.

The **characters** of the inscription are Early Brāhmī as found in most other edicts of Aśoka and its **language** is what is usually called the Magadha dialect. The record is a version of **Minor Rock Edict I** of the great Maurya emperor **Aśoka** (c. 272-232 B.C.). As is well known, **other versions of the edict** have been discovered at (1) Sahasrām in the Shahabad District, Bihar; (2-3) Rūpnāth in the Jabalpur District and Gujarrā in the Datia District, Madhya Pradesh; (4) Bairāt in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan; (5-10) Maski, Gavīmāth and Pālkigunḍu in the Raichur District and Śiddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore; and (11-12) Erraguḍi and Rājula-Manḍagiri in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. Many of these versions, discovered earlier, were re-edited by E. Hultzsch in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 166-80; but the Gavīmāth and Pālkigunḍu versions were published by R. L. Turner in *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 10, and the Gujarrā, Rājula-Manḍagiri and Erraguḍi versions by us in this journal, Vol. XXXI, pp. 205-18, and Vol. XXXII, pp. 6-9.

The **great importance** of the Ahraurā version of Minor Rock Edict I is that it begins and ends differently from any of the other known versions. Unfortunately, as indicated above, the earlier part of the record is damaged, so that it is not possible to determine the correct reading of this section; but it is a matter of great satisfaction that the reading of the concluding part, which is of exceptional interest, is beyond doubt. It may, however, be pointed out that this part has not yet been correctly read or interpreted by those who are known to have so far expressed their views on the epigraph.

According to Sharma, the inscription 'was engraved in the year 256 of an era, reckoned from the death of the Buddha and it is hoped that this would settle the prolonged controversy about the word *vyuthena* and the figures 256 mentioned in the other versions, as the words *Budhasa salile aloke* (i.e. from the *parinirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha) were unmistakably clear in the inscription.' He further emphasises that the record proves 'beyond doubt the currency of the Buddha era in the ancient times which has so far been inferred only from literary evidence.' Unfortunately, we are not inclined to agree with any of these views which appear to us to be based on inaccurate reading and its more incorrect interpretation.

Narain rightly regards Sharma's views as wrong. But his own transcript of the epigraph is not quite free from errors, and we find it difficult to accept his fanciful interpretation of certain well-known words such as *avaladhiyā* and *vinuthena*. According to him, *avaladhiyā* is the locative form of *āradhi*=*āladdhi*=*avaladdhi* which he interprets as 'the initiative energy'. It is of course impossible to accept this derivation of the word. But what is strange is that while translating the passage *diḡadhiyaṃ avaladhiyā radhisati* as 'the initiative energy will grow by one and half times', the word *avaladhiyā* seems to have been taken by Narain in the nominative case and not in the locative. The same word occurs in the other versions of the edict as *apaladhiyēnā* (Rūpnāth), *avaladhiyēnā* (Sahasrām) and *avaradhiyā* (Brahmagiri, etc.). Thus sometimes (as in *apaladhiyēnā* and *avaladhiyēnā*) it is clearly in the instrumental case, and we do not see how both the locative and instrumental cases would suit Narain's translation. We have no doubt that *apaladhiyēnā*=*avaladhiyēnā* stands for Sanskrit *avar-ādhikena* and *avaradhiyā*=*avaladhiyā* for *avar-ādhikāt*, used here, on the analogy of *alpena*=*alpāt*, in the sense of *alp-ādhikena*=*alp-ādhikāt*, i.e. 'more or less.' It has also to be noticed that the noun *āladhi*=*āradhi* itself is used in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the sense of 'the act of obtaining' while the participial form *āradha*=*āladdha* is known from these records to mean

‘obtained’; cf. also the forms *ārādheti*, *ārādhetu*, *ārādhetave*, *ārādhayantu*, *ālādhayisatha*, *ālādhayeyu*, etc.¹

As regards the word *vivuthena*, Narain regards its derivation from the root *vi-vas* meaning ‘being on tour, away from home’ as wrong on the following grounds: “When conjoined with the suffix *kta*, as it has been done in this case, *va*, the initial letter of the root, is changed into *u*. This rule holds good in Sanskrit and all the Prakrits. Thus the form should have been *viuthena*, not *vivuthena*. There is no justification for its being written as *vu*.” He further thinks that, in interpreting *vi-vas* as ‘being on a tour, away from home’, scholars have confused it with *pra-vas*. His own views are: “*Vivuthena* is clearly a form of *virritena* (Sk.) or *viṭṭena* (Pali), which means ‘openly’, ‘publicly’. The instrumental case in the word is adverbial.” Unfortunately, it is impossible to agree with any of these points which are all due to misunderstanding.

In the first place, there are many instances of *u* written as *vu* in the inscriptions of Aśoka; e.g. *vuchati*=Sanskrit *uchyate* (Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehra, R.E. XIII, line 8 in both cases); *vuta*=Sanskrit *upta* (Shāhbāzgarhī, R.E. II, line 5); *vuta*=Sanskrit *ukta* (Girnar, R.E. IX, line 6; XIV, line 4; Dhauli R.E. IX, line 5; XIV, line 2), etc. Secondly, the root *vi-vas* is used in Aśoka’s inscriptions, e.g., at Rūpnāth, lines 5 and 6, and Sārnāth, lines 10 and 11. In the Sārnāth Minor Pillar Edict *vivāsayaṭha* and *vivāsūpayāṭhā* are used to indicate respectively, ‘you should go out on tour’ and ‘you should send [others] on tour’, while *vivase-taviya* in the Rūpnāth version of the Minor Rock Edict means ‘you should set out on tour’. Thirdly, that *vivutha* is derived from *vi-vas* is clearly suggested by the Rūpnāth version of the edict, in which *vyuṭhenā sāvane kaṭe* is explained and amplified by the following passage 256 *sata vivāsā(so) ta(ti)*. Here *vyuṭha* is the participial adjective and *vivāsa* the noun, both derived from the same root, viz. *vi-vas*. There is thus little substance in Narain’s contentions. In this edict, *vivutha* apparently stands for Sanskrit *vyushita*. It has to be noted that the common Pali-Prakrit form of Sanskrit *ushita* is *ruttha*, so that *vivutha* stands for Pali-Prakrit *vivuttha*. The use of *ṭh* instead of *th* is only found in the form *vyuṭha* in the Rūpnāth version and, although Monier-Williams supports the use of *vyushṭa* in the sense of *vyushita*, *vyuṭha* of Rūpnāth may be a scribal error for *vyūtha* which is a variant of *vivuttha*.

Narain regards line 11, which is the most important section of the extant part of the inscription, as a separate sentence. His reading and translation of the line are as follows: *duve sapaninā lūti sati amman(mham) [cha ?] Budhasa salile āloḍhe[trā or cha ?]*, “Two hundred fiftysix nights (days) after having enshrined the relics of our Buddha,” or “Two hundred fifty-six nights (i.e. days) are over since the relics of our Buddha were enshrined [by me].” It has, however, been overlooked that, if the first interpretation is preferred, there is no point in Narain’s emphasis on the full-stop at the end of line 10, which would make line 11 an independent sentence. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether a devotee of the Buddha would refer to the object of his veneration in an endearing fashion as ‘our Buddha’ in the age of Aśoka when he was being worshipped as a great divinity.

Mirashi’s reading of the concluding part of the Ahaurā inscription does not differ very much from that of Narain. But, in place of Narain’s *amman(hmam) [cha ?]*, he suggests the reading to be *saṃvamsam*^o so that the reference in the inscription would be to *Samyaksambuddha*

¹ The words can be easily traced in the inscriptions with the help of the Index at the end of *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1925. We have indicated the ā-sign in the words occurring in the Kharoshthī inscriptions which do not show signs of length.

and not to *Buddha*. Sankaranarayanan's main contention is that *amman**salile* stands for Sanskrit *āśman*.....*śarīram* and refers to an image of the Buddha or some object (such as the figure of an elephant) standing for the Buddha. We do not agree with either of these views. While Mirashi's suggestion is totally unsupported by the clear reading of the letters, the word *śarīra* is used in the Buddhist literature and inscriptions¹ in the sense of 'corporeal relics' and not of 'an image or representation'.

Only four *aksharas* are extant at the end of line 1, so that about 22 of them are lost from the beginning of the line. These four *aksharas* are *piyo sāti*. At the end of the similarly preserved line 2, we can read *[sū]dhi[kā]*, though there is space for two or three more *aksharas* after that. Thus about 20 *aksharas* are lost from the beginning of this line. Of the 4 *aksharas* in line 1, *piyo* looks like the concluding part of the name *Devānāmpīyo* while *sāti* seems to be the earlier part of the word *sātīlekāni*. But a reference to the other versions would suggest that these letters belong to the introductory part since the edict proper begins with the word *sādhikā[ni]* about the end of line 2. The introductory section in the present version, which was written in lines 1-2 in about 46 *aksharas* and probably had the words *Devānāmpīyo* and *sātīlekāni* about the middle, appears to have been different from the same in the other versions which are introduced as follows: (1) *Devānāmpīye hevaṃ āhū* (or *āha*) [*×*] *sātīlekāni* (Rūpnāth); (2) *Devānāmpīye āhū* [*×*] *sātīlekāni* (Bairāt); (3) *Devānāmpīyasa Asokasa*..... (Maski); (4) *Suvāṃṇagīrīte Aṇaputasa Mahāmātāyaṃ cha vachanena Isilasi Mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā* [*×*] *hevaṃ cha vataviyā* [*×*] *Devānāmpīya āṇapayati* [*×*] *adhikāni* (Brahmagiri); (5) *Suvāṃṇagīrīte Aṇaputasa Mahāmātāyaṃ cha vachanena Isilasi Mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā* [*×*] *Devānāmpīye hevaṃ āha* [*×*] *adhikāni* (Śiddāpura); (6) *Devānāmpīyasa Piyadasino Asokarājasa* (Gujarrā); (7) *Devānāmpīye hevaṃ āha* [*×*] *adhikāni* (Erraguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri); etc. Unfortunately there is no way to restore the lost words in the introductory part of the inscription in lines 1-2 of the Ahaurā version, though it appears to have been fairly long as in the Mysore versions and probably referred to a period of time in relation to an event of Aśoka's life. Considering the context, it is not impossible that the reference here was to the Kalinga war which led to Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism.

We can read at the end of lines 3-4, the beginning of which is likewise lost, the passages *cha bādham palakaṃte* and *cha palakaṃte etena*. It is clear from the number of the lost *aksharas* that, with the word *sādhikāni* about the end of line 2, the text of lines 3-4 has to be restored, with the help of the Sahasrām and Rūpnāth versions, as follows: *sādhikā[ni adha-tigāni aṃ upāsake sumi na] cha bādham palakaṃte* [*×*] *[saṃvachhale sādhike aṃ sumi hakaṃ sagha upeta bādham] cha palakaṃte* [*×*]. These two sentences show that, when the edict was promulgated, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two and a half years, that he was not zealous [in the matter of Dharma at first] and that he became zealous [in the matter of Dharma] for a little over one year [about the end of the said period of a little over two and a half years]. Thus there is mention here of three periods of time, (1) the first giving the whole period from his initiation into Buddhism down to the date of the edict as more than two and a half years, (2) the second referring to the initial period of his inaction without specifying its length, and (3) the third mentioning the period characterised by his zealous activity in relation to Dharma, the length of which is given as more than a year. It is, of course, obvious from this that the unspecified period of inactivity mentioned in the second place was of one year and that is what is clearly stated in some of the versions, e.g., *no tu kho bādham prakāṃte hūsaṃ ekam saṃvachharam* (Brahmagiri; cf. the similar text of the sentence in the Śiddāpura, Erraguḍi and Rājula-Maṇḍagiri versions).

¹ Cf. *P.T.S. Pali Dict.*, s. v. *salila*; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 103, 109, 113, 120, 128, 143, 153.

In lines 5-6, the loss of letters is in the central part, so that we can read the *aksharas* both at the beginning and at the end. Thus in line 5 we have [a]nta[le] at the beginning and *misamdevā kaṭā* at the end, while line 6 has *palakama[sa i°]* and [°trana va sa]kya pāpotare *khudakena pi* at the beginning and the end respectively. With *etena* at the end of line 4, the text of these lines considering the number of the *aksharas* lost in the lines and the texts of the other versions, may be restored as: *etena antale[na Jambudīpasi amisaṃdevā samta munisū] misamdevā kaṭā* [*] *pakamasa i[yaṃ phale]* [*] *[no hīyaṃ maha]trana va sakya pāpotare* [*].

In the first sentence here, the word *amtala*=Sanskrit *antara* has been used in the sense of 'a period of time' with reference to the period of more than a year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in the matter of Dharma. This meaning is clear not only from the use of *amtara*, *amtala* and *amtalikā* elsewhere in the Aśokan edicts, but also from the different texts of the present edict; e.g. (1) *yā imāya velāya Jambudīpasi amisā devā husu te dāni misā kaṭā* (Rūpnāth); *pure Jambudīpasi ye amisā devā husu te dāni misibhūtā* (Maski); *iminā chu kālena amisā samānā munisū Jambudīpasi misā devāhi* (Mysore versions); *iminā chu kālena amisā ye munisā devāhi te dāni misibhūtā* (Erragudi); *etenā amtarenū Jambudīpasi Devānampiyasa amisaṃdevā samto munisū misamdevā kaṭā* (Gujarrā); etc. It will be seen that the words *velā* and *kāla* have been used elsewhere as the synonyms of *antara* of the present record, the Sahasrām text being the same as in our version. It is stated here that, during the period of more than a year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in respect of Dharma, people who had been formerly unmingled with the gods became commingled with the latter. What is meant is that Aśoka led men in the path of Dharma so much so that they became fit for commingling with the gods both on the earth and in heaven. This refers to the ancient Indian belief that pious people (like the Śailodbhava king Ayaśobhita Madhyamarāja of Orissa) often brought the gods to the earth to converse with them.¹

The three sentences that follow the above, two of which have already been quoted, mean to say that the said commingling of the gods and men was the result of Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma, and that the same result could be obtained not only by the big people like Aśoka, but that even a poor man, if he was zealous like Aśoka, could reach even the great heaven, meaning either the world of gods or a still higher station.

The next few sentences state why Aśoka promulgated the edict and gives the reasons under the following two categories: (1) he wanted that both the poor and rich people should exert in the cause of Dharma, that the *antas* or the people of the areas outside the borders of the Maurya empire² should know all about Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma and its result and that exertion in that respect should be attempted by all to make it everlasting, and (2) he also declared that the said matter, i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma, would not only increase, but that it would increase greatly and would even increase more or less one and a half times.

Instead of the passage meaning 'let the rich and the poor exert [in the cause of Dharma],' the Gujarrā version has 'let the poor and the rich exert [in the cause of Dharma] and get commingled [with the gods] (*yogaṃ yamjantū*)'.

The last sentence in lines 10-11, a clause in which is found only in the present version, reads: *esa sāvane vivuthe[na] [du]ve sapammā-lāti-sati am manche Budhasa salile āloḍhe*

¹ See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, 1958, p. 27, note; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 35.

² In Buddhist literature, *anta* means the areas near but within the borders, while *pratyanta* means the areas outside the borders (*Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 22). But, in the inscriptions of Aśoka, *anta* is used in both these senses. Cf. Rock Edicts II and XIII for the second meaning.

[*ti*]. In this, the last *akshara* is *ti*, though there is an oval sign attached to the lower right slanting stroke of *t*. This mark is not quite like the globular subscript *v* in the *akshara tva* in line 6. Moreover, if we read the *akshara* as *tvī*, it would probably have to be regarded as a mistake for *ti*=Sanskrit *iti*. It is possibly better to regard the sign as a mark of punctuation or auspiciousness such as the crescent-symbol opening towards the left found at the end of many of the Rock Edicts at Kālsī and the globular sign with a dot inside (resembling the Early Brāhmī character *th*) as noticed often at the end of an inscription or a section thereof.¹ We also know of the use of a globular mark with an *akshara* intended to be a sign of cancellation,² although that meaning does not appear to be applicable to the mark in the present case.

The above sentence may be Sanskritised and interpreted as follows: *etat śrāvaṇam vyushitena [mayā śrāvitam] dve śatpañchāśad-rātri-śate yat (=yataḥ) mañcham Buddhasya śarīram (=deh-āvaśeṣaḥ) ārūḍham=iti*, "This declaration is [made by me as I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for 256 nights since the relics of the Buddha rose to (i.e. were caused by me to be installed on) the platform."

It seems better to regard *sati* as standing for Sanskrit *śate* rather than for *śatī*. The word *am* standing for Sanskrit *yat* in the sense of 'since' is often met with in Aśokan records; e.g. in Minor Rock Edict I: *am upāsake sumi* (Sanskrit *yat [aham] upāsakaḥ asmi*), 'since I am (have been) a lay follower [of the Buddha]' (Sahasrām). As regards the use of the word *lāti*=Sanskrit *rātri*, 'a night' in the sense of 'a day including day and night', it is very common in Sanskrit literature, especially in the description of tours of pilgrimage, etc.³

The above sentence may be compared with the two concluding sentences of the Sahasrām version, which run as follows: *iyam cha sarane vivuthena [*] dve sapamṇā-lāti-satā vivuthā ti 256 [*]* (Sanskrit *idam cha śrāvaṇam vyushitena [mayā śrāvitam] | dve śatpañchāśad-rātri-śate vyushitaḥ [aham] iti—256*), "And this declaration [has been made by me while I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage]. [I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for two hundred fiftysix nights—256."

The meaning of this section is so clear from the language that it is quite impossible to agree with those who prefer such interpretations as (1) that 256 officers were dispatched along with the proclamation to different centres of the empire; (2) that the message was proclaimed 256 times; (3) that the proclamation was made or engraved when 256 years of an era (usually identified with the Buddha-parinirvāṇa era) had elapsed; (4-5) that the edict was proclaimed by the dispatch of 256 copies of it or of 256 missionaries; etc.⁴

We have seen elsewhere⁵ that Aśoka began to promulgate his edicts relating to Dharma twelve years after his coronation, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign, and that Minor Rock Edict I was one of the earliest edicts, if not the earliest one, issued by the Maurya emperor. Thus the present edict was issued in Aśoka's thirteenth regnal year when he was away on a pilgrimage which had already lasted 256 days, i.e. a little over eight and a half lunar months, or nearly three-fourths of a lunar year of three hundred and fiftyfour days. On the other hand, Aśoka must have been initiated into Buddhism sometime after the date of the Kalinga war which took place eight years after his coronation, i.e. in his ninth

¹ Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, pp. 135-36.

² Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 262 and note 10.

³ Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 82, 62: *Tīrthe salila-rājasya snātrā prayata-mānasaḥ | tri-rātram=ushītaḥ snātas=* *tarpayet=piṭri-devatāḥ* || It is impossible to agree with those who take *lāti* in some other sense. See *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 29.

⁴ Cf. Narain, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵ See *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 23 ff.; above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 336.

regnal year, and sometime before the date of his visit to the Sambodhi or Mahābodhi (i.e. Bodhgayā) which took place ten years after his coronation, i.e. the eleventh year of his reign. Since the pilgrimage to Sambodhi appears to have been one of the earliest acts of Aśoka when he became zealous in the cause of Dharma one year after his initiation, the latter event probably took place nine years after his coronation, i.e. in the tenth regnal year. A year after that date, probably in the latter half of his eleventh regnal year, Aśoka came into close relations with the Buddhist Church and became zealous in the propagation of Dharma. After about a year, he set out on a pilgrimage sometime in the second half of his twelfth regnal year and issued Minor Rock Edict I eight and a half months later in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year. This would account for the period of a little over two and a half years between Aśoka's initiation into Buddhism and the date of Minor Rock Edict I.

Minor Rock Edict I is the only inscription of Aśoka which states that he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage, in the course of which the edict was promulgated, and **the Ahaurā version of the edict is the only Aśokan record which states that the pilgrimage was undertaken immediately after the installation of the relics of the Buddha on a platform no doubt for worship.** This adds one more point to the evidence suggesting that Aśoka was a Buddhist and is also in agreement with Buddhist tradition.

That Aśoka was a patron of the Buddha's doctrine and was responsible for raising it from the status of a local sectarian creed of Eastern India to that of one of the principal religions of the world admits of little doubt.¹ Although the word *dharma* as used in his edicts generally means a code of morals preached by him probably following what were known to him to be the teachings of the Buddha, the Bhābru-Bairāt edict clearly uses the word in the sense of the Buddha's doctrine which is called 'the True Faith' (*saddharma*). This edict not only refers to Aśoka's reverence for and faith in the Buddhist Trinity (i.e. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha), but also prescribes certain religious texts, selected by himself, for the regular study not only of the lay followers of the Buddha but even of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Aśoka is known to have visited only the Buddhist holy places of Sambodhi (Bodhgayā), Lumbinīgrāma and Kanakamuni-stūpa. Several versions of a pillar edict contain the text of his order to his officers to the effect that heretical monks and nuns should have to be expelled from the Saṅgha and this attempt on Aśoka's part to preserve the unity of the Buddhist Church is also known from the Southern Buddhist tradition. All this was not possible for Aśoka if he was not a Buddhist. He is represented in Buddhist traditions as a lay follower of the Buddha and a patron of Buddhism, while we have seen how, in Minor Rock Edict I, he actually claims to be a lay worshipper of the Buddha. With some of his inscriptions, we have either the figure of or a reference to the elephant as the symbolical representation of the Buddha. To these facts pointing to Aśoka's initiation into the Buddhist faith, we have now to add his statement that the relics of the Buddha had been installed [by him] on a platform apparently for worship immediately before he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage about the latter half of his twelfth regnal year.

According to Buddhist traditions, Aśoka built the Aśokārāma at Pāṭaliputra and no less than 84,000 Buddhist monasteries in various cities within his empire.² It is of course diffi-

¹ Cf. my *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, Delhi, 1957, pp. 15 ff.

² Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 91 ff.; R. K. Mookerji, *Aśoka*, pp. 60 ff.; *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, pp. 7-8.

cult to say whether the relics of the Buddha stated to have been installed by Aśoka in the edict under study were enshrined in the Aśokārāma; but the possibility is there. According to traditions the Buddha's relics were originally in the possession of the Mallas of Kusinārā where the Buddha died though they were later divided among the said Mallas and seven other claimants, viz. king Ajātaśatru of Magadha, the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, the Śākya of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, a Brāhmaṇa of Veṭhadīpa and the Mallas of Pāvā. Aśoka is said to have taken out the relics enshrined in the Stūpas built by these people and redistributed them among the 84,000 Stūpas built by himself. Some of Aśoka's Stūpas were in existence as late as the 7th century A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang visited India and saw them in different regions as far east as Bengal and as far south as Kāñchīpura near Madras. The pilgrim also refers to Aśoka's daily practice of offering worship at the stone bearing the Buddha's footprints installed at Pāṭaliputra. Whether this was enshrined in the Aśokārāma cannot be determined. It is also difficult to say whether it is the same stone which has been referred to in the edict under study as the *mañcha*, on which the relics of the Buddha were installed for worship.

TEXT¹

- 1 ².....piyo³[*]
sāti⁴
- 2 ⁵.....[sā]-
dh[ikā]...⁶
- 3 ⁷.....cha bādham
palakante [*]
- 4 ⁸.....cha palakante
[*] etena
- 5 [a]nt ul[e]⁹.....misaṁdevā
kaṭā [*]
- 6 palaka[masa i]¹⁰.....[tvana] va [sa]kya
pāpotave khudakena pi
- 7 palakamamīnenā vipule pi svaga [sa]kya ālāhetave [*] etāye aṭhāye

¹ From impressions.

² About 22 *aksharas* are lost here.

³ The intended word may be *Devānampiyo*.

⁴ The intended word may be *sātīkūṇī*.

⁵ About 20 *aksharas* are lost here.

⁶ About three *aksharas* are lost here. They are apparently *ni aṭha*, so that we have to restore *sādhikūṇī aṭha*.

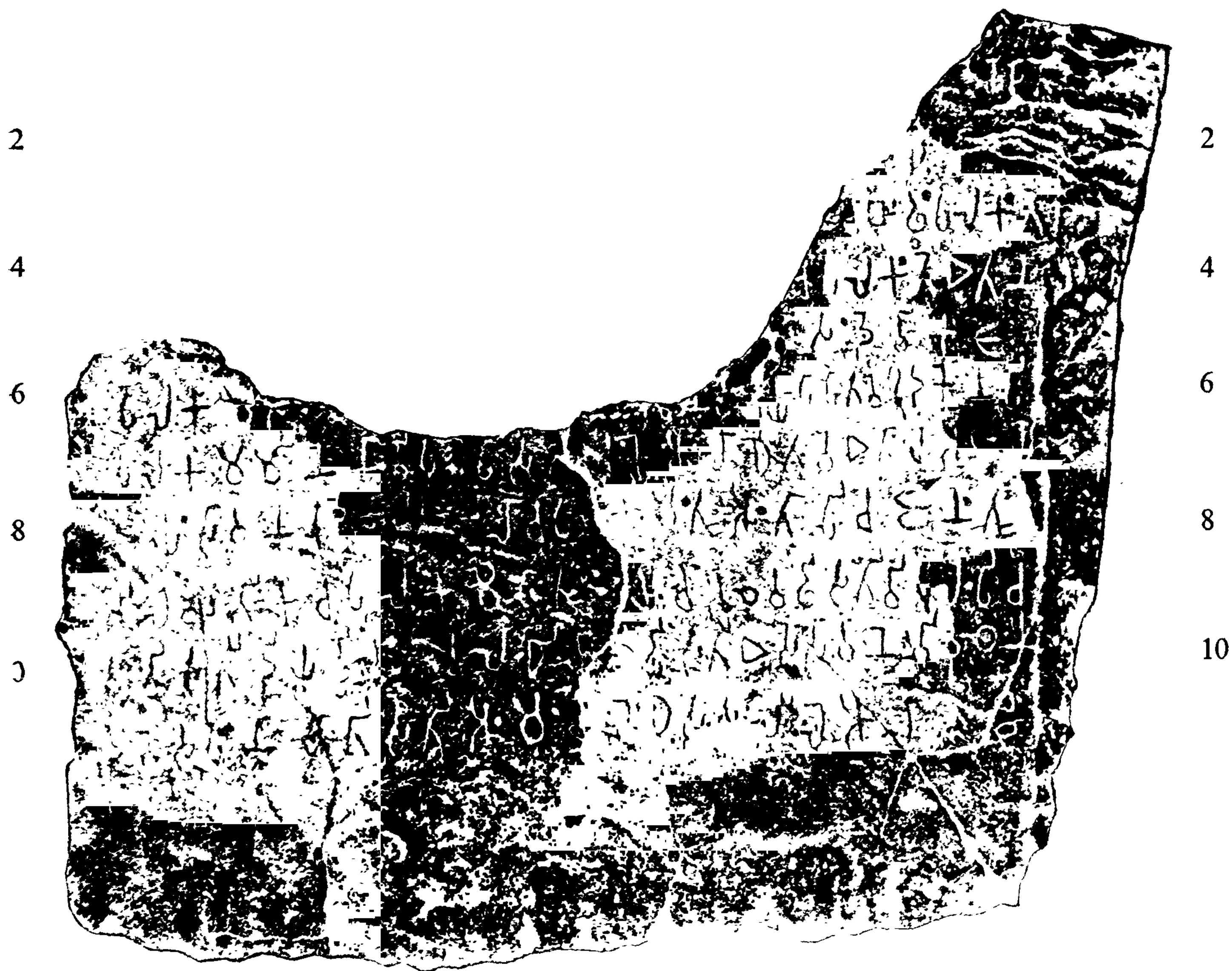
⁷ The *aksharas* lost here may be restored as °*tiyāni samvachhalāni am upāsake sumi* [*] *no*.

⁸ The *aksharas* lost here may be restored as *samvachhale sūdhike am sumi hakam samgha upeta bādham*.

⁹ The *aksharas* lost here may be restored as °*na Jambudīpasi amisaṁdevā sumta munisū*.

¹⁰ The *aksharas* lost here may be restored as °*yam phale* [*] *no hīyam maha*.

AHRAURA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA



Scale : One-seventh

8 [i]yaṃ sāvane [*] khudakā cha [uḍā]lā cha pa[la]kamaṇṭū [*] aṇṭā pi
cha jānaṇṭū [*]

9 [ch]ilathitike cha palakame hotū [*] iyaṃ cha aṭhe vaḍhisati vipulaṃ pi cha

10 vaḍhisatī diyaḍhi[yaṃ a]valadhiyā vaḍhisatī [*] esa sāvane vivuthe[na]

11 [du]ve sapannā-lāti-sati aṃ maṃ[ch]e Budhasa salile āloḍhe [ti]! ¹

TRANSLATION

- (a) **Devānāmpriya**.....
- (b) It is for a little over.....
- (c) It is for a little over [two years and a half that I am a lay follower (*of the Buddha*)].
- (d) But I was [not] highly zealous (*in the cause of Dharma at the beginning of the period for one year*).
- (e) [It is for a little over one year (*now*) that I am intimately associated² with the Saṅgha (Buddhist Church)] and am [highly] zealous (*in the cause of Dharma*).
- (f) During this period of time (*covering a little over one year*) [the people who were not commingled with the gods in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in Aśoka's empire)] have been made commingled with the gods.
- (g) This is [the result] of (my, i.e. Aśoka's) exertion (*in the cause of Dharma*).
- (h) [This (*result*) is, however, not] to be achieved only by a rich man (*like myself*).
- (i) Even a poor man, who is zealous (*in the cause of Dharma*), is capable of obtaining even the great heaven.
- (j) For this purpose (i.e. the purpose indicated below) is this declaration (*made*).
- (k) Let the poor and the rich exert (*in the cause of Dharma*).
- (l) Let the people of the areas bordering (*on my empire*) also know (*all about this exertion and its results*).

¹ The stop is indicated by an oval sign joined to the right leg of the letter *t*.

² For this meaning of the word *upeta*, *upagata*, *yāta* or *upayāta* used in different versions of the edict see above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287 ff.

- (m) Let exertion (*in the cause of Dharma*) be everlasting.
 - (n) This matter (i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma) will increase—will increase even to a great extent—will increase more or less one and a half times.
 - (o) This declaration (*has been made by me while I am*) on a tour (*of pilgrimage*) for 256 nights (i.e. days) since the relics of the Buddha ascended (i.e. were caused to be installed by me on) the platform (*for worship*).
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No. 31—ASVI PLATES OF YADAVA AIRAMADEVA, SAKA 1020

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.9.1962)

The set of copper-plates, containing the inscription edited below, was discovered about forty-five years ago while ploughing a field by an agriculturist at **Āśvī** in the Sangamner Taluk in the Ahmednagar District, Maharashtra State.¹ The plates ultimately reached the hands of P. N. Patwardhan who published them in Marāṭhi, without any facsimile, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala*, Poona, Vol. III, No. 1 (1922), pp. 1-5.² In February 1962, when I visited Poona, the Secretary of that Maṇḍala, G. H. Khare, kindly handed over to me the original plates for my examination and study for which my thanks are due to him. As the inscription is important for the history of the early Yādava dynasty, it is edited here in English for the first time.

The **set** consists of **three plates** with slightly raised rims, each plate measuring 26 cm. by 17.75 cm. The plates are strung together with an elliptical copper-ring measuring 11.5 cm. by 8 cm. at the inner points. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of a mass of copper into which is impressed an almost circular seal, 4 cm. in diameter. The **seal** bears the figure of a seated Garuḍa, facing full front.³ A small piece of the middle plate towards the end of line 10 is broken off and lost, although no letter has been lost thereby. The first and the last plate have writing on the inner sides only while the second plate bears writing on both sides. There are 85 lines of writing in all distributed as follows : first plate, 21 lines ; first side of the second plate and the last plate, 22 lines each ; and the second side of the second plate, 20 lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 3765 grams while the ring with the seal weighs 1000 grams.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 3, 14, 36, 38, 77 and 81 ; *ā* in lines 5, 12, 42, 53 and 82 ; *i* in line 56 ; *u* in lines 9, 11, 25, 41 and 56 ; *ē* in lines 53, 57 and 81. Final *t* is found in lines 4, 6, 8, 16, 30, 32, 35, 45, 59 and 69 ; final *n* in lines 13, 23, 24 and 26. The rare form of *jh* is met with in line 16. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, prose and verse. The composition is faulty in some places and the engraver has also committed several mistakes. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the sign for *v* has been used to indicate *b* also and that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated. In some cases *s* is written for *ś*, cf. lines 6, 13, 21, 23, etc. The numerical symbols for 0, 1, 2 and 5 are used in lines 35 and 38.

The inscription belongs to the time of the king **Tribhuvanamalla-Permādidēva** (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) of the **Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa** and his feudatory **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Āiramadēva of the early Yādava dynasty of Sēunadēśa**. The name of this feudatory ruler has been wrongly taken by Patwardhan as Irammadēva while Hēmādri, in

¹ The inscription has been registered as No. A 34 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62.

² There are some errors in this published transcript.

³ It appears that the seal was missing when Patwardhan obtained the plates but was subsequently found and fixed in its place.

⁴ *QJBISM*, Vol. III, p. 2.

his introduction to *Vratakhanda*, mentions it as Parammadēva.¹ The correct reading of the name in the present inscription is Āiramadēva as given in lines 42 and 82 in the prose portion while it is spelt as Āirammō= in verse 8 in line 30, the doubling of *m* being due to metrical reasons.

The details of the date of the record given in lines 34-36 as **Śaka 1020, Bahudhānya, Vaiśākha amāvāsyā, Monday**, regularly correspond to **3rd May, 1098 A.D.**

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is **the only known record of the Yādava chief Āiramadēva** discovered so far. The record opens with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a verse invoking god Śaṅkara (verse 1) for the welfare of the Yādava king (Yadupati-pati) i.e. Āiramadēva. Verses 2-7 are devoted to the introduction of the predecessors of the ruling chief Āiramadēva. All these seven verses are found in the Bassein plates² of Sēṇachandra II, the father and predecessor of Āirama, which are dated Śaka 991 or 1069 A.D. Verse 2 mentions the first ruler **Dṛiḍhaprahāra** as hailing from **Dvārāvātī** (i.e. the well-known Dwārakā in Gujarat) and as making famous the city called **Chandrādityapura**. This Chandrādityapura is generally identified with modern Chandor in the Nasik District in Maharashtra State. Verse 3 refers to Dṛiḍhaprahāra's son **Sēṇachandra I** who is stated to have built the city of Sēṇapura (named after him) in Simhinēra (division). The name of this division has been read as Sindinēra in the Bassein plates and it represents modern Sinnar which is 17 miles to the south-east of Nasik.³ The same verse mentions **Dhāḍiyappa**, son of Sēṇachandra I. Verse 4 gives the names of 4 rulers viz. Dhāḍiyappa's son **Bṛihad-Bhillama** or Bhillama I, his son **Rāja**, his son **Vaddiga** and the latter's son **Bhillama II**. The wife of Bhillama II is introduced in verse 5. She was **Lachchhiyavvā** who was the daughter of Jhainjharāja and who belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Then comes Bhillama II's son **Vēsūka** (verse 6) whose son was **Bhillama III**. Verse 7 states that in the family of this Bhillama III was born **Sēṇēndu** (i.e. Sēṇachandra II) who restored the glory of his kingdom on the death of Bhillama by defeating all his enemies just as Hari saved the three worlds in his Boar incarnation. The recently discovered Dēvalāli plates⁴ state that Sēṇachandra uplifted (*samuddhṛitya*) the kingdom which had fallen into the hands of his relatives (*dāyādins*). Hēmādri gives three names between Bhillama III and Sēṇachandra II, viz. Vādugi, son of Bhillama III, Vādugi's successor Vēsugi, who was probably the former's brother, and Vēsugi's successor Bhillama IV. It may, therefore, be suggested that after the death of Vādugi, the Yādava kingdom passed into the hands of Vēsugi who was succeeded by Bhillama IV and that Sēṇachandra II, who was probably the son of Vādugi and the grandson of Bhillama III and thus belonged to the main line, had to fight with the members of the collateral line and wrest the ancestral kingdom. Therefore, Bhillama, after whose death the glory of the kingdom is stated to have been restored by Sēṇachandra II, may be identified with Bhillama IV. We know that Sēṇachandra II was a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara II and helped the latter's younger brother Vikramāditya

¹ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 271.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 119 ff.

³ Bhagwanlal Indraji translated the verse as saying that Sēṇachandra 'founded the town of Sēṇapura in the good Sindinēra'. Observing that this rendering was wanting in sense as Sindinēra itself was a town, Fleet suggested (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 512, note 4) that Sindinēra is here referred to as the birth-place of the son of Sēṇachandra who is mentioned later on in the verse. But if we take Sindinēra or Simhinēra as the headquarters of the division of the same name, there will not be any difficulty in understanding the verse in question.

⁴ Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. A 12.

VI in obtaining the throne.¹ Verse 8 introduces **Āirama**, son of Sēṇachandra II, who is also stated to have defeated **Bhuvanaikamalla**, i.e. Somēśvara II and to have offered the kingdom to **Paramardin**, i.e. Vikramāditya VI. This shows that both the father and the son viz. Sēṇachandra II and Āirama sided with Vikramāditya VI in his fight against his elder brother and predecessor.² **Yōgallā**, wife of Āirama, is introduced in verse 9. This is followed by the date of the record in lines 34-36 which is discussed above.

Lines 36-43 state that *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Āiramadēva made a grant, with the consent of the *pañcha-pradhāna*, while Tribhuvanamalla Permāḍidēva i.e. Vikramāditya VI was the supreme king. The expression *pañcha-pradhāna* i.e. a council of five ministers is interesting and may be compared with *ashta-pradhāna* set up by Śivaji in later times. At the time of the grant, Āirama was at **Narmadāpura** on the banks of the river **Narmadā**. Lines 43-48 inform that the gift was made to **Kūkala-panḍita** and 30 other Brāhmanaṣ. Kūkala-panḍita was the son of Gōpati-bhaṭṭa, grandson of Sūdanabhaṭṭa, and great-grandson of Nāgaṇa-kramavit who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra and Śākala-śākhā and who had emigrated from **Karahāṭa**. Lines 48-49 state that the gift consisted of the village **Kōmkaṇē** in Saṅgamanēra-84 situated in Śrīnagara-2,500 in Sēṇadēśa. Lines 51-52 relate to the privileges of the gift while lines 53-57 refer to the boundaries of the gift-village. They are: to the east, **Dundūdēva**; to the south-east, the village **Kōnachī**; to the south, **Maṇiyavali** village; to the south-west, **Juṇiyaravē** village; to the west, **Vaḍagava** village; to the north-west, **Saṅgamvī** village; to the north **Kapathaka** village; and to the north-east, **Mēshī-pāṇiya**. Lines 58-82 are devoted to the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. Lines 82-83 repeat the information that Āiramadēva of the Yādava family granted the village Kōmkaṇē. This is followed by the statement that the gift should be protected by the sons and grandsons (of the donor). The meaning of the sentence in lines 83-84 is not clear. However, it appears to stipulate that the donee should pay some *drammas* as taxes (*śrōtra*) to the king.³ Thus the present grant seems to be a *karaśāsana*. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by **Hariś-chandra**.

As regards the identification of the place-names found in the record, Dvārāvātī-pattana (line 6) is the well-known Dvārakā in Gujarat. Chandradityapura (lines 7-8) may be Chandor or Chandvad, 40 miles north-east of Nasik. Simhinēra (line 11), the division in which Sēṇapura was included, is represented by modern Sinnar, 17 miles south-east of Nasik. It is also called Śrīnagara, the head-quarters of the division Śrīnagara-2500, in line 48. Karahāṭa (line 43) is modern Karhad in Satara District. Sēṇadēśa (line 48) is the area round about the Nasik District. Saṅgamanēra-84 (line 49) which was included in Śrīnagara-2500 is modern Saṅgamnēr, 50 miles to the north-west of Ahmednagar. The gift-village Kōmkaṇē-grāma (line 49) in Saṅgamanēra-84 division is represented by modern Komkangaon, 7½ miles to the east of Saṅgamnēr. The villages mentioned as boundaries (lines 53-57) to the gift-village may be identified as follows: Dundūdēva may be modern Dudhēśvara temple and hill, about 10 miles to the east of Saṅgamnēr. Kōnachī-grāma is modern Konchi, 10 miles east of Saṅgamnēr on the slope of the Dhudhēśvara hill. Maṇiyavali-grāma is Manoli, 8 miles to the east of Saṅgamnēr. Juṇiyaravē-grāma is represented by modern Jorve, a small village on the north bank of the Pravara river, 5 miles east of Saṅgamnēr. Vaḍagava-grāma is modern Wadgaon, 5 miles east of Saṅgamnēr. Kapathaka-grāma may be modern Kavathe-Kamalēśvar, 10 miles north of Saṅgamnēr. Mēshī-pāṇiya appears

¹ See above, pp. 69 ff.

² Ibid.

³ Cf. the expression *śrōtra* in the Kalegaon plates of Yādava Mahādēva, above Vol. XXXII, p. 42, text line 77 and *śrōtaka* in the Chinchani plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III, ibid., p. 60, text lines 38 and 42.

to be the name of a stream. I am unable to identify Naramadāpura on the banks of the river Narmadā and also Saṅgamvīgrāma which is stated to have been situated to the north-west of the gift-village Kōṁkaṇē-grāma.

TEXT¹

[Metres: Verse 1 *Mandākrāntū*; verses 2-8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 9-10, 14-22 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 11 *Śālīnī*; verses 12-13 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Svasti Jayō=bhyudayaś=cha || Trailōkyē(kyam) saṁsṛijati Bhagavā[m]=la(lla)-
- 2 vdha(bdha)-māhātmya-tējāḥ³ chittā(ntā)gamyah parama-tapasām yōgi-
- 3 nām dhyāyatām yah [|*] a-pratyakshan bhavati vivu(bu)ddhā(dhā)nām=api prā-
- 4 yaśō=sau dēvah sō=yam Yadupati-patēḥ Śaṁkaraḥ śam karō-
- 5 t(tu)[[1*] Ādau khyātō(ta)-**Drīḍhaprahāra**-nṛipatiḥ śrī-Vishṇurūpaḥ sa
- 6 hi prāyātō nija-vaṁsa(śa)-śēkhara-tanur=**Dvārāvati-pattanāt** || (|)
7. saṁgrāmē ripu-hasti-patti-śirasām saṁchchhē(chhē)da-bhēdē drīḍhaḥ³ **Cham-**
- 8 **drādityapuram** prasiddham=akarōt prāk-saṁbhavan yō bhuvi [[2*] Śrīma-
- 9 [t]-**Sēuṇachandra**-nāma nṛipavaras⁴=tasmād=abhūd=bhūmipaḥ³ nityam dē-
- 10 sa(śa)-padānti(dāti)-vishayē⁵ svan=nāma saṁpādayan [|*] yēn=ākāri puram
- 11 cha Sēuṇapuram śrī-Simhinērē vatrē(rē) tat-putrah kula-dīpaka(kō)⁶
- 12 guṇa-nidhiḥ śrī-**Dhāḍiyappas**=tataḥ [| 3*] Āsītad⁷=aśēsha-[bhū]ta-
- 13 la-śasī(śī) śrīmān **vṛi(bṛi)had-Bhillamah** śrī-**Rājas**=tad-ananītarām na-
- 14 rapatir=jjātō mahī-maṇḍanaḥ | arvvāk=tasya va(ba)bhūva bhūtala-
- 15 Hariḥ śrī-**Vaddig**-ākhyō nṛipaḥ³ tasmāt³ śrī-vara-**Bhillamah** kshi-

¹ From the impressions and original.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ The metre of this verse is defective. Better read *nṛivaras*.

⁵ Read *padāti-rāja-vishayē* as in the Dēvalāḥ plates to suit the metre.

⁶ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* at the end of the line.

⁷ Metre is defective. Better read *Āsīt=tadvad=aśēsha*.

ASVI PLATES OF YADAVA AIRAMADEVA, SAKA 1020

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ii, a

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52 72
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56 76
58 78
60 80
62 82
84

SEAL



(from photograph)

Size : One-half

- 16 tipatiḥ pratyaksha-dharmmō=bhavat | [| 4*] Bhāryā yasya cha Jhamjha-rāja-ta-
 17 nayā śrī-**Lachchhiyavvā**¹hvayā dharmma-tyāga-vivēka-vu(bū)ddhi-saṅṅā
 18 śrī-Rāshṭrajū(kū)ṭ-ānvayā [| *] yā jātā nacha(va)-vā(bā)larāja-samayē ya-
 19 [sy-ā]nvay-āddhāritā |² sapt-āṅg-ōdyata-rājya-bhāra-dharaṇāt³ rā-
 20 ya(jya)-tray-ārghyā tataḥ || [5*] Śrī-**Vēsri(sū)ka**-mahīpatiḥ sama-
 21 bhavat³ yasy=āṅga-sli(śli)shtas=tataḥ śrī-**Bhillama**⁴-dharā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 22 dharah samuditaḥ śrī-Maṇḍalik-ā[khyā(khya)]yā [| *] trailōkyē
 23 nija-vamśa(śa)⁵-kīrtti-nirmmalatayā saṁbhūshayan Yādava-
 24 ḥ³ dakshō Dakshavimarddanasya charaṇau saṁpūjayan yō bhuvi || [6*]
 25 Tad-vamśō(ś-ō)dbhava-**Sēuṇēṁdu**-nṛipatir=jjātō=tra dharmmādhikaḥ sarvā-
 26 [n]=bhū-valay-āsritān kshiti-patīn nirjji[tya] śauryy-āsinā [| *]
 27 rājyaṁ yēna samuddhṛitaṁ savikalāṁ svarggaṁ gatē Bhillamē yadva-
 28 t=sūkara-rūpa-sāmya-Hariṇā lōka-trayaṁ ch=ōddhṛitaṁ(tam) || [7*] Tat-putrō
 29 nṛipati-tray-aika-tilakō vair-ibha-kamṭhīravō vīrah [sū]ravi-
 30 paksha-paksha-dalanō rāj=**Āirammō**=bhavat | yēna śrī-Bhuvanaika-
 31 mallam=ajitaṁ nirjitya sapt-āṅgakaṁ rājyaṁ śrī-Paramarddinē kshiti-
 32 bhṛitē dattaṁ sva-sēvā-kramāt [| 8*] Bhāryā yasy=ābhavad=dēvī Lakshmīr=i-
 33 va bhuvi svayaṁ(yam) | śrī-**Yō[ga]ll=ēti** yanā(n-nā)mnā raṁjitaṁ bhuvana-trayaṁ(yam)
 || [9*]
 34 **Sa(Śa)ka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-sahasr-aikē** vi[m*]sa(śa)ty-a-
 dhikē | aṁ-
 35 katō=pi | **saṁvat 1020 Bahudhāyana**⁶-**saṁvatsar-āntarggatiya**⁷

¹ *Ā-mātrā* is engraved a little above, looking like ī.

² This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. The Bassein plates read *Yadv-anvay-ūdhāritā* while the Dēvalāli plates read *yā jātā nanu bāla-rājya-samayē Yadv-anvay-ūdhāritā*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here

⁴ The metre requires a reading like *Bhillamma*.

⁵ This *pāḍa* is metrically defective and would be alright without the word *ramśa*.

⁶ Read *Bahudhāyana*.

⁷ Read *-āntarggata*.

- 36 **Vaisā(śā)kha-māsē Sōma-dinē Amāvāsyāyām Narmmadāyām Narmma-**
 37 **dāpurē śrī-Siddhēsva(śva)ra-kshētrē Vra(Bra)hma-tīrthē Kapi-tīrthē cha Vaisā-**
(śā)kha-va-
 38 **di 15 Sōmē** | ady=ēha śrī-Narmmadāpurē | samasta-bhuvanāśra(śra)-
 39 ya-śrī-prithvī-vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramē[sva(śva)]ra-paramabhaṭṭā-
 40 raka-Satyāśrayakulatilaka-Chālukyābharāṇa-śrīmat-**Tribhuvana-**
 41 **malla-Pēramādi¹dē[va]-vijaya-rājyē | Sēuṇa-dēsē(śē) |** samasta-rā-
 42 jāvali-virājita-mahāmaṇḍalēsva(śva)ra-śrī-**Ā²iramadēvēna**
 43 **paṁcha-pradhān-ānumatēna || Karahāṭa-vinirggata-Kāśyapa-gō-**

Second Plate, Second side

- 44 [tr-ā]nvayō³ Sā(Śā)kala-śākhā-prasūtāya | tasya cha pūrvvapuru-
 45 shāḥ | Nāgaṇa-kramavit tat-putraḥ Sūdana-bhaṭṭa[h] | tasmāt
 46 Gōpati-bhaṭṭaḥ | tat-putrāya **Kūkala-paṁditāya** | yama-niya-
 47 ma-svādhyāya-dhyān-ānushṭhāna-ratāya | trimśadvrā(d-brā)hmaṇa-sahi-
 48 tāyā(ya |) **Sēnu(u)ṇa-dēsē(śē) Śrīnagara-sārdha-sahaśra(sra)-dvaya-samva(ba)-**
 49 **ddha-Saṁgamanēra-chatur-ā⁴sīti-madhyē Kōmkaṇē-grāmaḥ** pā-
 50 da-prakshālanam kṛtvā mauli(li)-kṛita-hasta-dvayēna parama-śrē-
 51 yō-rtham sā(śā)sana-yuktō dantaḥ(ttah) || sa-vṛiksha-mālā-kulaḥ sa-kā-
 52 shṭha-tri(tri)ṇ-ōdakaḥ | nidhi-niksha(kshō)pa-giri-nada-nadī-sahita-
 53 ḥ(ta) ētad-grāma-sīmāyām pūrvvataḥ **Dumūdēvaḥ** āgnēyām(yyām) **Kō[na]-**
 54 **[chī]-grāmaḥ** dakṣiṇataḥ **Maṇiyavali-grāmaḥ** nairi(rri)tyām
 55 **Jumyaravē-grāmaḥ** | paśchimataḥ **Vaḍagava-grāmaḥ** vāyavyām
 56 **Samgamvī-grāmaḥ** uttarataḥ **Kapathaka-grāmaḥ** i(ai)sā(śā)nyām **Mē-**
 57 **shī-pānīyam** | evam aptā(shṭ-ā)ghāṭ-ōpalakshitaḥ grāmō=yam

¹ Read *Permādi*.

² Read *śry-Ā°*.

³ Read *°anvayāya*.

⁴ There is an unnecessary *danḍa* after *rā*. Read *-asīti-*.

- 58 sã(śã)sanē[na*] dattaḥ || Paratra samvala-di[m]vya¹ bhūmi-dāna(nā)t=param na
 59 hi | tasmā[t*] sarvva-prayē(ya)tu[tnā]na bhūma(mi)-dānaṁ prapālayēt [| 10*] Sā-
 60 mānyō=yam dha[r*]mma-sētur=nṛipāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bha-
 61 vadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān bhāgi(vi)naḥ pāṛthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō
 62 yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ [| 11*] Mad-va[m*]sa(śa)-jātāḥ para-vaṁsa(śa)jā vō(vā)
 63 yē puṇyavantaḥ mama dharmmam=ētān(tam) [| *] prapālayishyantu(ti) [nṛipā]-

Third Plate

- 64 s=tu sarvvē kṛit-āṁjaliḥ(lis)=tān=aham=avravīmi² [| 12*] Yā-
 65 n=īha dattāni purā narēndraiḥ³ dānāni dharmm-ārtha-
 66 yasa(śa)skarāṇi | nirmmālya-tulyāni bhavaṁti tāni⁴ kō
 67 nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta [| 13*] Gayā-Gōdāvarī-Gaṁgā-Pra-
 68 yāg-ādishu dānataḥ [| *] yat=puṇyam tat=phalaṁ sarvaṁ bhavēd=bhūmi-
 69 prapālanāt⁵ [| 14*] Bahubhiḥ(bhi)r=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādi-
 70 bhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiḥ³ tasya na(ta)sya na(ta)dā phalaṁ(lam) [| 15*] Sva-da-
 71 ntām(ttām) para-dantām(ttām) vā yō harēta vasūdharīm⁶ [| *] shashṭi -rvva(va)rsha-
 sahasrāṇi
 72 viśṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih [| 16*] Bhūmi[m*] yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yas=tu
 73 bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmṁṇau niyataṁ svarchā(rgga)-
 74 gāminau [| 17*] Na visham visham=ity=āhuḥ³ vra(bra)hma-sva[m*] visham=uchyatē [(|)
 75 visham=ēkākinam haṁti vra(bra)hma-svam putra-pautrikam(kam) [| 18*] Vi[m*]-
 dhyātavī-
 76 shv=a-tōyāsu su(śu)shka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-sarppā hi jāyam-
 77 tē vra(bra)hma-dēy-āpahārakāḥ [| 19*] Ahō Rāghava-rājēndra sapta-kam(ka)-

¹ Read *sabalam divyam*.

² Read *krit-āñjalis=tēbhya idam bravīmi*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ There is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* between *ni* and *kō*.

⁵ Better read *bhū-dīya-pālanāt*.

⁶ Read *vasumdharam*.

- 78 lpa-smanōdyaham¹ | na śrutam (tō) na mayā dṛiṣṭam(ṭaḥ) svayam datt-āpahāraḥ
(kaḥ) | [| 20*]
- 79 [Kam(Cham)]dr-ārkkau cha tathā bhūmir=nabhaś=ch=āpas=tath=ānilaḥ [| *] tārakāś=ch=ā-
80 nalaś=ch=aiva Dharmmarājas=tath=aiva cha[[21*] Tisraḥ saṁdhyās=trayō veda a-
81 gnayaś=cha trayas=tathā | ahō-rātram cha dānasya² ētē vai sākshiṇaḥ
82 smṛitāḥ [| 22*] Yādav-ānvayēna śrī³-Āiramadēvēna Kōṁkaṇē-grāma-sā(śā)-
83 sanam dattam(ttam) || putra-pautr-ādibhaḥ(bhiḥ) pālaniyam(yam) || śrōtrē(tra)-drammāś=cha
84 ||⁴ suvarṇa-vaṭṭakēna tām̐vō(bū)lam dātavyam(vyam) || Li-
85 khitam [pāva]lakaraṇi (ṇi)śrī-**Hariśchaṁdrēṇa** || Maṅgala-mahā-śrīḥ ||

¹ Read *kalpaṁ hi vēdmy=aham*.

² *Sandhi* is not observed here.

³ Read *try-Ā*.

⁴ There is some blank space at the beginning of this line.

No. 32—ANDURA PLATES OF GOVINDA IV, SAKA 851

(2 Plates)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 24.10.1962)

These plates were discovered in July 1962 while digging in a *gaḍhī* at the village **Andūrā** in the Balapur Taluka of the Akola District, Vidarbha. Mr. Ramrao Dharerao Deshmukh of Andūrā sent them to the Tashildar, Bālāpur, who forwarded them to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Maharashtra State. The latter very kindly placed them at my disposal for study and publication. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

They are **three copper-plates** measuring 44 cm. by 28 cm. Each plate has a ring-hole, about 2.5 cm. in diameter, through which passes a ring which holds the plates together. The ends of the ring are secured under the bottom of a seal, square in shape, each side of which measures 7 cm. The ends of the plates are slightly raised for the protection of the engraved record; still, some left-hand portion in the first three lines has become indistinct owing to friction. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side only and the second plate on both the sides. The record consists of sixty-nine lines, of which seventeen are written on each inscribed surface of the three plates, except the first side of the second plate, which has eighteen lines. The inscription is, on the whole, well preserved. The portion in the first three lines on the first plate, which is indistinct, can be restored with the help of the cognate Cambay¹ and Sangli² plates of Gōvinda IV. The **seal**³ has in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of Garuḍa, squatting on a lotus and facing full front, with wings expanded and a serpent held in each hand. On his proper right there is the figure of squatting Gaṇapati and on his proper left that of a squatting goddess, probably Pārvatī, holding a *śūla* in each hand. Below, on either side, there appear three knobs in place of a *chaurī* and a lamp seen on the seals of the cognate plates. Below the knobs on the proper right of Garuḍa there appears a *svastika* and to its right just below the figure of Garuḍa, a sheathed dagger. The seals of Rāshtrakūṭa grants generally bear a legend containing the donor's name, but the present seal has no such legend. The plates weigh 7.82 kg. while the ring with the seal weighs 1.64 kg.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet, regular for the period to which the present grant belongs. The following peculiarities may be noted—The initial *i* is shown by a curve below two dots; see *iva*, line 9; the medial *u* is in some cases shown by a horizontal stroke to the left as in *Chalukya*, line 11; the medial diphthongs are, in some cases, denoted by *prishṭha-mātrās* and in others by *śirō-mātrās*; see *kōpād-apūrvvaiḥ*, line 15; *k* has generally a loop on the left except when it has the medial *ri* added to it or it is the superscript letter of a conjunct; see *śrī-Krishṇa-rājah*, and *-ōdrikta*, both in line 11; the left limb of *kh* has now a fully developed tail; see *-khādyah*, lines 15-16; *ṇ* is still without a dot; see *-prāṇṇanam*, line 23; the superscript *ñ* has the same form as the superscript *n*; see *pañchamyām*, line 50; the subscript *n* is laid on its side; see *śrī-Suvarṇavarsha*, line 47; the subscript *th* is cursive; see *-sthitī*, line 8; *dh* has not yet developed a horn on the

¹ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 26 f.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 247 f.

³ See plate facing p. 236 above, figure II.

left limb so as to be distinguished from *v*; still the two vertical strokes of *dhā* are not joined by a horizontal stroke except in *dhāvataḥ*, line 33; *ph* has now developed a distinct curve on the right; see *visphūrjjat-*, line 36; *r* appears in two forms, one of which has a loop on the left, see *Mahārājādhirāja-*, line 44. Finally, the left limb of palatal *ś* is not yet separated from the vertical on the right; see *yaś-ōmśu-*, line 9.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial eulogistic portion is metrically composed. It has twenty-nine verses, all of which occur in the same order as in the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. It does not, however, contain two verses of the latter grant, viz. the usual initial verse in praise of Viṣṇu and Hara and verse 27 of that grant.¹ This eulogistic portion is followed by the formal portion in prose in lines 39 to 64. The initial portion of this description of the donor Gōvinda IV is copied from the same draft as is used in the Cambay plates, but the later portion giving the parentage of the queen Bhāgiyavvā, the occasion and the date of the gift, the names, *gōtras*, *śākhās* and original places of residence of the donees, the donated village and its boundaries, etc. is different. This is followed by four benedictive and imprecatory verses of the usual type. Unlike the Cambay and Sangli plates, the present plates do not mention the name of the writer of the record.

The draft is fairly correct in the eulogistic portion, which, as stated above, is copied from a common draft, but in the formal portion, which is new, there are several grammatical and other mistakes which make the task of its interpretation very difficult. As regards **orthography** we may note that the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; see *vrahmaṇaḥ*, line 1; the dental *s* is occasionally used for the palatal *ś*; see *Srī-stana* line 1; and *vice versa* in *śravat*, line 5; the consonant preceding and following *r* is generally doubled; see *-ātapattrāt*, line 6 and *kīrtti-* line 8; the final *n* is in some places changed to *anusvāra*, see *-tasmim*, line 24 and *Himavaṇ-nāmnāḥ*, line 26; the mistakes in *vandhaītvā*, line 48, *kramavitta*, line 54, etc. are evidently due to wrong pronunciation. The affix *aiya* at the end of the names of some of the donees corresponds to *ārya* noticed in the earlier records of Vidarbha such as the Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. It should not be traced to Kannada influence.

The inscription is one of the **Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV**, who bore the titles *Paramabhātāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and the *birudas* *Nitya-Kandarpa*, *Chāṇakya-Chaturmukha*, *Vikrānta-Nārāyaṇa*, *Nṛipati-Trinētra*, *Suvarṇavarsha*, *Prithvivallabha*, and *Valla-bhanarēndra*. He meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhātāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Nityavarshadēva* (i.e. Indra III). The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Ēlaūrī** included in the territorial division of **Vaḍanēra-300** to eight Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of the **Tulāpurusha Mahādāna** which Gōvinda IV made on **Wednesday, the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of Pausa in the Śaka year 851²**

¹ The Sangli plates have all the verses of the eulogistic portion of the Cambay plates except the first *maṅgala-śloka*.

² I was at first inclined to read the unit figure of this date as 2, but have since adopted the suggestion of Dr. Gai that it is 1. The figure 2 was at first denoted by two convex curves placed one below the other. Later, the upper curve was placed obliquely and the lower one, similarly placed was attached to its lower end. See the figure 2 in the date Śaka 852 of the Cambay plates (above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 40). The lower curve became a straight stroke in later times. If the date is read as Śaka 852, it will have to be regarded as irregular; for the *tithi* in Śaka 852 fell on a Tuesday (the 11th January A.D. 931) and not on a Wednesday as required. The *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī also ended on the same day. Again the Uttarāyaṇa occurred on the 23rd December A.D. 930, i.e. more than a fortnight before the date of the grant. There is, therefore, no doubt that Śaka 851 is the correct reading of the date of the present plates.

(expressed in decimal figures only). The cyclic year then current was **Vikṛita** and the moon was in conjunction with the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī. The grant was made on the occasion of the *Mahāparvan* Uttarāyaṇa (summer solstice). This date given with such full particulars can be completely verified. According to the northern luni-solar system, the cyclic year corresponding to the Śaka year 851 was Vikṛita as stated in the present grant. The same system is used in two other inscriptions of Gōvinda IV, viz. in the Kalas inscription of Śaka 851 and the Cambay plates of Śaka 852. But in the later Sangli plates of Śaka 855 the southern system is found used.¹ It is well known that in later records of South India, it is the southern system that is generally used. The reign of Gōvinda IV falls in the transitional period when the northern system was yielding place to the southern. So we find instances of both in the records of his reign. The fifth *tithi* of the *amānta* Pauṣa in the Śaka year 851 ended 15 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 23rd December A.D. 929, when the week-day was Wednesday as stated in the present grant. The *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī did not, however, commence till 8 h. after mean sunrise that day. The Uttarāyaṇa or Makara *saṅkrānti* had taken place 23 h. 30 m. on the previous day, i.e. half an hour before the sunrise of the 23rd December. When the Makara *saṅkrānti* thus occurs during a night, the religious rites in connection with it are to be performed on the succeeding day.² Besides, the auspicious time (*puṇya-kāla*) of the Makara-*saṅkrānti* extends to as many as 40 *ghaṭikās* according to Hēmādri.³ The grant seems, therefore, to have been made in the afternoon of the 23rd December when both the *tithi* and the *nakshatra* were current. It is further stated in lines 48-49 that the king made at the same time some more *Mahādānas* such as Hiranyagarbha, Ubhayamukhī, Gōsahasra and Kalpavṛiksha⁴ for (the religious merit of) his queen, the illustrious Bhāgiyavvā, the *paṭṭa* on whose forehead was caused to be tied by twelve *Mahāsāmantas* (Chief Feudatories). The grant of the village was made by Gōvinda IV without getting down from the pan of the *Tulā* in which he was seated for the Tulādāna in the courtyard of Gōvindēśvara which seems to be the name of a *liṅga* installed in the name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king. It is not stated where this temple of Gōvindēśvara was situated, but it was probably in the Rāshtrakūṭa capital of Mānyakhēṭa. It is noteworthy that the grant recorded in the Sangli plates also was made at

¹ According to the northern system, the cyclic year corresponding to Śaka 851 was Vikṛita and that corresponding to Śaka 852 was Khara as stated in the respective grants. They would be Virōdhi and Vikṛita respectively according to the southern system. The cyclic year Vijaya corresponding to Śaka 855 of the Sangli plates agrees with the southern system. According to the northern one, it would have been Jaya.

² Cf. अपरे तु मकरे रात्रिसंक्रमे सर्वत्र परदिनमेव पुण्यम् । *Dharmasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgar Press ed.), p. 3.

³ Cf. मकरसंक्रान्तौ हेमाद्रिमते परतश्चत्वारिंशद्घटिकाः पुण्याः । 'त्रिंशत्कर्कटके नाड्यो मकरे तु दशाधिकाः ।' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्तम् । माधवमते तु विंशतिः । 'त्रिंशत्कर्कटके पूर्वा मकरे विंशतिः परा ।' इति बृहद्वसिष्ठोक्तेः । *Nirṇayasindhu* (Nirṇayasāgar Press ed.).

⁴ For the *Mahādāna* Hiranyagarbha, see Hēmādri, *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa, Vol. I (Bavaraś ed.), pp. 226 f. The Ubhayamukhī *Mahādāna* is the gift of a cow just while giving birth to a calf. Cf. प्रसूयमानं यो गां च दद्यादुभयतोमुखीम् । यथोक्तेन विधानेन स जातिस्मरतां लभेत् ॥ cited in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 461 from the *Skāndapurāṇa*. For Gō-sahasra, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 256 f. For Kalpavṛiksha, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 247 f.

Mānyakhēta.¹ The parentage of the queen **Bhāgiyavvā** is stated in lines 45-46. She was descended from **Bhīmarāja** of the **Chalukya** family. Bhīma's son was Tailappa. The latter's son was **Guṇagaka**, whose queen was **Rēvakavvā**. Their daughter was Bhāgiyavvā, who was married to Gōvinda IV. The present grant gives no information about the country where this Chalukya family was ruling.

As stated before, the donees were eight Brāhmaṇas. The particulars about their *gōtras*, *śākhās*, original habitations, etc., are given below.

Name of donee	Name of his father	Gōtra	Śākhā	Original habitation
1. Saṇvaibhaṭṭa	Madhuvapayyabhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	Ṛigvēda	Chandrapurī
2. Vāvaṇa	Tikkapayya	Kauśika	Taittirīya	Nalagrāma
3. Kēśava	Mādhavaiya	Vatsa	Taittirīya	Dharma-Sēllukā.
4. Prabhākarabhaṭṭa	Vachubhaṭṭa	Kauśika	Ṛigvēda	Sisavē
5. Śrīdharabhaṭṭa	Rēvaṇaibhaṭṭa	Harita	Taittirīya	Nalagrāma
6. Tikkēbhaṭṭa	Vīḍapaiya	Bhāradvāja	Ṛigvēda	Purī
7. Jannibhaṭṭa	Viddhapaiya	Gārgya	Taittirīya	Vāvi
8. Vāvaṇaiya	Risiyaṇṇa	Bhāradvāja	Ṛigvēda	Chikhali

The donated village **Ēlaūri** was situated in the territorial division of **Vaḍanēra-300**. It was bounded on the east by **Dantīgrāma**, on the south by **Nimbagrāma**, on the west by **Kōṭṭaūrigrāma** and on the north by the river **Payōshnī**. As shown below, some of these villages can still be identified in the Buldana District of Vidarbha.

Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the present grant, we shall next turn to the historical information furnished by it. This has indeed been discussed in detail by D. R. Bhandarkar in his article on the Cambay plates, with which the present plates agree in their eulogistic portion. Still, in certain respects Bhandarkar's remarks will have to be modified or corrected in the light of researches made since his time. The first three verses are *maṅgala-ślōkas* eulogising Brahmā,² Kēśava (Viṣṇu) and Śambhu. The fourth and fifth verses state that the Yādava family, from which the Rāshtrakūṭas claimed descent, was produced from the Moon. The next six verses (6-11) describe in order the kings Dantidurga, his uncle Kṛishṇa I, his son Gōvinda II, his younger brother Nirupama (Dhruva), his son Jagattuṅga (Gōvinda III) and finally, his son Amōghavarsha I. The description of these kings is conventional. About Amōghavarsha I we are told that he pleased the god of death (Yama) by supplying him with cakes in the form of the Chālukyas whom he exterminated in Viṅgavallī (the kingdom of Vēṅgī). The reference is evidently to the long-drawn war with the Eastern Chālukyas in

¹ For the grant recorded in the Cambay plates of Śaka 852 which was made on the occasion of his *paṭṭabandha-mahōtsava* (or coronation), the king had gone to the village Kapitthaka (not yet identified) on the Gōdāvarī. It seems that the formal coronation of the king was delayed by some months after his accession.

² Actually the *Sāma-gītis* (Sāma-singing) of Brahmā are praised in this verse, but the intention is to praise Brahmā himself.

which Amōghavarsha's son Kṛishṇa II and the latter's brother-in-law the Kalachuri prince Śaṅkaragaṇa took part. About Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II), the son and successor of Amōghavarsha I, the present grant, like those discovered before, has the following verse :—

तस्मादकालवर्षो नृपतिरभूद्यत्पराक्रमत्वस्तैः ।

सद्यः समण्डलाग्रं खेटकमहितैः परित्यक्तम् ॥ 12 ॥

This verse states that the enemies of Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II), being terrified by his valour, abandoned their swords and shields. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, thought that the words *khēṭaka* and *maṇḍalāgra* in this verse have a *double entendre* (*ślēsha*). He took the verse to mean that the enemies of Kṛishṇa II abandoned the city of Khēṭaka 'which is meant here to denote Mānyakhēṭa itself, the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes.'¹ In this connection Bhandarkar drew attention to the statement in two Chālukyan records that Guṇaka Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-38) frightened the fire-brand Kṛishṇa and burnt his city. This interpretation of the aforementioned verse cannot be upheld. In the first place Khēṭaka is nowhere else mentioned as another name of the royal capital Mānyakhēṭa. Ordinarily, *khēṭaka* means (i) a shield and (ii) a village. It is also the name of a territorial division (modern Kairā) in Gujarat. Again, what is the significance of the description 'the enemies abandoned Khēṭaka (Mānyakhēṭa) along with the leaders of their circles (*sa-maṇḍal-āgram*)?' The reference to the desertion, by the enemies, of their circle of princes has no special significance. Again, if the enemies left the capital of Kṛishṇa, they must have first captured it. Such an admission would scarcely redound to the credit of Kṛishṇa II, who is intended to be praised. Besides, there is absolutely no evidence that the enemies ever occupied Mānyakhēṭa. The reading in the Chālukyan records on which Fleet and Bhandarkar relied for this supposition is Kiraṇapura, not Kṛishṇapura as conjectured by Fleet² and subsequently adopted by Bhandarkar. There is still a place called Kiraṇapur in the Bālāghāt District of Chhattisgaḍh as shown by Altekar.³ So the place burnt by Vijayāditya III was not the Rāshtrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa⁴ but Kiraṇapura in Chhattisgaḍh where both Kṛishṇa II and his brother-in-law Śaṅkaragaṇa⁵ were then encamped.

Kṛishṇa II married a Kalachuri princess who was a daughter of Kōkkala I. Their son was Jagattuṅga. The latter married Lakshmī, the daughter of Raṇavigraha, who is now known to be none other than the aforementioned Śaṅkaragaṇa. Their son was Indra III, who, we know, succeeded his grandfather Kṛishṇa II. About him the present grant, like the two discovered before, has the following verse:—

यन्माद्यद्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रियप्राङ्गणं

तीर्णा यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रतिस्पर्द्धिनी ।

येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं

नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं परां नीयते ॥ 18 ॥

¹ Above, Vol. VII, p. 29.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102.

³ See his *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 59.

⁴ Another passage where *khēṭaka* is similarly misinterpreted occurs in the Sanjan plates. See my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 22-23, note 3.

⁵ Fleet and Hultzsch rendered *saṅkila* by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake. See above, Vol. IV, p. 226. *Saṅkila* is the same as Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kōkkala I.

This verse tells us that in the course of his invasion of the Pratīhāra capital Mahōdaya (Kanauj), Indra had to camp for a while in the courtyard of the temple of god Kālapriya, which his elephants rendered uneven by the strokes of their tusks. Thereafter his horses crossed the unfathomable Yamunā and he devastated the city Mahōdaya (Kanauj) which has since then become known as Kuśa-sthala (a land of grass).

Bhandarkar identified Kālapriya with Mahākāla and conjectured that Indra's army was encamped in the courtyard of the god's temple at Ujjayinī. This identification cannot be accepted. Mahākāla is nowhere called Kālapriya. On the other hand, we know from several passages in the Purāṇas that Kālapriya was the name of the Sun-god installed in a temple on the southern bank of the Yamunā.¹ This is also corroborated by the description in the present grant that Indra III's horses crossed the Yamunā in the course of the king's invasion of Kanauj. Rājaśekhara also tells us that Kālapriya was situated to the south of Mahōdaya (Kanauj).² From the Purāṇas we learn that there were three important places of Sun-worship, viz. Sutīra or Kōṇāraka in the east, Kālapriya in the middle part of North India and Mūlasthāna (Multān) in the west. The Sun-god was personally present in the temple of Sutīra in the morning, in that of Kālapriya at noon and in that of Mūlasthāna in the evening.³ This Kālapriya is evidently Kālpī, which is situated on the south bank of the Yamunā and has several mounds awaiting excavation. Kālpī lies on the way from Mānyakhēṭa to Kanauj. That it was a well-known place in ancient times is also shown by its mention in all the three plays of Bhavabhūti. They were all staged at the *yātrā* in honour of the god Kālapriyanātha. The identification of Kālapriya with Kālpī may thus be accepted as quite certain.⁴

Indra III married Vijāmbā, the daughter of the Kalachuri prince Ammaṇadēva, son of Arjuna, who was himself a son of Kōkkalla I. Their son was Gōvindarāja who made the present grant. In his description there occurs the following verse :—

सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाग्रजे कूरता
व(ब)न्धुस्त्रीगमनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्जितं नायशः ।
शौचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च भिया पैशाच्यमंगीकृतं
त्यागेनासमसाहा(ह)सैश्च भुवने यस्साहसांकोभवत् ॥ 21 ॥

¹ Cf. साम्बः सूर्यप्रतिष्ठां च कारयामास तत्त्ववित् ॥
उदयाचले च संश्रित्य यमुनायाश्च दक्षिणे ।
मध्ये कालप्रियं देवं मध्याह्ने स्थाप्य चोत्तमम् ॥
मूलस्थानं ततः पश्चादस्तमानाचले रविम् ।

Varāha Purāṇa, Asintic Society ed. (1893), Adhyāya 177, verses 51-53.

² Seo “अनियतत्वाद्दिशामनिश्चितो दिग्बिभागः” इत्येके । तथाहि । यो गाधिपुरस्य दक्षिणः स कालप्रिय-
स्योत्तरः इति । *Kāryamīmāṃsā*, (G. O. S.), p. 94.

³ Cf. सांनिध्यं मम पूर्वाह्णे सुतीरे द्रक्ष्यते जनैः ।
कालप्रिये च मध्याह्नेऽपराह्णे चात्र नित्यशः ॥ *Bhavishya Purāṇa*, I. 129-16.

⁴ For a full discussion of this question, see my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 35

D. R. Bhandarkar translated this verse as follows : "Ignominious cruelty was not practised (*by him*) with regard to his elder brother, (*though*) he had the power; (*he*) did not obtain infamy by evil courses such as (*illicit*) intercourse with the wives of his relatives; (*he*) did not, through fear, resort to diabolical conduct which is indifferent to what is pure and impure; (*and*) by his munificence and unparalleled heroic deeds he became Sāhasāṅka in the world." This verse has puzzled many historians. R. G. Bhandarkar has, for instance, remarked in his *Early History of the Deccan*, "What this statement exactly means is difficult to say. But probably Gōvinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death and the other accusations were whispered against him and this is intended as a defence."¹ D. R. Bhandarkar also has drawn similar conclusions. Says he, "The first three lines of the verse look as if the composer of the inscription was giving of his own accord quite an un-called for defence to establish the spot-less character of his patron Gōvinda IV." It is again pointed out that the Bhādāra grant of the Śilāhāra king Aparājita, who was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, states that Indra III was followed by his son Amōghavarsha II, who reigned for an extremely short period of one year.² Though he was the immediate predecessor of Gōvinda IV, the latter is not, in his grants, described as meditating on his feet. This silence indicates clearly his hostility to his brother. Besides, he is described in some Rāshtrakūṭa records as having led a dissolute life, which undermined his health and hastened his death. So it is not unlikely that he caused his brother's death and had incestuous connection with his wife. Altekar, who has latterly written on this subject, also believes in these allegations. He says, "The new king (Amōghavarsha II) was a youth of about thirty at the time of his death in c. A.D. 929 and his early death cannot have been entirely due to his intense affection for his dead father which prompted him to follow the latter to heaven as soon as possible, as stated in some records."³ There were ugly rumours current and Gōvinda, his younger brother who succeeded him, goes out of his way to deny their truth in the charters issued by him. In these he protests that he has neither treated his brother cruelly nor committed incest with his wives even though he had the power to do so. It is clear that there was a wide-spread belief that Gōvinda had hastened the death of his elder brother and this suspicion seems to have been well-founded."⁴

Recent researches in Gupta history have thrown welcome light on this verse. Sāhasāṅka in this verse means Vikramāditya⁵ and undoubtedly refers to Chandragupta II, who assumed that title. The composer of the verse says that Gōvinda IV resembled Chandragupta only in liberality and unparalleled daring, but not in his evil actions. The first three *pādas* of the verse in question insinuate three such actions committed by Sāhasāṅka, i.e. by Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, viz. that he acted cruelly towards his brother, had illicit intercourse with his wife⁶ and undertook actions becoming an evil spirit (*piśācha*), devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. The reference here is evidently to the story of Rāmagupta as known from the Sanskrit play *Dēvī-Chandragupta* and the Persian work *Majmul-ut-Tavarikh*. We learn from them that Chandragupta went to the rescue of his sister-in-law Dhruvadēvī, whom her imbecile husband Rāmagupta had promised to surrender to a Śaka king. He impersonated the Gupta

¹ See *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, p. 99.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 271. The verse occurs also in the earlier Janjira plates (two sets), dated Śaka 915, of this Śilāhāra king. See *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, ed. by A. S. Gadre, pp. 35 ff.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 288.

⁴ *Early History of the Deccan*, edited by Yazdani, Vol. I, p. 289.

⁵ Cf. विक्रमादित्यः साहसङ्कः शकान्तकः । cited in Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on *Amarakōsha*, II, 8, 2.

⁶ Bhandarkar translated बन्धु by 'relatives', but here it clearly means 'a brother' as shown below.

queen and murdered the Śaka king in his harem. Later, he seems to have caused the death of his brother Rāmagupta and married Dhruvadēvī, who is identical with Dhruvasvāminī mentioned in several Gupta inscriptions and seals as the queen of Chandragupta II. The insinuations in the first two *pādas* of this verse are also corroborated by an explicit statement in a verse in the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarsha I.¹

The full significance of the insinuation in the third *pāda* of the present verse was, however, not known until I pointed it out several years ago² in the light of a passage brought to notice by Ramakrishna Kavi and published by D. R. Bhandarkar in his article in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (pp. 189 f.). I reproduce its relevant portion here for ready reference.³

I pointed out the significance of this passage in the following words:—"This passage indicates how Chandragupta conceived the plan of going to the Śaka king in the guise of a woman and killing him when he was unguarded. The introductory note in Sanskrit which summarises the context of the passage shows that Chandragupta had made up his mind to win over a Vampire (Vētāla) at night as a last resort, when every other means of rescuing Rāmagupta's camp had proved of no avail. It was necessary for that purpose to go to a cemetery; but egress from the camp was impossible, as they were besieged on all sides by the enemy's forces. While Chandragupta was thinking of some device to go out of the camp, there came a maid servant of some lady, probably Mādhavasēnā, with a bundle of garments and ornaments which Queen Dhruvadēvī had sent with her as presents for her mistress. Not finding her there, the Chēṭī kept the articles with Chandragupta's companion Vidūshaka and herself went out in search of her lady. The presence of Dhruvadēvī's garments suggested to Chandragupta the idea of going out of the camp in the guise of a woman. Whether he actually went to a cemetery and won over a Vētāla, the passage does not tell us. Here the verse under discussion comes to our help. The third line refers to some actions of Chandragupta befitting an evil spirit and devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. Evidently we have here a reference to such actions involving impurity such as going to a cemetery and offering human flesh, etc. to propitiate evil spirits. Readers of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* will remember the scene in Act V of that drama in which Mādhava, the hero, despairing of getting Mālatī, goes to a cemetery and offers human flesh to the evil spirits haunting that place, evidently to secure their help to win his lady-love. Did Chandragupta succeed in winning over a Vētāla? Did the latter suggest to him the ruse of going to the Śaka king in the guise of Dhruvadēvī? These questions cannot be answered in the absence of more information from the *Dēvī-*

¹ See

हत्वा भ्रातरमेव राज्यमहरद्देवीं च दीनस्तथा

लक्षं कोटिमलेख्यत्किल कलौ दाता स गुप्तान्वयः ।

येनाऽयाजि तनुः स्वराज्यमसकृद्वाह्यार्थकः का कथा

ह्योस्तस्योन्नतराष्ट्रकूटतिलको दातेति कीर्त्यामपि ॥

Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248, verse 48 (corrected).

² *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 f. The article is reprinted in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 158 f.

³ यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते शकपतिना परं कृच्छ्रमापादितं रामगुप्तस्कन्धावारमनुजिघृक्षुरुपायान्तरागोचरे प्रतिकारे निशि बेतालसाधनमध्यवस्थन् कुमारचन्द्रगुप्त आत्रेयेण विदूषकेणोक्तः । विदूषकः—भो सक्कं दाणिं भवदा इमाये वेलाये मज्झ्यं सआसादो भंडागारिआणं । पदादो । पदं वि गन्तुं ।

नायकः—(स्वगतम्) अत्रोपायश्चिन्तनीयः ।

(For the full extract, see my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 159, note 3. See also the passage quoted in *Phōṇ's Śṛīṅgāraprakāśa* by V. Raghavan, p. 866.).

Chandragupta or some other source. But it is likely that subsequent events happened as indicated above.....The poet who composed the stanza under discussion has evidently drawn upon the *Dēvi-Chandragupta* for his remarks about Chandragupta."

It will thus be seen that the intention of the poet who drafted this verse was to institute a comparison between his patron Gōvinda IV and the well-known Gupta king Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and to show how the former excelled the latter. Such comparisons were instituted by other poets also. Thus in a verse¹ cited in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* it is stated how a king named Kārttikēya, whom I have shown to be identical with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Mahīpāla, far surpassed Rāmagupta ; for his fame was sung in the Himalayas, from where Rāmagupta had to beat an ignominious retreat. Again, the aforecited verse from the Sanjan plates² states that Amōghavarsha I felt ashamed when he became known as *dātā* (donor); for even the Gupta prince who had killed his brother and appropriated his kingdom and wife was known as *dātā*. The intention of the court-poet who drafted this *praśasti* was, therefore, not to give an uncalled for defence of his patron against accusations whispered about him, but to show that he was superior in character to Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, the only king of yore who resembled him in daring and liberality.

Besides, we have no other reference to the alleged evil actions of Gōvinda IV in any records of his successors and their feudatories, who had little love for him and would not, therefore, have refrained from mentioning them if they had been true. The Deoli and Karhad plates³ of Kṛishṇa III refer to Gōvinda's dissolute life but are silent about these charges of heinous crimes. On the other hand, they intimate that Amōghavarsha II died a natural, though premature, death. As for his non-mention in the charters of Gōvinda IV, it may be due to the circumstance that he had an extremely short reign of one year. Analogous instances can easily be cited from ancient Indian history.⁴

In regard to the charge of dissolute life also, the evidence is not trustworthy. It occurs in the Deoli and Karhad plates of Kṛishṇa III, the son of Gōvinda's adversary Amōghavarsha III. These plates tell us that Gōvinda IV, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses ; his limbs being enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of maladies and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralised, he met with destruction. This implies that Gōvinda IV died of consumption due to his dissolute life. As a matter of fact, he was defeated and slain by the enemies headed by the Chālukya prince Arikēśarin, who later invaded his capital. The prince of Wales Museum plates⁵ of Chhadvaidēva also state that Amōghavarsha III completely uprooted

¹ दत्त्वा रुद्रगतिः शकाधिपतये देवीं ध्रुवस्वामिनीं

यस्मात्खण्डितसाहसो निवृत्ते श्रीरामगुप्तो नृपः ।

तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गिरिगुहाकोणं कणत्किन्नरे

गीयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय नगरस्त्रीणां गणः कीर्त्तयः ॥

Kāvyamīmāṃsā (First Ed. G.O.S.), p. 47 with the necessary changes.

² See p. 264, note 1 above.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff, and *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

⁴ I have shown elsewhere (*Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 164) that the name of Bālaharsha, a Kalachuri king of Tripurī, is similarly omitted in the Bilhari stone inscription, though it is mentioned in the later Banaras plates of Karṇa.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 289.

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Gojjiga (i.e. Gōvinda IV). That Gōvinda IV died prematurely owing to his dissolute life is, therefore, a myth circulated by his enemies.

The verse under discussion states that Gōvinda IV resembled Sāhasāṅka (i.e. Chandragupta-Vikramāditya) in daring and liberality. We have no specific instances of Gōvinda IV's daring, but that he stoutly defended his kingdom is known from contemporary inscriptions and literature. The Kalachuri army sent in support of Amōghavarsha III was opposed near Achalapura on the bank of the Payōshnī, where a sanguinary battle was fought with the feudatories who supported Gōvinda IV. If the account given in Rājasēkhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* can be believed, these feudatories included the rulers of several countries such as Kaṇṇāṭa, Pāṇḍya, Murala and Āṇḍhra.¹ Another feudatory of his, viz. Bappuva stubbornly fought and gained some victories in the south. Gōvinda IV thus resolutely organised resistance to the enemy though he was ultimately overpowered. We may, therefore, credit him with daring as stated in the present verse.

There is much greater evidence of his liberality. The Cambay plates state that on the occasion of his *paṭṭabandha* ceremony he bestowed on Brāhmaṇas six hundred *agrahāras* and three lakhs of *suvarṇa* coins and on temples eight hundred villages, four lakhs of *suvarṇas* and thirty-two lakhs of *drammas*. Such liberality is rare even in the ancient history of India. Gōvinda IV is, therefore, fittingly compared with the Gupta king Chandragupta II, whose munificence was of a similar type.²

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, the donated village **Ēlaūrī** is probably identical with Yerli, which lies on the southern bank of the Pūrṇā (ancient Payōshnī), about 6 miles north of Nāndūrā, a station on the Nagpur-Bhusawal line of the Central Railway. It is situated in the Buldana District, which borders the Akola District on the west. The Payōshnī (Pūrṇā) formed its northern boundary. **Nimbagrāma**, which formed its southern boundary, is now represented by Nimgaon, about four miles to the south,³ and **Dantigrāma**, its eastern boundary, by modern Dādgaon, about two miles south by east. **Kōṭṭaūrī**, which lay to the west of the donated village, cannot now be traced ; its place seems to have been taken by Alampur, which, as its name indicates, was settled in comparatively modern times. **Vaḍanēra**, the chief town of the territorial division **Vaḍanēra-300**, is probably identical with a place of the same name which lies about 9 miles west of Nāndūrā. Some of the places from which the donees of the present grant hailed can be located in the vicinity of Vaḍnēr. Thus **Chandrapurī** is probably Chandūr, about 10 miles north by west of Nāndūrā on the Nagpur-Bhusawal railway line. **Dharma-Sēllukā** may be Selgaon, 4 miles south-west of Nāndūrā. **Sisavē** is probably identical with Sisavai, the donated village mentioned in a grant of Gōvinda III.⁴ It is now represented by Sirso, two miles north of Murtizapur in the Akola District. **Purī** is, of course, the famous old capital of Koṅkaṇa, probably identical with Rājapuri in the former Janjirā State. As for **Chikhalī**, there are several villages of that name in the Akola and Buldana Districts, but the nearest to Yerli is that which lies about 4 miles south-east of Nāndūrā. The remaining places cannot be identified.

¹ See *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. lxxix f.

² Cf. संवाहणसहरसतोसिएण देतेण तुह करे लक्खम् ।

चलणेण विक्कमाइत्तचरिअं अणुसिखिअं तिस्सा ॥

Gāthāsaptasatī, Nirṇayasāgar Press ed., v. 464.

³ For the identification of Ēlaūrī and Nimbagrāma, I am indebted to Mr. G. S. Jadhav of Amaravati.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 206.

TEXT¹

[Metres : verses 1, 8, 13, 15, 27, 30, 32-34 *Anushtubh* ; verses 2, 3, 7, 18, 19, 21, 29 *Śārdūlav-*
krīḍita ; verses 4, 11, 28 *Sragdharā* ; verses 5, 9 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Aupachchhand-*
sika ; verses 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22 *Āryā* ; verses 23, 31 *Śālinī* ; verse 24 *Drutavilam-*
bita ; verses 25, 26 *Viyōginī*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः² [1*] जयन्ति व्र(ब्र)[ह्यणः सर्गनिष्पत्तिमु]दितात्मनः । सरस्वतीकृतानन्दा
मधुरास्सामगीतयः ॥[१*॥] सान्द्रैः स्त्री(श्री)स्तनभार-
- 2 भूरिमक[रीकाश्मीरसम्मिश्रितैः प्रोन्म]ज्जद्गजराजगैरिकरजःपुंजद्रवैः पिंजराः [1*]
क्षीराब्धेः(ब्धेः) क्षुभित-
- 3 स्य मन्दरगिरि[व्यावर्त्तनादुद्गताः] कल्लोला जनयन्ति यस्य पुलकः(कं) पायात्स
वः केस(श)वः ॥[२*॥] स(श)म्भोर्यानि सि(शि)र-
- 4 स्थितस्य फणिनां पत्युः फणानां दस(श) द्योतन्ते परितः स(श)तानि समाण-
(मणि)ज्योतींषि जूटाटवीं(वीम्) । एनस्तान्युपरि-
- 5 श्र(स्त्र)वत्सुरसरित्सिक्तेन्दुकन्दोल्लसज्यो(ज्यो)त्स्नाकल्पलतालवालवलयः(य)श्रीभांजि भंजंतु
'वः ॥[३*॥] ताराचक्राब्ज(ब्ज)षण्ड³वृ
- 6 तगगनसरःपद्मिनीराजहंसात् त्रै(त्रै)लोक्यैकाधिपत्यस्थितमदनमहाराजशुभ्रातपत्त्रात् [1*]
लावण्यक्षीरसि-
- 7 न्धोर्द्युति[रजत]गिरेर्द्दिग्वधूदंतपत्त्राद्वंशः सोमादयं यस्त्रिभुवनकमलावाससौधादुपेतः ॥[४*॥]
तस्माश्चि(च्छ्र)यः कुलगृहं भ-
- 8 वनं महिम्नः क्रीडास्पदं स्थितिमर्हद्दिगभीरतानां(नाम्) [1*] आपन्नसत्व(त्व)-
परिपालनलब्ध(ब्ध)कीर्त्तिर्व्व(र्व्व)शो व(ब)भूव भुवि सि-
- 9 न्धुनिभो यदूनां(नाम्) ॥[५*॥] परिणतपरमण्डलः कलावान्प्रविततव(ब)हलयशो-
शुपूरिद्धा(ता)शः [1*] शशधर इव दन्ति-
- 10 दुर्गराजो यदुकुलविमलवियत्यथोदियाय ॥[६*॥] तस्याद्यं नृपतेः पितृव्य उदयी
श्रीवीरसिंहासनं ।⁴ मे-

¹ From the original plates and inked impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Originally -षण्, changed to -षण्ड --. Better read -षण्डा.

⁴ This *danḍa* is unnecessary.

- 11 रो[:*] शृंगमिवाधिरुह्य रविवश्छी(च्छी)कृष्णराजस्ततः [1*] ध्वस्तोद्द्रिक्तचलुक्य-
वंशतिमिरः पृथ्वीभृतां मस्तके न्यस्तांघृः(घ्रिः) सक-
- 12 लं जगत्प्रविततैस्तेजोभिराक्रान्तवान् ॥[७*॥] तस्माद्गोविन्दराजोभूदिन्दुवि(बि)म्ब-
(म्ब)शिलातले । यस्यारिप्लोषधूम्रोकः प्र-
- 13 शस्तिरिव लक्ष(क्ष्य)ते ॥[८*॥] तस्याभवद्भुवनपालनधीरवु(बु)द्धिरुद्धूतशत्रुकुलसन्त-
तिरिद्धतेजाः [1*] राजानुजो निरुपमापर-
- 14 नामधेयो यन्मुद्रयांवु(बु)धिरपि प्रथितः समुद्रः ॥[९*॥] तदनु जगत्तुंगोजनि
परिहृतनिजमंडलाभोगाः [1*] गतयौवन-
- 15 वनिताजनकुचसदृशा यस्य वैरिनृपाः ॥[१०*॥] तस्माच्चामोघवर्षोभवदतुलव(ब)लो
येन कोपादपूर्वैः श्चालुक्या^१भूषखा-
- 16 द्यैः जर्जित^२रतियमः प्रीणितो विंगवल्यां(ल्ल्याम्) । वैरिञ्चाण्डोदरान्तर्व्व(र्व्व)हिरु-
परितले यन्न लब्धा(ब्धा)वकाशं तोयव्याजाद्विसु(शु)-
- 17 द्धं यश इव निहितं तज्जगत्तुंगसिन्धौ ॥[११*॥] तस्मादकालवर्षो नृपतिरभू-
द्यत्पराक्रमत्प्रस्तैः [1*] सद्यः समण्डलाग्रं खे-
- Second Plate : First Side*
- 18 ट^३ह(क)महितैः परित्यक्तं(क्तम्) ॥[१२*॥] सहस्राज्जं(ज्जुं)नवंस(श)स्य भूषणं
कोक्कलात्मजा । तस्याभवन्महादेवी जगत्तुंगः स्ततो^४[ज]नि
- 19 ॥[१३*॥] [ग]म्भीराद्रत्ननिधेर्भूभृत्प्रतिपक्षरक्षणक्षमतः [1*] कोक्कलसुतरणविग्रह-
जलधेर्लक्ष्मीः समुत्पन्ना ॥[१४*॥] सा जा-
- 20 याजायना(ता)जातशत्रो(त्रो)स्तस्य महीभुजः [1*] भीमसेनार्जुनोपा[त्त]यसो(शो)भूषण-
शालिनः ॥[१५*॥] तत्र जगत्तुंगोदयधरणीध-
- 21 रतः प्रतापकलितात्मा । लक्ष्म्या नन्दन उदितोजनि विजयी राजमार्त्तण्डः
॥[१६*॥] स्थितिचलितसकलभूभृत्पक्षच्छेदाभि-
- 22 मुवतभुजव[ज्ज]ः [1*] अनिमिषदर्शनयोग्यो यः सत्य[मि]हेन्द्रराज इति ॥[१७*॥]
यन्माद्यद्वि(द्वि)पदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रिय-

^१ Read —दपूर्व्वैश्चालुक्या— ।

^२ Read —साद्यैर्जर्जित— ।

^३ Originally टे, corrected as ट ।

^४ Read —जगत्तुंगस्ततो— ।

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- 23 प्राङ्ङ(ङ्ग)णं तीर्णां यत्तुरगैरगाधयमुना सिंधुप्रतिस्पर्द्धिनी । येनेदं हि महोदया-
रिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं ।¹ नान्ना(म्ना)-
- 24 द्यापि जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्यातिं प[रां] नीयते ॥[१८*॥] यस्तस्मि(स्मिन्)
दश[क]ण्ठदर्पदलने स्त्री(श्री)हैहयानां कुले कोककल्लः प्र²
- 25 प्रतिपादितोस्य च [गु]णज्येष्ठोर्जुनोभूत्सुतः [१*] तत्पुत्रोम्मणदेव इत्यतिव(ब)लस्तस्माद्वि-
जाम्बा(म्बा)भवत्पद्मेमा(वा)-
- 26 म्बुनिधेरुमेव हिमवंनाम्नः³ क्षमाभृत्प्रभोः ॥[१९*॥] श्रीन्द्रनरेन्द्रात्तस्या(स्यां)
सूनुरभूद्भूपतिर्विजाम्बा(म्बा)यां(याम्) [१*] [गो]विन्दराज-
- 27 नामा कामाधिकरूपसौन्दर्यः ॥[२०*॥] सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता
नैवाग्रजे कूरता ।⁴ व(ब)न्धुस्त्रीगमनादि-
- 28 भिः कुचरितैरावर्जितं नायशः [१*] शौचाशौचपराङ्मुखं न च भिया
पैशाच्यमंगीकृतं त्यागेनासमसाहा(ह)[सै]-
- 29 इच भुवने यस्साहसांकोभवत् ॥[२१*॥] वर्षन्सुवर्णवर्षः प्रभूतवर्षोपि कनकधाराभिः
[१*] जगदखिलमेककाञ्चनमयम-
- 30 करोदिति जनैरुक्तः ॥[२२*॥] कः केनात्थी को दरिद्रः पृथिव्यामित्थं पृष्टे
द्वारि लिप्सोरभावात् [१*] हेलासिद्धैः द्वीपनाथैः⁵ [१*]
- 31 प्रणीतोप्युच्चैः कोशः प्रीतये यस्य नाभूत् ॥[२३*॥] यदधिदिग्विजयावसरे सति
प्रसभसंभ्रमभावनयेव भूः [१*] स-
- 32 पदि नृत्यति पालिमहाध्वजोच्छ्रितकरां(रा)न्यकुनाथविवर्जिता ॥[२४*॥] सहते न
हि मण्डलाधि(धि)पं परमेषोभ्युदयी स-
- 33 मुद्धतं(तम्) । इति जातभियाविवाग्रतो रविचन्द्रावपि यस्य धावतः ॥[२५*॥]
सहते समवाहिनीमयं न परेषां सविशेष-
- 34 शालिनीं(नीम्) । यदि निन्दित'राजमन्दिरं ननु गगा(ङ्गा) यमुना च सेवते
॥[२६*॥] यस्मि(स्मिन्) राजनि सौराज्यं निर्जिताग्नि वितन्वति ।

¹ This sign of punctuation is wrongly attached to the preceding letter.

² This *akshara* is superfluous.

³ Read हिमवन्नाम्नः ।

⁴ This *danda* is unnecessary.

⁵ The Cambay plates read घण्टे ।

⁶ Read हेलासिद्धैर्द्वीपनाथैः ।

⁷ Read यदनिन्दित — as in the Cambay plates.

35 विमां(मा)नस्थितिरित्याशी(सी)न(न्न) भोगेषु ह(क)दाचन ॥[२७*॥] यस्योद्दाम-
प्रतापानलव(व)हलशिखाकज्जलं नीलमेघाः ।¹

Second Plate : Second Side

36 विस्फूर्जत्खङ्गधारास्फुरणविसरणान्येव विद्युद्विलासाः [1*] दुर्वारारीभकुम्भस्थलदलन-
गलन्मौक्ति-

37 कान्चे(न्ये)व ताराश्चन्द्रक्षीराब्धि(ब्धि)शेषा भृतभुवनयशोराशिनिष्यन्दितानि ॥[२८*॥]
यस्मिन्कण्टकशोधनोत्सुकम्-

38 नस्यम्भोजनालैर्बिम्ब(बिम्ब)योवान्मग्नं² न पयस्सु कोशवसति[ल्लक्ष्मी]: कृतोपायनं(नम्)
[1*] केतक्या पवनोल्लसंनि³:-

39 जरजःपु(पुं)जांधकारोदरे ।¹ भूगवर्भे(वर्भे) पनम्वे(से)न वेत्रलतया द्वार्यात्मशुद्धये
स्थितं(तम्) ॥[२९*॥] यश्च समुपहसि-

40 तहरनयनदहनविहितानित्यकन्दर्परूपसौन्दर्यदर्पः श्रीनित्यकन्दर्पः प्रभुमन्त्रशक्त्युपवृं(वृं)-
हितो-

41 त्साहश[क्ति]समाक्षिप्तशतममुखः श्चाणक्य⁴चतुर्मुखः प्रथितैकविक्रमाक्रान्तवसु[न्ध]राहित-
करण-

42 परायणः श्रीत्रि(वि)क्रान्तम(ना)रायणः श्व(स्व)करकलितहलदलित⁵विपक्षवक्षस्थलक्षेत्रः
श्रीनृपतित्रिणे(ने)-

43 त्रः समभवत्स च परमभट्टारकमहा[रा]जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमन्नित्यवर्षदेवपादानुद्धयात-
पर-

44 मभट्टवरक⁶महाराजाधिराजव(प)रमेश्वरश्रीमत्सुवर्णव[र्ष]देवः पृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमद्वल्लभनरे-

45 न्द्रदेवस्य महादेव्याः अरश्चलुक्यवंस(श)मण्डना(नो)द्भूतश्रीभीमराज्ञः तस्य सुतो
स्त्रीतइलप्पराज्ञो⁷

46 तथा[स्य*] च सुतः सकलगुणक्ष(सं)पन्नश्रीगुणगकराज्ञः(जः) तस्य च राज्ञीश्रीरेव-
कव्वाया(यां) समुद्भूतश्रीभागियव्व(व्वा) राज्ञी

¹ This *danda* is superfluous.

² Read —येवोन्मग्नं ।

³ Read —ल्लसन्नि- ।

⁴ Read —समाक्षिप्तशतमखसुखश्चाणक्य — as in the Cambay plates.

⁵ Cambay plates read —कलित हेतिहलदलित- ।

⁶ Read —भट्टारक- ।

⁷ Read —श्रीभीमराजस्तस्य सुतः श्रीतइलप्पराज्ञः ।

- 47 सह(क)लभोग्यगुणावयवसंरुम्ण¹(संयोग)निर्मित(ता) विष्णोर्लक्ष्मीरिव श्रीसुवर्ण-
वर्षदेवस्य व[ङ्ग]²निजगुणभाग्येन लला-
- 48 टे द्वादश[भि*]र्महासामन्तैः पट्टो³ वधइत्वा⁴ श्रीभागियम्वाए⁵ हिरण्यगर्भमु भय-
मुखी⁶गोसहस्रकल्पवृक्ष-
- 49 दानादि दत्वा(त्वा) तुलापुरुषादनुत्तरता श्रीगोविन्देश्वरालयप्राङ्गणे मया प्रथम-
करोदकातिस-
- 50 र्गोण शकसम्बत्⁷ ८५१ प्रवर्त्तमानविकृतसम्ब(संव)त्सरान्तर्गतपुण्यव(ब)हुलपञ्चम्यां
बु(बु)धे उत्तरा(र)पा(फ)ल्गुनी-
- 51 नक्षत्रसमेते शसि(शि)नि प्रथितोत्तरायणमहापर्वणि अष्टवर्गस्य शासनमिदं
सहिर[ण्यं] दत्तं(त्तम्) [1*]
- 52 य[त्र] प्रथमः चन्द्रपुरीविनिर्गतभारद्वाजगोत्रव(ब)ह्वचह(स)व्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिस[र्वैभ]ट्ट-
मधुवपय्यभट्टसुतः ।

Third Plate

- 53 तथा नलग्रामविनिर्गतकौ[शि]कगो[त्र]त्तै(तै)त्तिरीयसव्र(ब्र)ह्मव्य(चा)रिवावर्णक्रमवित्तः⁸
तिक्कपय्यसुतः [1*]
- 54 धर्मसेल्लुकाविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिकेशवक्रमवित्तः⁹ माधवैयसुतः [1*]
त-
- 55 था सीसवेविनिर्गतकौशिकगोत्रव(ब)ह्वचस[व्र(ब्र)]ह्मचारिप्रभाकरभट्टः श्रीवचू(त्स)भट्ट-
सुतः [1*] तथा नलग्रामवि-
- 56 निर्गतहरितगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिरेवणै¹⁰भट्टसुतः श्रीधरभट्टः [1*] तथा पुरीविनिर्ग-
[त*]भारद्वा[ज]-
- 57 गोत्रव(ब)ह्वचसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारितिवकेभट्टः विडपेयसुतः [1*] यावीविनिर्गतगाय(ग्य)-
सगोत्रतै(तै)त्तिरीयसव्र(ब्र)ह्मचा-

¹ The reading of this word is uncertain.

² Read वंश- ।

³ Read पट्टं बन्धयित्वा ।

⁴ Read श्रीभागियम्वायं ।

⁵ Read हिरण्यगर्भोभयमुखी- ।

⁶ Read -संवत् ।

⁷ Read बाबण- . Such names are in vogue even now in Mahara-htra.

⁸ Read—क्रमवित् ।

⁹ Here both the *mātras* of medial *ai* appear over the letter *n*.

- 58 रिजन्नैभट्टः विद्धपैयसुतः [1*] तथा चिक्ख(ख)लीविनिर्गतभारद्वाजगोत्त्रव(ब)-
ह्वचसत्र(ब्र)ह्यचारिवावणैयः
- 59 रिसियण्णसुतः [1*] एतेषां षडनेरत्तृ(त्रि)शतान्तर्गत एलउरीग्रामः सवृक्षमालाकुलः
सधान्यहिरं(र)ण्यदेयः
- 60 सदण्डदोषदशापराधः सर्वोत्पत्तिसहितः पूर्वप्रसिद्धचतुस्सीम(मा)प[र्य*]न्तमा(न्त आ)-
चन्द्रावर्क नमस्यो [द*]-
- 61 त्तः [1*] तस्य चोघाटाः [1*] यस्य पूर्वतः दन्तीग्रामः दक्षिणतः निम्ब-
ग्रामः¹ पश्चिमतः कोट्टउरीग्रा-
- 62 मः उत्तरतः पयोण्णा(ष्णी)नदी [1*] एवं चतुराघाटविशुद्धं एलउरीग्रामं अष्ट-
वर्ग² ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणानां
- 63 कृपत[ः*] कर्षयतो भुजता भोजयतो न केनचित्त्वाघात[ः]³ कार्यः [1*] यश्चा-
ज्ञानतिमिरपट[ला]वृतमतिरा-
- 64 च्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानम्वा⁴[नुमोदेत*] स पञ्चभिम(र्म)हापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्त[ः*]
स्यादुक्त(क्तं) चे[दं*] व्यासेन ॥ व(ब)हु[भि*]र्व्वसु-
- 65 धा भु[क्ता] पार्थिवैस्सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य त[स्य*]
तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३०*॥] रामवचनं(नम्) ॥ सामान्यो-
- 66 यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः[1*] सर्व्वानेवं भाविन[ः*]
पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो [भू]यो या-
- 67 चते रामभद्रः ॥[३१*॥] हर्त्ता हारयिता भूमि(मे)र्मन्दवु(बु)द्धिस्तमोवृताः(तः) ।
स व(ब)द्धो वारुणै[ः*] पार्श्वैः तिर्य्योनिषु⁵
- 68 जायते ॥[३२*॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्तु वसु(सु)धरां(राम्) । षष्टि-
वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टेसौ⁶ जायते] कृमिः ॥[३३*॥] भू-
- 69 मिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमि(मिं) प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्मणि
निउ(य)तौ स्वर्गवासिनौ ॥[३४*॥] इत [1*]

¹ Read निम्बग्रामः ।

² Read अष्टवर्गस्य ।

³ Read केनचिद्वाघातः । त is written below the line.

⁴ Read —दाच्छिद्यमानं वा ।

⁵ Read तिर्य्योनिषु ।

⁶ Read विष्टायां ।

**No. 33—NAGARJUNAKONDA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMIPUTRA
VIJAYA SATAKARNI, YEAR 6**

(1 Plate)

H. SARKAR, NEW DELHI

(Received on 26.11.1962)

The subjoined pillar-inscription was discovered on the 29th May 1962, at **Nāgārjunakoṇḍa**,¹ District Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, in the course of the removal of the antiquities from the submergence levels to the new Museum premises. The actual findspot is quite close to Site 126, and the ancient burning *ghāt*. In fact, the inscribed pillar was re-used at some late date as a balustrade of a *ghāt* on the Krishna, but the area as a whole being a narrow strip of land in between the river-bank and the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa hill, is not at present easily accessible, specially during floods. The record has been noticed in *Ancient India*, No. 16 (1962), p. 84, where the date of the regnal year has been incorrectly read as 8 instead of 6.

The green limestone pillar on which the inscription is engraved might have originally belonged to a pillared hall. Subsequently the pillar was re-used in the construction of the *ghāt* referred to above. The occurrence of a few very defaced letters in late Nāgarī characters on the other side of the same pillar is likely to suggest that this *ghāt* was in use, if not constructed—the latter, however, by no means an impossible proposition—in the late medieval times. It is worth noting that architecturally this pillar, with rectangular upper and lower portions, middle portion being octagonal, is similar in type to those of the Ikshvāku period. The inscription is engraved just below the octagonal part of the shaft which is devoid of any carving. The extant height of the pillar, including the undressed part, is 175 cm. the width and thickness being 30 cm. and 22.5 cm. respectively.

The inscription, consisting of four lines, covers a space of 30 cm. by 16 cm., the fourth line having only four letters. The epigraph is written in Brāhmī **characters** of about the third century A.D. and the **language** is Prakrit. Palaeographically the present record, despite a few noticeable differences, is not far removed in point of time from the records of the Ikshvākus from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.² The strokes on the top as well as at the bottom are not very long drawn and the letters are somewhat broader in the present case.

An interesting feature of **orthography** is the use of the reduplicated consonant *ṇ* in the word *Satakaṇṇisa*.³ Such use of the double consonant is, however, not noticed in the inscriptions of Virapurushadatta.

The inscription opens with the adoration to the Best of Men (*aga-pogala*) i.e. Buddha. One of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa inscriptions reads *aga-pogala* (Pali *agga-puggala*=Sanskrit *agrya-pudgala*) as an epithet of Buddha.⁴ After the adoration, the details of the date of the record are given as **Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā of the fourth fortnight of the summer season during the sixth regnal year of the king Vijaya Śāta.karṇi**. The record ends immediately after the date portion without giving the purport or any other information. However, the passage about the

¹ Also spelt as Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

² Cf. above, Vol. XX, pp. 16-37.

³ The word *Satakaṇṇi* is spelt variously as *Sātakarṇi* (Khāravela's inscription, *ibid.*, p. 79, line 4), *Sadakaṇi* or *Sātakarṇi* (Nasik inscription of Gautamīputra, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 and 73). [The form *Sātakarṇi* itself occurs in the Maḷavalli inscription of Chuṭu Śātakarṇi, cf. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 263.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, pp. 25-26.

adoration and the date portion would establish the Buddhist nature of the epigraph. For, the *Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā* is traditionally associated with the day of Buddha's birth and *nirvāṇa*.¹ It may, therefore, be suggested that the object of the inscription is to record the gift of the pillar containing the epigraph under study to a Buddhist establishment, which might have been situated close to the findspot of the inscription.

The present epigraph is **important** because, besides being the solitary Śātavāhana record from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, it is the only inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya-Śātakarṇi so far known. He may be identified with the Andhra king Vijaya of the Purāṇic list. His name is read as [Vija]ya Śātakarṇi in some of the coins from Tarhālā hoard.² Since the record is dated in the sixth regnal year of the king, it supports the testimony of the Purāṇas according to which he ruled for six years. According to the Purāṇas two more kings, viz. Chaṇḍaśrī and Pulomāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty ruled after Vijaya: they are also known from inscriptions.³ D. C. Sircar suggests that at least the predecessors of Pulomāvi of Myakadoni inscription must have ruled over Andhradeśa.⁴ The present discovery of Vijaya-Śātakarṇi's inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa proves that Andhradeśa formed part of his dominion. It is likely that the city of Vijayapurī, the ancient name of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, was originally founded by this Vijaya Śātakarṇi who named it after himself and subsequently it became the capital of the Ikshvākus. The existence of a township at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa during the later Śātavāhanas is indicated by the discovery, at that place, of two hoards of coins exclusively belonging to the Śātavāhana kings, besides stray occurrences of the coins of Yajña Śātakarṇi, Pulumāvi, etc. as also by the presence of pre-Ikshvāku deposits at many a site in that area including the one below the Ikshvāku rampart. Hence Vijaya-Śātakarṇi seems to have founded this city which was named after him.⁵

TEXT*

- 1 [Na]mo bhagavato Agapogalasa [I*]
- 2 raṇo Gotamīputasa Siri-Vijaya-Sa-
- 3 takarṇisa sava 6 gi pa⁷ 4 diva Vesā-
- 4 [kha] puṇima ||⁸

TRANSLATION

Adoration to the Lord, the Best of Beings (i.e. Buddha). (*The pillar is the gift made on*) the **Vaiśākhī-pūrṇimā** day of the fourth fortnight of summer during the sixth regnal year of king Gautamīputra Vijaya-Śātakarṇi.

¹ The fourth fortnight clearly suggests that the year starts from the first fortnight of the month Chaitra and the *pūrṇimā* in the fourth fortnight is the characteristic of *pūrṇimānta* (Cf. above, Vol. I, p. 404)

² V. V. Mirashi, 'A large hoard of Satavahana coins', *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XVI, p. 505; see also *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 83-94.

³ Kodavali inscription of Chaṇḍaśrī (*ZDMG*, Vol. LXII, p. 592; above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and Plate) and Myakadoni rock-inscription of Pulomāvi (above, Vol. XIV, p. 153).

⁴ *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 163. It is also said that the Myakadoni inscription suggests that the Andhra-deśa undoubtedly formed part of Pulomāvi's dominions. (Cf. *Comp. Hist. of India*, Vol. II, p. 324).

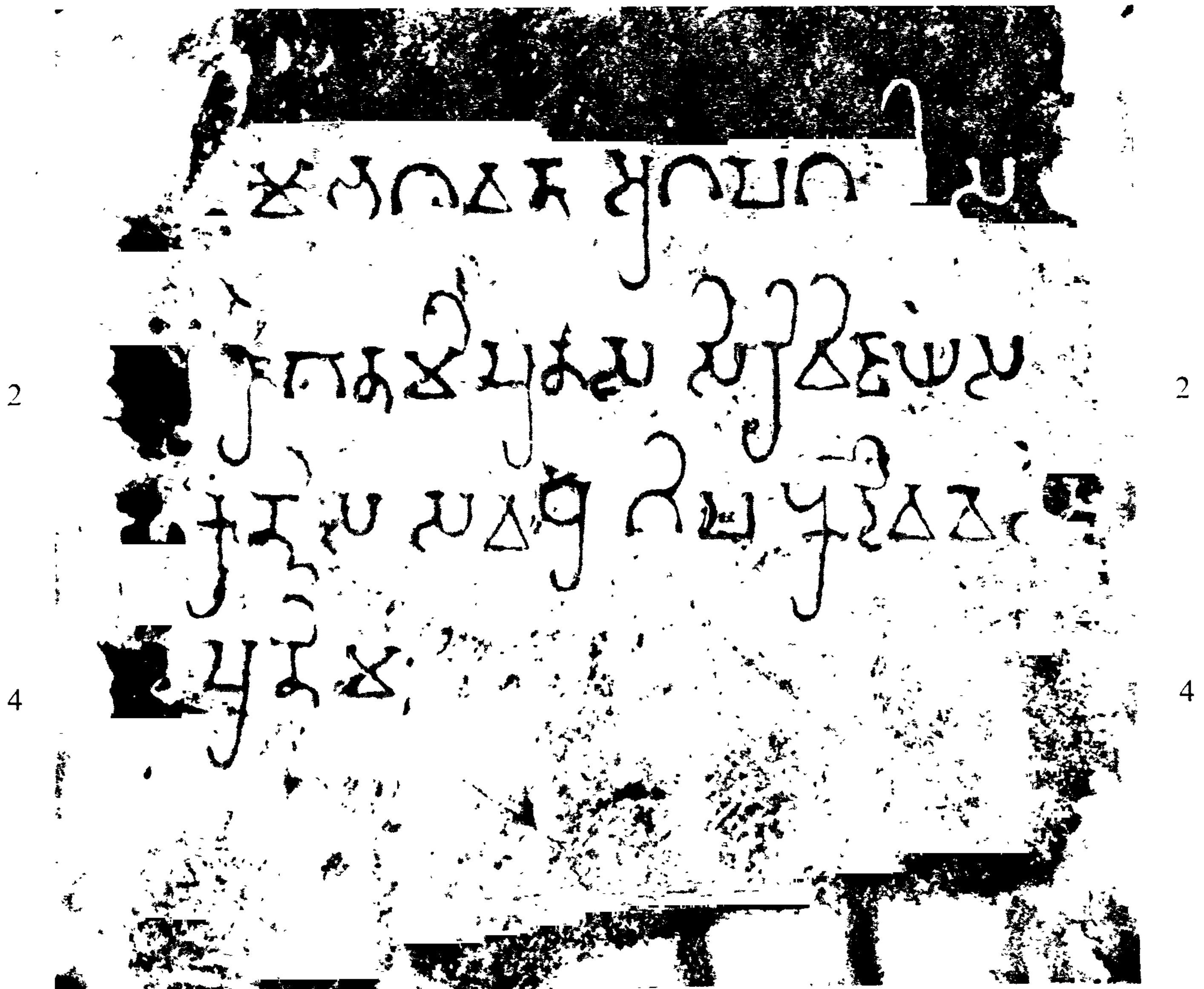
⁵ In view of this, D. C. Sircar's suggestion that the Ikshvāku capital was called Vijayapura probably for its foundation in the cyclic year Vijaya (above, Vol. XXXV, p. 2, note 4) does not hold good.

* From the original and impressions.

⁷ This is the contraction of Prakrit *gimha-pakhe*, Sanskrit *grīshma-pakshe*.

⁸ The punctuation to denote the end of the record is indicated by two *visarga*-like dots.
MGIPC—S1—1 DGA/63—17-8-65—750.

NAGARJUNAKONDA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMIPUTRA VIJAYA
SATAKARNI YEAR 6



Scale : One-half

No. 34—CRYSTAL INTAGLIO IN BRITISH MUSEUM

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 26.11.1962)

Sometime ago, I received for examination a plaster and a silicose **cast** of a splendid **crystal intaglio** from Mr. Douglas E. Barrett of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, **British Museum**, London.¹ The original was recently acquired for the Museum, though it had been for many years with the Museum authorities on deposit. It was the property of Lieut. Col. C. H. S. Deane who is known to have been stationed at Peshawar and Rawalpindi in 1932-34, and this fact led to the supposition that the provenance of the object might be the former North-West Frontier Province, now in West Pakistan. The belief that the head-dress of the human figure represented on the crystal is of the Khotanese type of about the seventh century A.D. lent some colour to the supposition. But, at my request, Mr. Barrett kindly enquired about Deane's army career in India and found out that, before the First World War, he was for sometime stationed at Ajmer and, after 1919, in Bihar, Mandalay, Kamptee and Secunderabad. Deane's career in India therefore does not help us in tracing the provenance of the crystal since he could have purchased it at any of the various places where he was stationed and from a dealer belonging to any part of Northern India or elsewhere.

On an examination of the casts, I found that their original is an intaglio which is remarkable from several points of view. Of course, a seal of the precious stone called *sphatika* (crystal) is not so striking since ancient Indian seals made of precious stones are available to us.² But the king, for whom the object was originally made and whose portrait it bears, was a thoroughly **Indianised foreigner** who seems to have ruled over some region not very far from East Malwa about the third century A.D. and, though his name, as found in the inscription the crystal bears, is as yet unknown from any other source, his portrait above the writing is unique in its beautiful execution and artistic excellence. Indeed, such a **beautiful portrait** of an early Indian king is unknown to the student of ancient Indian art.

Unfortunately, to do justice to the portrait and the two-line inscription, one helping in explaining the other in certain respects, is not an easy task, especially because the meaning of the second line of the latter, as it reads, is not satisfactorily clear.

On the casts, the scooped out section looks like the inside of one-third of a big egg-shell cut lengthwise and has the maximum depth of 1.1 cm. It bears an **inscription** in two lines in the lower part, its upper area being occupied by the upper half of the body of a **king standing against an arched window**. On the casts, the writing, etc., are **in relief** and the figure is in **bas-relief**. The case, of course, must be the opposite with the original. The crystal intaglio with the **negative writing** of its legend was thus not meant for itself being used as a seal but for being utilised in producing *abhijñānas* or tokens with positive writing.³

The horizontal sil of the window exhibits a pattern of what looks somewhat like a series of St. Andrew's crosses and reminds us of the collar of some of the Śaka kings of Western India as

¹ This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. E 242.

² For a cornelian seal, see *CII*, Vol. II, Part i, p. 7, Plate I, No. 4. For prisms of crystal bearing inscription, of. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 116.

³ Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 283 (No. 78).

noticed in their portrait on the coins.¹ The top portion of two thin **bird (Garuḍa) columns** rises above the window sill in the left and right while the lower ends of the arch of the window rest on the heads of the Garuḍas. The arch is made of a shaft which has on it a series of small decorative semi-ovals each of which has another minute semi-oval in it. The window with the human figure reminds us of an image on a terracotta or metal plaque or a stele having a similar ornamental border called *chhaṭā* in the case of metallic plaques bearing icons and of the *chāl-chitra* of the modern Durgā images made for autumnal worship in Bengal.

The most **interesting** thing in the architectural motif discussed above is the Garuḍa columns, the lower parts of which have not been represented owing apparently to the space being covered by the inscription. The Garuḍa design suggests that **the motif is certainly Indian and not foreign.**

The **royal figure** is shown from slightly below the waistline where the *dhōṭī* is tied beneath the navel. The body is in three-quarters profile or turned a little towards the proper left, while the face is in profile or further turned towards the left. Only the right brow and eye are visible. In its section on painting, the *Vishṇudharmōttara* describes a posture called *ardha-vilōchana* or *adhy-ardh-ōksha* which is understood to mean the face shown in profile and the body in three-quarter profile.² The bulky figure engraved on the crystal illustrates the Indian conception of male beauty—*vyūḍh-ōraskō vṛisha-skandhaḥ śāla-prāṁśur-mahā-bhujah*.³ The features are heavy. The throat is not seen; the end of the chin is globular. The right eye and eye-brow, which only are visible, are respectively big and thin while the nose is long and pointed, but not aquiline. The left arm is bent at an angle, with the elbow seemingly resting on the Garuḍa figure on that side and the fingers hanging downwards. The right arm is also bent; but the thumb and the fingers, bent inwards, rest on the upper right waist. The pose is quite imposing. As indicated above, the figure illustrates a posture which follows **a convention recognised by ancient Indian artists.**

Besides the upper fringe of the *dhōṭī* tied to the waist, only two other pieces of cloth are noticed on the royal figure. The first of these is the *uttariya* which comes from the back side to the left shoulder, descends towards the right waist, goes again up by the back side to the left shoulder and descends towards the left waist after a bend on the left chest where it passes underneath its first section. The body is otherwise bare. This dress is of course purely Indian. But the third piece of cloth on the figure is the **diadem** elaborately tied behind the head with its two ends flying over the king's back. The diadem has almost the same width as the *uttariya*.

What is of exceptional interest is that the diadem points to the foreign nationality of the person in question. It was worn by royal personages and certain dignitaries in Western Asia and the neighbourhood and, in India, the royal bust is often depicted with the diadem on the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers while the king is sometimes seen with the diadem on the coins of the other foreigners who ruled after the Greeks. It formed no part of the proper Indian dress, but was regarded by the Indians as an element of the *udīchya-vēsha*, i.e. the **dress of the foreign settlers of the Uttarāpatha division of India** including the land beyond the East Punjab upto the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes in Central Asia.⁴ The earliest illustration of the *udīchya-vēsha* is noticed on a Barhut sculpture of about the first century B.C., the figure being represented as wearing the diadem as well as a coat and high boots.⁵ An essential feature of this

¹ See, e.g., Rapson's Catalogue, Plates IX ff.

² S. Kramrisch, *The Vishṇudharmōttara*, pp. 9, 45.

³ *Raghuramśa*, I, 13.

⁴ Cf. *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LVIII, 46. *Udīchya* or *Uttarāpatha* also included the entire Himalayan region.

⁵ B. M. Barua, *Barhut*, Book III, Plate LXII, figure 7.

dress is that the body is covered by garments while the Indians proper generally kept the upper part of the body bare.¹ Thus the dress of the royal figure under study, containing both Indian and foreign elements, suggests that he was a thoroughly Indianised foreigner. The king's bare body indicates that he lived outside Uttarāpatha in some neighbouring region of Northern, Central or Western India.

The fairly thick moustache on the upper lip of the figure protrudes a little beyond the corner of the mouth; but the beard is shaved off. A long and thick patch of hair is found below the temple, its lower part, being shaved off, ending in a horizontal line.² The hair on the head is long and profuse, and the end of the locks all around appears to be hidden in an upward curl. It is well known that the Indians of old kept long hair³ and dressed it in various styles.⁴ The *Mṛichchhakatika*⁵ speaks of some of these styles as *granthi*, *jūṭaka*, *bāla*, *kuntala*, *mukta* and *ūrdhva-chūḍa*. **The hair style of the royal figure appears to be Indian.**

Among the **ornaments** worn by the king depicted on the crystal, we notice those for the head, ear, neck, arms and wrists. The ear-ornament is made of a longish bead hanging from two pendants on either side. While the ornaments for the wrists and the neck are of the ring type, those for the arms and the head are of the fixing or fastening type.⁶ The ends of the knob at the joint of the neck-ring can be seen in the upper part of the right chest. The arm-ornament is of a big and elaborate design and covers the major part of the upper side of both the arms. The head-dress which is not a head-cover or a ring-type crown, seems to consist of several round ornaments and a chain of beads, which are all joined with one another and the whole thing fixed on the hair. The diadem runs immediately below the head-dress which does not cover the hair at the back of the head. Even on the part under the head-dress, the hair can be seen here and there. **The ornaments, especially that on the arms, appear to be typically Indian.**

The **most important feature** of the inscription in two lines, in which the letters are boldly and beautifully fashioned in relief below the figure described above, is that **the characters are box-headed** of the scooped-out type. The box-headed script, which exhibits South Indian element in a considerable degree, is usually called the Central Indian alphabet and, among Northern records, 'is found fully developed in the inscriptions of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) at Eran and of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.) at Udayagiri',⁷ both in East Malwa, though the alphabet of our record appears to be earlier than the Gupta epigraphs in question. The box-headed alphabet is also used in the records of the Vākāṭakas of Berar, the Śarabhapurīyas and Pāṇḍuvamśīs of the Chhattisgarh region, the Kadambas of Kuntala and others. But there is less likelihood of the provenance of the crystal under reference being any of those areas since they are far removed

¹ Cf. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, LVIII, 46: *udīchya-vīśham gūḍham pādūl=vrō yāvat*.

² Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *kāka-paksha*. This fashion of shaving the beard was popular with the Rajputs of the medieval age. See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Part II, 1920, p. 355 (Rājā Pratāpasimha); p. 373 (Rājā Birbal); etc. Śivājī (ibid., p. 426) had a lock of hair and not a patch of the type we are speaking of.

³ *Journ. Ind. Soc. Or. Art.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 90, 92, etc. (see below, p. 283 and note 3).

⁴ Loc. cit., Plates.

⁵ Act IX, verse 2.

⁶ The fastening type ornaments are often noticed in the Ajanṭī paintings. See *Ajanṭa Paintings*, Laht Kala Academy, Plates IV-V, VII ff.

⁷ G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 101. For the inscriptions, see *CII*, Vol. III, Plate II, A and B. The writing on the crystal may also be compared with that of Plates V, XXI-A, XXX-XXVI, XLII-C and XLIII-c of *CII*, Vol. III, among North Indian epigraphs, in which the top *mātrā* is longish. Among early foreign settlements, the Purāṇas appear to locate the Gardabhīllas in West India and Jain tradition speaks of Muraṇṇa rule at Pāṭaliputra.

from Uttarāpatha. Amongst the places associated with the use of this alphabet, East Malwa is the nearest to Uttarāpatha. Thus, the provenance of the crystal may be a region about the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa. The most important letter in the epigraph is *ma* (occurring three times) which has a triangular base, the triangularity being more rigid than in the form of the letter in the Southern alphabet, the like of which is not usually found in the records of the Gupta age written in the Northern alphabet. The rigidly triangular form of the letter *va* (occurring twice) is also earlier than its shape found generally in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. While, on the basis of these letters, the epigraph may be assigned to an early date, there are some later traits besides the box-head referred to above. Thus the subscript *y* ends in a longer upward stroke than is normally expected in the records of the Kushāṇa age (even though there are a few exceptions),¹ while the upward vertical stroke forming medial *ā* in *jā* turns horizontally to the right, a development apparently out of a rightward curve in which the vertical is often seen to have ended in a flourish in the records of the Gupta age.² The left limb of the tripartite *y* is almost as high as the central and right limbs of the letter. These features would suggest a date not much earlier than the fourth century A.D. Considering therefore both the earlier and later palaeographical features of the writing, we may assign the crystal roughly to the third century, and this date, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by some other considerations.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit** as is the case with most of the Mathurā inscriptions of the Śaka-Kushāṇa age and the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Śakas of Ujjayinī flourishing from the second to the fourth century A.D.³ There is a grammatical error in the use of *śrīḥ* for *śrī* in line 1 while Prakrit influence is noticed in the word *ratana* for Sanskrit *ratna* in line 2. The inscription also contains a foreign name with an un-Indian sound as will be seen below.

The first five syllables of the record in the first half of line 1 read *śrīmahārājā* which is a mistake for *śrī-Mahārāj-Ā°*. We have a number of instances of the same grammatical error in early epigraphic records, e.g., *sarvaśchaṇḍavīrātisṛiṣṭarājasya* for *Sarva-Chaṇḍavīr-ātisṛiṣṭa-rājasya* in a Mathurā Museum inscription of the time of Huvishka (second century A.D.),⁴ *śrīśchaṇḍēśvarahastinā* for *śrī-Chaṇḍēśvarahastinā* in the Sālī inscription (about the fourth century A.D.)⁵ and *śrīrmmālavagaṇāmnātē* for *śrī-Mālava-gaṇ-āmnātē* and *śrīr-mahārājanaravarmmaṇi* for *śrī-Mahārāja-Naravarmmaṇi* in a Mandasor inscription of 404 A.D.⁶ It is of course difficult to say whether the question of the age and provenance of the crystal can be linked with those of the above inscriptions.

The last four syllables in the latter half of line 1 read *varighsasya*, the reading of the whole line therefore being *śrī-rma(Ma)hārāj-Āvarighsasya*, “of the illustrious *Mahārāja Avarighsa* (or, *Āvarighsa*)”. Thus the passage speaks of a ruler bearing the foreign name *Avarighsa* (or *Āvarighsa*) and the Indian royal title *Mahārāja*. The foreign origin of the king is thus not only indicated by his diademed figure but also by his **un-Indian name**.

¹ Cf. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Janert), p. 295, No. 94, line 4 (*asyām*).

² See, e.g., Ojha, *Bhāratiya Prāchīna Lipimālā*, Plate XVII (Bilsad); cf. Bühler's Table IV, Column 41 (VIII, X).

³ See, e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 118-19, 132-34, 140-41, 144-52, 156-69, 175 ff.

⁴ Cf. Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. Lüders' suggestion that the names in the Sālī and Mathurā Museum inscriptions are respectively *Śchaṇḍēśvarahastin* and *Śchaṇḍavīra* does not take into account similar other cases and is no doubt wrong.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXV. p. 68.

⁶ See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 377-78, text lines 1 and 5.

It is well-known that the son and successor of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman I (c. 130-55 A.D.) of Ujjayinī, who ruled in c. 155-75 A.D., bore a name in which a foreign sound is represented by *ghs*. Rapson says, "In the transliteration of the foreign name Dāmaghsada, which is borne by Rudradāman's son and successor and by two later members of the dynasty, it is possible in the case of the first of these to trace three stages. Originally, the latter portion of the name appears as *ghsada*, which may possibly be an attempt to express the Persian *zāda*, 'a son'. The un-Indian combination of consonants *ghs* is next supplanted by the Indian *j*; but, as the result *jada* is still no proper Sanskrit or Prakrit word, it is further Indianised by the addition of *śrī*. This form (i.e., Dāmajadaśrī) is exclusively used by the second and third bearers of the name."¹ The name of the foreign ruler mentioned in the inscription on the crystal may be related to an expression like Persian *avrīz*, 'dropping of water'. It may thus be Avarighsa=Avarīza=Avrīz.

It has to be noticed that Dāmaghsada=Dāmajada I of the Śaka family of Ujjayinī first transliterated the un-Indian sound of *z* by *ghs* and finally by *j*. Since the representation of *z* by *ghs* was becoming obsolete with the Śakas of Ujjayinī as early as the latter half of the second century A.D., it is difficult to assign king Avarighsa of our inscription, who adopted the earlier method in transliterating apparently the same foreign sound and may not have flourished very far away from the Śaka dominions, to a date much later than the second century A.D. This may be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning the inscription roughly to the third century A.D.

Seal inscriptions generally refer to a person, office, institution, etc., in the sixth case-ending and rarely in the first case-ending or without any case-ending at all.² It would therefore have been normal if our record would have stopped with the first line of writing. In that case, it would have meant, "[This is the seal] of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Avarighsa," and we could have supposed that the costly crystal intaglio was made for the use of an important representative of the king like a Minister Plenipotentiary. Unfortunately, the inscription has a second line of writing, the meaning of which, moreover, is not quite clear.

Line 2 of the inscription reads *vāmaratanāyama* in which *ratana*, as indicated above, apparently stands for Sanskrit *ratna*. Of course, the word *vāma* may be taken to mean 'adverse' or 'dear' in this context, so that *vāma-ratna* would mean 'a dear or favourite jewel' or 'an adverse jewel'. In that case, the whole inscription would speak something in respect of a jewel of *Mahārāja* Avarighsa, no doubt meaning the crystal bearing the epigraph. But, as it stands, *vāma-ratnāyama* does not offer any sense.

Particular precious stones were regarded as auspicious or inauspicious bearing good or evil to particular kings who were therefore advised to get their luck respecting jewels examined by experts.³ *Sphaṭika* or crystal, one of the important jewels,⁴ is stated to have been produced in the Kāvēra, Vindhya, Yavana, Chīna and Nēpāla countries and considered the best among jewels for the purpose of destroying sin.⁵ Auspicious stones were often fixed in ornaments and worn, though a lot of them were preserved in the royal treasury.⁶ But the nature of the crystal under study and the negative inscription it bears would suggest that it was meant neither for wearing nor for preservation in the treasury, but for the preparation of tokens by the king's

¹ *Catalogue*, p. cxxii. The name of Ghsāmōtika, the great-great-grandfather of Dāmaghsada I, may also be remembered in this connection (*ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 167-68). The proper Indian form for Persian *zāda* seems to be *jāta* in Sanskrit and *jāda* in Prakrit.

² See *Mem. ASI*, No. 66, pp. 57 ff.; Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 160.

³ *Bṛihatsaṃhitā*, LXXX, 1.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, verses 4-5.

⁵ *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Part I, Chapter LXXIX, verses 1 and 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, LXVIII, 13; LXXIX, 14; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 173, text line 14.

representatives. Is it then possible to think that the intaglio was made for the use of three of king Avarighsa's high officers named Vāma, Ratna and Ayama (Sanskrit *Aryaman*) ?¹

The most important problems regarding the crystal relate to **the age and nationality of king Avarighsa and the area over which he ruled.** As regards the age and area, we have seen that he probably flourished in a region in the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa about the third century A.D. Among the records of the foreigners found in East Malwa and belonging to dates between the second and the fourth century A.D., mention has to be made of the Sanchi inscriptions of the Kushāṇa rulers Vaskushāṇa and Vāsishka (second century A.D.)² and the Sanchi and Eran inscriptions of the Śaka ruler Śrīdharavarman (third century A.D.)³ who is called *Mahādaṇḍanūyaka* in a record of his thirteenth regnal year but *Rājan* and *Mahākshatrapa* in another epigraph of the twenty-seventh year of his rule. It may be that Śrīdharavarman was at first a military governor of East Malwa under some ruler, but threw off the latter's yoke at a later date. What relations the Śaka *Mahākshatrapas* of Ujjayinī (sometimes called *Mahārāja* by their contemporaries) had with East Malwa in the third century A.D. and with Śaka Śrīdharavarman who flourished in the said area and age are not quite clear. Ākara (East Malwa) was conquered by the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) from the Kshaharāta-Śaka *Mahākshatrapa* Nahapāna (119-24 A.D.), but was reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Śaka rulers Chashtana and Rudradāman from the same Śātavāhana king within a short period.³ Thus, on the decline of the Kushāṇa empire, the Śakas began to hold independent sway over Western India together with East Malwa. *Mahārāja* Avarighsa does not appear to have any place in the known genealogy of the Ujjayinī Śakas whose records are written in the Southern alphabet. Śrīdharavarman's inscriptions are also written in Southern characters which appear to be somewhat later than the epigraph under study. Under the circumstances, can it be conjectured that *Mahārāja* Avarighsa established himself for a short time in the East Malwa region at the expense of the Śakas of Ujjayinī? He may have been a Śaka, though the title *Mahārāja* instead of the expected *Mahākshatrapa* is rather striking. Can it be further conjectured that Śrīdharavarman, first a semi-independent governor and later an independent ruler, extirpated Avarighsa or his family originally on behalf of the Śakas of Ujjayinī?

The **dress** and name of *Mahārāja* Avarighsa raise the interesting problem of the Indianisation of the foreign settlers of this country, on which the Puranic and Dharmaśāstra works throw welcome light. There is a story in the *Harivaṃśa* (I, 13-14) and a number of the *Purāṇas* such as the *Vāyu* (88), *Śiva* (VI, 61), *Vishṇu* (IV, 3), *Bhāgavata* (IX, 8) and *Bṛhannārādīya* (7-8).⁴ The original story in the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Vāyu* and *Śiva Purāṇas* is given twice, firstly in short and secondly in detail. The shorter version of the story runs as follows. King Bāhu of the Ikshvāku dynasty was driven out of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who were allied with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. Bāhu's son Sagara was brought up at Aurva's hermitage by the said sage of the Bhrigu family, who taught him the use of the fire weapon. Sagara then killed the Tālajaṅghas and Haihayas and stopped the observance of the duties of the Kshatriyas by the Śakas, Pahlavas and Pāradas.⁵ Among the enemies of Bāhu

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 166, No. 62, text line 2. [See p. 284, note 3 below.—Ed.]

² Ibid., pp. 144-45; 180-81; Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, pp. 278, 386; *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 13 ff., 605 ff.

³ Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 182-83, 201-02.

⁴ It is told in practically the same language in the *Harivaṃśa* and the *Vāyu* and *Śiva Purāṇas*, while the *Bhāgavata* gives a summary account and the *Bṛhannārādīya* a slightly distorted version. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* narrates the story in prose.

⁵ The *Mahābhārata* (III, 106, 8) merely speaks of the subjugation of the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas by Sagara. Note that a prince's birth in a hermitage after his father's death at the hands of enemies is a popular motif found also in epigraphic records (cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 230).

and Sagara mentioned here, the Haihayas were a branch of the Yadu or Yādava people while the Tālajaṅghas represented a sub-branch of the Haihayas.¹ The allies of these peoples were all foreigners settled in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarsha and its neighbourhood, among whom the Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians) are the most famous. The Kāmbōjas have been supposed to be Iranian autochthons living in the Afghanistan region² while the Pahlavas may be Sasanian-Persians and the Pāradas Parthians settled in the Western Himalayas.³

The bigger version of the story is introduced in response to two questions, one of them seeking the reason why Sagara became angry with the Śakas and the other peoples so as to prohibit them from observing the practices to be followed by the Kshatriya community. The kingdom of the unfortunate king Bāhu was usurped by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas. The Śakas were allied with the usurpers while the five tribes, viz. the Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbōjas, Pahlavas and Khasas were also fighting on the side of the Haihayas. Having lost his kingdom, Bāhu, accompanied by his queen of the Yādava clan, repaired to the forest and died there. The queen was pregnant at the time and the sage Aurva of the Bhṛigu family advised her not to commit *Satī* and took her to his hermitage. There she gave birth to Sagara who received all his training from the sage. Aurva also gave him the terrible fire weapon with which Sagara annihilated the Haihayas responsible for his father's discomfiture. Thereafter, he was bent upon extirpating the allies of the Haihayas, viz. Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. The defeated foreigners appealed to the king's preceptor Vasishṭha to save them from Sagara's wrath. The sage granted them refuge and advised Sagara to spare their lives. The king then thought of a middle path between his own vow to extirpate his father's adversaries and his preceptor's advice to spare their lives and compelled the Śakas and others to give up the prescribed duties and to change their appearance. Thus the Śakas had to shave half their head and the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas their entire head while the Pāradas had to keep long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. At the same time, they were prohibited from studying the Vedas and offering oblations.⁴ It is added that the Kshatriyas whose duties were thus repudiated by Sagara as a result of Vasishṭha's advice were the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, [Pahlavas], Kaulisarpas (or Kalisparśas), Mahishas (or, Māhishikas), Dārdyas (or, Dārvas), Chōlas and Kēralas.⁵

Of course, the story is a myth and the attempt to bring the Greeks and Scythians in it has to be regarded as a clear case of anachronism. Known facts of history make it quite clear that the Greeks and Scythians had nothing to do with India in the hoary antiquity to which mythology ascribes Bāhu and Sagara, the second of the two being represented in Puranic tradition as twenty-four generations in ascent from Daśaratha, father of Rāma of the *Rāmāyaṇa* fame.⁶ But there are other interesting aspects of the story, one of which is the ascription of certain characteristics of the foreign settlers of Uttarāpatha to their discomfiture at the hands of Sagara. The half-shaven head of the Śakas, the fully shaved head of the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas, the long

¹ See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 35, note 4. The Yādavas were originally despised apparently owing to their Nonaryan associations, but came later to be regarded as aristocratic like the solar and lunar races. The loss of the stigma was due to the spread of the worship of the Yādava hero Vāsudēva-Kṛishṇa.

² Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 7.

³ Cf. Pargiter, *The Mārkaṇḍēya Purāna*, pp. 314, note ; p. 317, note.

⁴ *Harivaṃśa*, I, 14, 15 ff. (cf. *Vāyu Purāna*, 88, 139 ff. ; *Śiva Purāna*, VI, 61, 40 ff.).

⁵ *Harivaṃśa*, I, 14, 18 ff. ; cf. *Vāyu Purāna*, 88, 142-43. After narrating the above story, the *Harivaṃśa* (I, 14, 20-21) mentions Sagara's victory over the Khasas, Tushāras, Chōlas, Madras, Kishkindhakas, Kauntalas, Vaṅgas, Sālvas and Kauṅkaṇas in connection with the *Vājimēdha* or horse-sacrifice performed by him.

⁶ See, e.g. *Vāyu Purāna*, 88.

hanging hair of the Pāradas and the long beard of the Pahlavas were apparently the respective peculiarities of the people, which, as we have seen, have been attributed to their subjugation by Sagara. There are some other instances of this kind in Sanskrit literature. Thus, while describing the victories of the Kashmirian king Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa (c. 724-60 A.D.), Kalhaṇa's *Rājatarangīṇī* (IV, 178 ff.), composed in the middle of the twelfth century, says, "This mighty [king] made the [conquered] rulers, in order to indicate their defeat, adopt various characteristic marks which they [and their people] wear humbly even at the present day. Clearly it is by his command, to display the mark of their bondage, that the Turushkas carry their arms at their back and shave half their head. In the *dhōtī* of the Dākṣiṇātyas, he made the tail sweeping the ground, to mark that they were like beasts." Here the Turushka peculiarity of carrying arms behind the back and shaving half the head as well as the Dākṣiṇātya habit of tucking only one corner of the *dhōtī*-end behind the back (unlike the East Indian customs of tucking the entire *dhōtī*-end behind the back) have been attributed to the defeat of the peoples at the hands of the Kashmir king. Likewise, the Haraha inscription (554 A.D.) describes the victory of the Maukhari king Īśānavarman over the sea-faring Gauḍa people as *kṛtvā ch=āyati-mōchita-sthala-bhuvō Gauḍān=samudr-āśrayān*, 'having compelled the Gauḍas, driven out from land for all time to come, to take refuge in the sea'.¹ The sea-faring nature of the Gauḍas has been attributed here to their defeat at the hands of the Maukhari king.

More important than the above is, however, the bearing of the story on **the position of the foreigners settled in India and the Nonaryans of India in the Brahmanical social system**. Though the Greeks and Scythians were Indians by domicile, their social habits and dress differed from those of the Indians proper, and this required an explanation especially for those who were eager to assign them to a particular position in the Indian social system characterised by the *chāturvārṇya*. Similar was the case with the Nonaryans who observed their own tribal customs. Our story attributes the peculiarities of such peoples to their subjugation by Sagara. There were also similar other fanciful explanations.

Certain versions of the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) suggest that the fourfold classification of the society was prevalent in the Maurya empire excluding the land of the Yavanas.² This is explained by the Buddhist canonical work *Majjhimanikāya* (II, 149) which states that, in the lands of the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas, there were only two (and not the usual four) social grades, viz. *Ārya* and *Dāsa*, i.e., the noble and the serf. Still, however, the Indianisation of the foreigners was progressing gradually, and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* (under Pāṇini, II, 4, 10) regards the Yavanas and Śakas as 'clean' Śūdra. But the arbitrary nature of ascribing to the foreigners a place in the Indian social system is clearly indicated by the fact that the *Manusmṛiti* (X, 42-43) regards the said peoples as degraded Kshatriyas when it says, "By the omission of the prescribed duties and also by their neglect of the Brāhmaṇas, the following Kshatriya *jātis* have gradually sunk to the position of the *Vrīṣhala* (i. e., Śūdra or the low-born): the Paṇḍrakas, Chōḍas (or, Auḍras), Draviḍas, Kāmbōjas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khasas." The arbitrary nature of the scheme is further demonstrated by the fact that elsewhere (X, 22) the same *Manusmṛiti* speaks of the Khasas and Draviḍas of the above list among the descendants of the Vrātya (apostate) Kshatriya: "From the *Vrātya* Kshatriya is born the Jhalla, Malla, Lichchhivī, Naṭa, Karaṇa, Khasa and Draviḍa." The same social status is thus indicated by Manu both as 'Kshatriya sunk into the position of the Śūdra' and 'the descendant of the apostate

¹ Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff. (verse 12); *J. A. S.*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 69, note 4.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 39, note 9.

Kshatriya' and by Patañjali as 'clean or pure Śūdra'. It will also be seen that, while Manu apparently seeks to explain the peculiar ways of these foreign and indigenous peoples as due to their omission of the prescribed duties and neglect of the Brāhmaṇas, the Sagara story ascribes them to the subjugation of a number of them by king Sagara. As we have suggested elsewhere, the position of a particular foreign or Nonaryan people in the theoretical *chatur-varṇa* scheme depended on the rank demanded by its importance, culture and activities.¹

As regards the **peculiar habits** ascribed to certain peoples in the Sagara story and elsewhere, we have already said a few words on the style of wearing *dhōṭī* by the Dākṣhṇātyas as mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and the sea-faring nature of the Gauda people as known from the Haraha inscription. As to the Turushkas carrying their arms behind the back, Stein observes, "Yarkhandīs and Tibetans are fond of walking with their hands folded at their back."² Besides, we have been told that the Śakas and Turushkas shaved half their head, that the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas shaved all the head and that the Pāradas had long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. These fashions were apparently regarded as peculiar because they were un-Indian. The Indian males, excluding the ascetic classes, usually shaved their beard and, though they kept long hair, it was generally tied in a top, side or back knot.³ The long beard of the Pahlavas who may be identified with the Sasanian-Perians, reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of the *śmaśrula* (bearded) head of the Pārasīkas or Pāschātyas, which looked like a bee-hive.⁴ As regards the statement that the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas shaved off their hair on the head, we have to note that the royal head on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India exhibits neithers haven head nor long hair, but short hair. This, therefore, may have been the characteristic referred to in the Sagara story. More difficult to understand is what has been meant by the statements that the Śakas and Turushkas shaved half their head. The royal head on the coins of the Śakas of Western India exhibit a close-fitting cap and hair hanging by the neck above the shoulders. Thus, if hair on any part of the head was shaved or sheared, it may have been in the front, i.e., above the forehead.⁵

It will be seen that the dress and appearance of king Avarighsa are more Indianised than the early foreign settlers of India, referred to above. It is, therefore, not possible to determine his nationality on this basis.

¹ See *Homage to Vaiśālī*, ed. Mathur and Mishra, p. 74.

² Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 138, note.

³ Cf. *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, 307; above, p. 277, notes 3-5.

⁴ *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 60, 62-63; cf. *The Successors of the Sātvāhanas*, pp. 325-26.

⁵ The short version of the story as found in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (IX, 8, 5-6) says that Sagara did not kill the Tālajanghas, Yavanas, Śakas, Haihayas and Barbaras, but made them *vikṛita-vēśha* (i.e., caused change in their dress or appearance). Some of them were made to shave their head, some to keep their beard, some to keep hanging hair, some to shave half the head, some to be *antarvāsas* (wearing an under-garment) and some *bahirvāsas* (wearing an upper garment or cloak). The last of these characteristics appears to refer to the covering the body in the *udīchya-vēśha*. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 155-56), the Kāmbōjas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Śakas, Mlēcchhas, Kirātas and Tushāras were created by Vasishtha's cow when Viśvāmitra tried to carry her forcibly away, while, according to the *Mahābhārata* (I, 85, 34; cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 34, 30), the Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhōjas and Mlēcchhas descended respectively from Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, the four discarded sons of king Yayāti of the lunar race.

TEXT¹

1 Śrī-rma(Ma)hārāj-Āvarighsasya [I*]

2 Vāma-Ratan-Āyama² [II*]

TRANSLATION

(*This is the seal*) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Avarighsa*. (*His representatives are*) Vāma, Ratna and Arvaman.

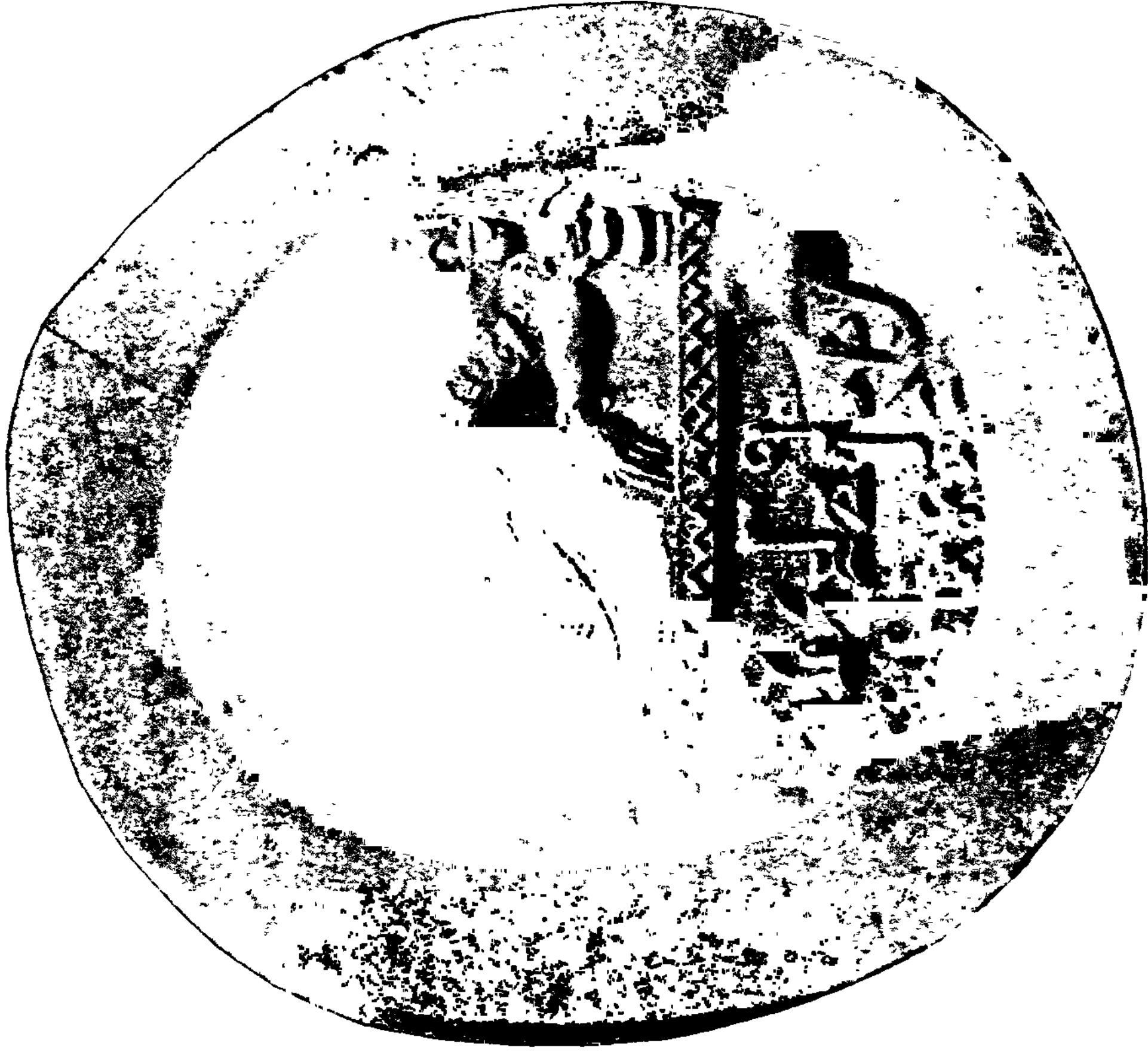
¹From casts.

²The intended reading may be Sanskrit *Vāma-Ratn-Āryamānaḥ*.

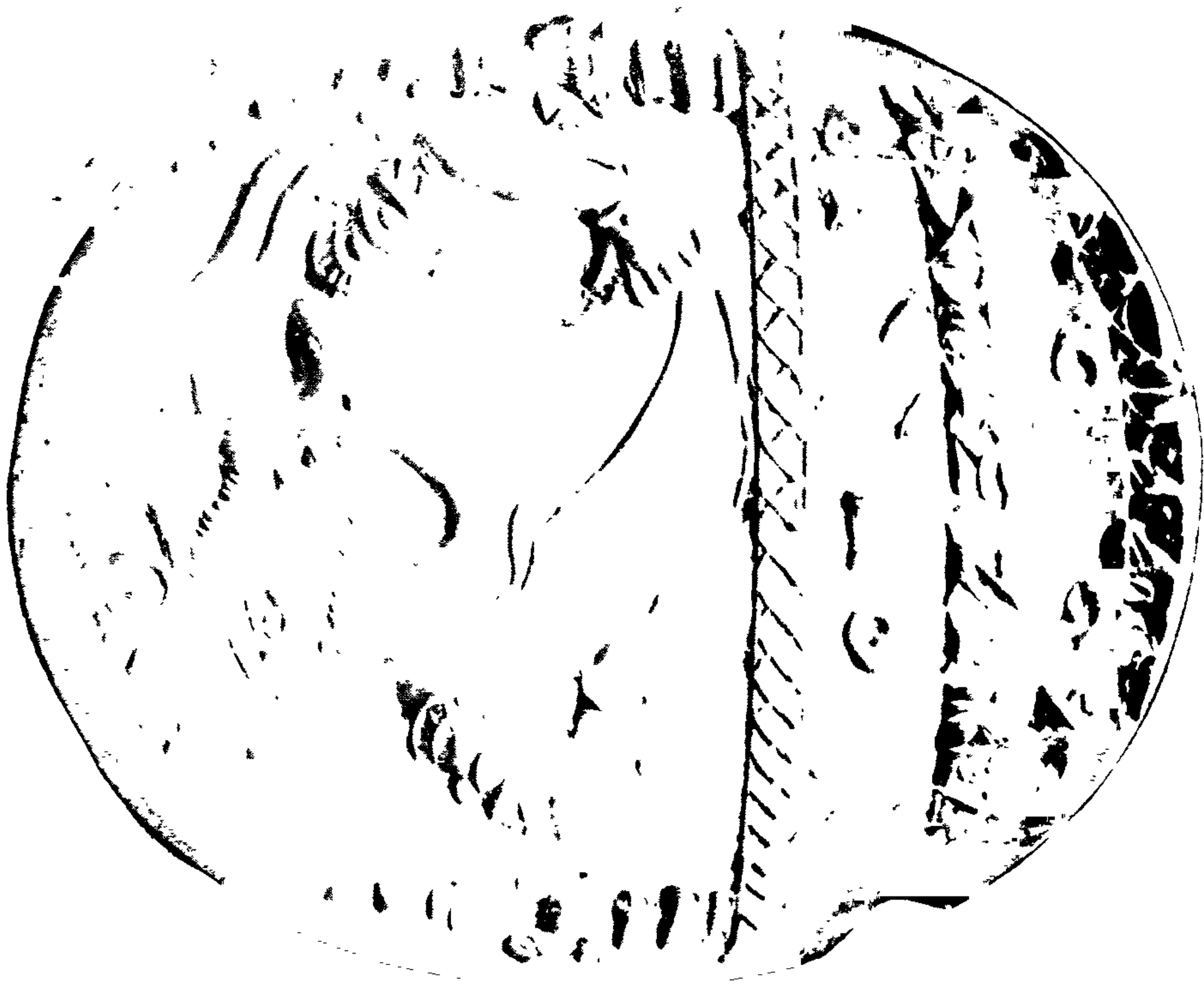
If the intention of the author of the legend was to indicate that the seal was of Vāma, Ratna and Arvaman who were the representatives of Avarighsa, probably a word indicating their relationship with the *Mahārāja* would have been used. [The intended reading seems to be *Śrī-Mahārāj-Āvarighsasya vāma-ratnam-idam* which may be translated as 'This beautiful jewel (is) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Avarighsa*.'—Ed.]

CRYSTAL INTAGLIO IN BRITISH MUSEUM

A. Positive



B. Negative



(from Photographs)

No. 35—DHARUR PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA GOVINDA III, SAKA 728

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR AND N. A. GORE, AURANGABAD

(Received on 11.9.1963)

These plates¹ were originally in the possession of Shri Bapurao Bhaurao Mahajan of **Dhārūr** in the Bhir District of the Marathwada Division of Maharashtra. They were obtained from him by Shri Raghavendrarao Ramachandrarao Opalkar of Bhīr, the chief town of the District. They were brought to notice by Shri P. B. Mande in the course of his search of manuscripts at Bhīr on behalf of the Department of Marathi in the Marathwada University. Shri Opalkar very kindly lent them to the Department for decipherment. Shri N. A. Gore first edited the record with photographs of the plates in the *Marathwada University Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 76 ff. We re-edit it here from the same photographs with the kind permission of Shri S. R. Dongarkery, Vice-Chancellor of the Marathwada University, and Prof. W. L. Kulkarni, Head of the Department of Marathi in the same University.

As the plates had been buried underground for safety, they were covered with rust, but they were cleaned by Shri Opalkar. It was believed that they recorded the grant of some land to the Balaji temple at Dhārūr, but as shown below, this is entirely baseless.

The record is engraved on **three copperplates**, of which the first and the third are inscribed on the inner side only and the second on both the sides. The plates measure 24.5 cm in length and about 18.5 cm in breadth. Their corners are rounded off and their edges are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The record is in a fairly good state of preservation. The plates are held together by means of a ring, about 10.5 cm in diameter and 2 cm in thickness. To this ring is soldered a circular **seal**, 5.3 cm in diameter, on the countersunk surface of which appears the figure of Garuḍa in human form, facing full front with outstretched wings. It probably held a serpent in each hand, but it has now become indistinct.

The record consists of seventy-one lines, of which twenty lines are incised on the first plate and also on the first side of the second plate, eighteen on the second side of the latter plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet, regular for the period to which the grant refers itself. The following peculiarities may be noted :—The initial *i* (short) is denoted by a curve below two dots (see *iti*, line 68) ; the initial *ē* appears in the form of a triangle with its apex downward (see *ēvam*-, line 45) ; the medial *ai* and *au* are denoted partly by lengthening the top-line to the left to end in a curve and partly by means of a *śirō-mātrā* (see *karair*-, line 2, and *mauktika*-, line 33) ; *ṇ* is still without a dot (see *Gaṅga*, line 11) ; the central curve of *j* has not yet become a vertical stroke (see *rājamāna*-, line 2) ; the superscript *ñ* is written like *ṇ* (see *pañcha*, line 52) ; *ṭ* has not yet developed a vertical stroke (see *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa*-, line, 47) ; the subscript *ṇ* of the conjunct *ṇṇ* is vertically placed (see *Karṇṇ-ādha*-, line 8) ; *dh* has not yet developed a horn on the left (see *Vēdhasā*, line 1) ; still the two verticals of *dhā* are not joined by a horizontal stroke as is done in some records of the period ; finally, the final consonant *t* is shown in some cases by a surrounding curve (see *-ānvitāt*, line 4).

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial eulogistic portion is metrically composed. It has eighteen verses, all of which are known to

¹ A. R. Ep., 1964-65, No. A 36.

occur in many grants of Gōvinda III such as the Nēsari plates.¹ It is noteworthy that verse 4 gives the name of Dhruva, the father of Gōvinda III, as Dhōra. The eulogistic portion is followed in lines 37 to 59 by the formal portion of the grant, giving the *gōtra*, *śūkhā* and name of the donee, the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the date and occasion of the gift as well as the usual appeal to future rulers for its preservation. This is followed in lines 60 to 70 by seven benedictive and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The record closes with the mention of the scribe and the *dūtaka*. It is fairly correctly written. As regards **orthography**, we may note that (i) *b* is always written as *v* (see *vrihad-*, line 2); (ii) *ri* is used for *ri* in some places (see *śriyam*, line 31); (iii) the consonant following *r* is doubled (see *durllaghyād-*, line 4); (iv) the *visarga* is omitted when followed by a sibilant, combined with a hard consonant, in accordance with the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36 (see *ura-sthala*, line 2 and *Karṇṇādha-sthita-*, line 8); (v) the final *n* is often wrongly changed to *anusvāra* as in *yasmim*, line 18 and *āgataṁ*, line 29. Such orthographical mistakes as *Maiurakhaṇḍī* (line 41); and *pratipālāitavya-* (line 57) are due to wrong pronunciation.

The inscription is one of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Gōvinda III**, called Gōvindarāja in line 17 and Jagattuṅga-śrī-Vallabha-narēndradēva in line 39. He bore the imperial titles *Paramabhātīraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Aṇahē**, which Gōvinda made while camping at **Mayūrakhaṇḍī** on the occasion of a **solar eclipse** on the **new-moon day** of **Jyēshtha** in the expired **Śaka year [7]28**.² The donated village was included in the *vishaya* (district) of **Dhāraūra** and was bounded on the east by the village **Aivachchha**, on the south by the village **Dhaṇī**, on the west by the village **Vāūjī** and on the north by the village **Aṇanta** and a watering place. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Duggaiya**, son of Chandaiya, who had mastered the *krama* recension (of the *Ṛigvēda*) and grandson of Vijāḍibhaṭṭa. He belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and was a student of the *Ṛigvēda*. The grant was written by **Arunāditya**, son of Vatsarāja. He figures as the scribe in several grants³ of Gōvinda III, ranging in dates from Ś. 727 to Ś. 734. The *dūtaka* was **Dēvaiya Rāṇaka**, who is mentioned in this capacity in the Nēsari plates⁴ also.

The **date** of this grant is **irregular**. Unlike several other grants of Gōvinda III, it does not mention any cyclic year. This need not, however, cause any suspicion about its genuineness; for some other grants of this Rāshtrakūṭa emperor, especially those made in the early part of his reign, make no mention of the current cyclic year. See, e.g. the Paithan plates⁵ of Śaka 716, the Añjanavatī plates⁶ of Śaka 722, the Jharikā grant⁷ of Śaka 725, the Maṇṇe plates⁸ of Śaka 732 and the Lōhārā grant⁹ of Śaka 734. But apart from this, the details of the date do not work out regularly. There was no solar eclipse on the new-moon day of Jyēshtha, either *nija* or *adhika*, in the Śaka year 728. There were two solar eclipses in that Śaka year, one of which occurred on the new-moon day of the *amānta* Bhādrapada, corresponding to the 16th September, A.D. 806, and the other on the new-moon day of Māgha, the 11th February, A.D. 807. The drafter of the record has

¹ Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 123 ff.

² While writing this date in line 50, the writer has inadvertently omitted the word *saptasu*.

³ See, e.g. the Nēsarikā grant of Śaka 727, the Waṇī plates of Śaka 730 (for Śaka 729), the Sisavai grant of Śaka 730, the Bahulāvād plates of Śaka 732 (for Śaka 731), the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala plates of Śaka 732 and the Lōhārā grant of Śaka 734.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 134. He is mentioned in the Jharikā grant as *Mahākshapaṭalika*. Is the name of Vālaiya mentioned as *dūtaka* in line 56 of the Bahulāvād plates a mistake for Dēvaiya?

⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 103 f.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 8 f.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 157 f.

⁸ *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 82.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 212 f.

evidently, by forgetfulness or mistake, written Jyēshtha for Bhādrapada or Māgha.¹ An analogous instance is furnished by the Wanī plates² of this very king Gōvinda III. They record his grant of a village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 730. There was, however, no lunar eclipse on Vaiśākha-purnimā in that Śaka year. The only lunar eclipse in that year which could have been referred to is that in Pausa (the 5th January 809 A.D.). Apart from this irregularity in their dates, there are no grounds for suspecting these two grants to be spurious.

As all the verses in the eulogistic portion occur in several other known grants, the present grant does not add to our historical knowledge. But we may discuss here again **the chronology of the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III**. More than twentyfive years ago, Prof. Mirashi showed that the known grants of Gōvinda III fall into two groups.³ The first group now comprises three grants, viz. the Paithan plates of Śaka 716, the Añjanavatī plates of Śaka 722 and the Jharikā grant of Śaka 725. The eulogistic portion of these grants is copied mostly from the earlier grants of Gōvinda III's predecessors, viz. Dantidurga, Kṛishṇa and Dhruva. This draft mentions no exploits of Gōvinda III, not even his defeat of twelve kings headed by his brother Stambha and his imprisonment of the Gaṅga king. The second group comprises all the other grants⁴ ranging in dates from Śaka 727 to Śaka 734. This new draft mentions several northern and southern campaigns of Gōvinda III. Some more details are furnished by the Sanjān plates⁵ of his son Amōghavarsha I. From these sources we can arrange chronologically the events in the reign of Gōvinda III as follows:—Soon after Gōvinda's accession in Śaka 715, twelve kings headed by his brother Stambha rose in revolt against him. Gōvinda released the Gaṅga prince Muttarasa probably to create a rival to his brother Stambha, but as he joined the latter and his allies, Gōvinda defeated them all and put the Gaṅga king into fetters again. The ease and rapidity with which these victories were achieved are graphically described in all his later grants. Gōvinda is said to have thrown the Gaṅga prince into prison before his brow was wrinkled in a frown.⁶ These operations could not, therefore, have taken more than a year (Śaka 716). The next five years seem to have been occupied by Gōvinda's campaigns in Central and Northern India. He first defeated

¹ Sometimes a grant made on an earlier occasion is recorded later. See, e.g. the date of the Maṇṇē plates of Śaka 732. The grant recorded in them was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of Pausa when the week-day is said to have been Monday and the *nakshatra* Pushya. The week-day on the *Purnimā* was, however, Saturday, and the *nakshatra* was Ārdra. The grant was reduced to writing two days after the *Purnimā* on Monday, when the *nakshatra* was Pushya. In the case of the present grant, however, a similar supposition is not possible, for there was no solar eclipse in the whole of the previous year Śaka 727.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157 f.; Vol. XXIV, p. 11. Kielhorn suggested that the date of the Wanī plates would be correct for Śaka 737 current (i.e. Śaka 736 expired), but in that case the cyclic year would be Vijaya, not Vyaya as stated in those plates. (See his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 11). Similarly, the date of our grant should be either Śaka 723 or Śaka 724, in both of which there was a solar eclipse in (*amānta*) Jyēshtha as stated in the grant. But these dates are not possible; for, as shown below, the southern campaigns of Gōvinda III described in the present plates were not completed even in Śaka 725, the date of the Jharikā grant. So the date of the present plates will have to be regarded as irregular.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 216 f.

⁴ See, e.g. the Nēsarikā grant of Śaka 727, the Sīsavai grant of Śaka 729, the Wanī plates of Śaka 730, the Rādhapur plates of Śaka 732, the Badanguppe plates of Śaka 730, the Bahulāvād plates of Śaka 732, the Maṇṇē plates of Śaka 724, the B.I.S. Maṇḍal plates of Śaka 732 and the Lōhārā grant of Śaka 734.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 245 f.

⁶ Cf. यावन् भ्रुकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योन्नते लक्ष्यते ।

विश्लेषेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्द्वः स गंगः पुनः ॥

the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II and his ally Chandragupta, who was probably ruling in Malwa,¹ and then routed Dharmapāla of Bengal, who had espoused the case of Chakrāyudha of Kanauj. He next marched victoriously to the north until his horses drank and his elephants plunged themselves into the spring waters of the Himālayas. He then returned to the Narmadā and marching along the bank of the river, he conquered the countries of Mālava, Kōsala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Dāhala and Ōdra and placed his own servants (i.e. feudatories) in charge of them. He then returned again to the Narmadā at the foot of the Vindhya and spent the rainy season at Śrībhavana (modern Sārbhōṇ in Gujarat), the capital of Mārāsarva, who, out of fear, had speedily submitted to him and presented him with his heirlooms which none else had obtained before. Gōvinda caused some temples to be constructed, while encamped at the place. It is generally supposed that his son Śarva (or Amōghavarsha I) was born at the capital of Śarva² (or Mārāsarva). These several events must have taken a period of about five years from Śaka 717 to Śaka 721. The present grant, like other later ones of Gōvinda III, states that after passing the rainy season at Śrībhavana,³ the king marched with his forces to the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, from where he led his campaign against the Pallavas. The Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha I do not, however, state that Gōvinda marched to the Tuṅgabhadrā straight from Śrībhavana. It is also unlikely that after spending about five years in his campaigns in Central and Northern India, the king would have immediately launched his offensive against the Draviḍa kings. As a matter of fact, we find that he was in his capital at Mayūrakhaṇḍī in the rainy season of Śaka 722; for he made there the Tulā-purusha gift and the grant of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of *amānta* Āshāḍha of Śaka 722 (the 25th June 800 A.D.).⁴ He must have spent some time at the capital making preparations for his southern campaigns. From the Jharikā grant we learn that he was encamped at Alampura (or Hēlāpura) on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, where he made a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Kārttika-paurṇimā in Śaka 725 (the 2nd November 803 A.D.).⁵ Gōvinda seems to have stayed in the south for a few months; for he made another grant at Rāmēśvara-tīrtha on the Tuṅgabhadrā in Vaiśākha va. di. 5 of Śaka 726 (the 4th April

¹ D. R. Bhanlalkar identified this Chandragupta with the homonymous Pāṇḍava-vaṁśī king, the younger brother of Tivaradēva. He evidently followed the view of Fleet and Kielhorn, who placed Tivaradēva in the eighth century A.D. Prof. Mirashi showed nearly thirty years ago that this date was incorrect and that Tivara must be referred to the middle of the sixth century A.D. (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 17f). His younger brother Chandragupta could not, therefore, have been a contemporary of Gōvinda III. Chandragupta, defeated by Gōvinda III, was a king of Malwa. The Sanjān plates mention Gōvinda's victory over Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta in the course of his northern campaign. The Nēsarikā and some other grants mention Gōvinda's victory over a Gūrjara king and the submission of the king of Mālava in the same context. The Gūrjara king is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II and the king of Mālava was probably Chandragupta. It is not yet known to what royal family the latter belonged.

² Scholars have generally accepted the view that Amōghavarsha I was born at Śrībhavana. His other name Śarva lends colour to this view; for it may have been suggested by that of Mārāsarva, the ruler of Śrībhavana. But it looks unlikely that the queen of Gōvinda III accompanied him during his northern conquests. That Amōghavarsha was born after Gōvinda's northern conquests and before he launched his offensive against southern kings looks probable in view of the order of description in the Sanjān plates. Amōghavarsha may have been born at the capital Mayūrakhaṇḍī. In that case Gōvinda III may have stayed at his capital for at least one or two years, before he proceeded to conquer the Pallava king. We know that he was at Mayūrakhaṇḍī in Śaka 722. His next dates Śaka 725 and Śaka 726 are furnished by the Jharikā grant and the British Museum plates respectively both of which mention that he was encamped at Alampura (or Hēlāpura) on the Tuṅgabhadrā. This would show conclusively that he did not proceed to the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā straight from Śrībhavana as may be supposed from the wording of verse 15 of the present grant and similar verses in other grants.

³ P. L. Gupta objected to the identification of Śrībhavana with Sārbhōṇ on the ground that the former lay near the Vindhya, while the latter lies far away from it (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 127). He proposes to identify it with Śrīpura in the Raipur District of Chhattisgarh, which was the capital of the Pāṇḍava-vaṁśī kings, but it is still farther from the Vindhya mountain.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 10.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXII, p. 158.

804 A.D.) as recorded in the British Museum plates. Using Alampura as his base, he seems to have led his campaigns against the Gaṅgas, Kēralas, Chālukyas, Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas. Even the king of Laṅkā submitted to him, sending two statues—one of himself and the other of his minister—to his camp at Hēlāpura, which he installed in the temple of Śiva at Kāñchī. After these southern campaigns were over, he got a new draft of the eulogistic portion prepared, which we find used for the first time in the Nēsarikā grant of Śaka 727.¹

It has recently been suggested that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III must have been conducted between June 800 A.D. (the date of the Anjanavatī plates) and November 803 A.D. (the date of the Jharikā grant).² This means that Gōvinda defeated Nāgabhaṭa II and his ally Chandragupta in Central India, then proceeding to the north, he vanquished Dharmapāla and his protege Chakrāyudha and marched to the foot of the Himālayas; then he returned to the Narmadā and marching along its bank, he conquered Mālava, Kōsala, Kaliṅga, Vaṅga, Dāhala and Ōḍra countries; thereafter he returned to the bank of the same river, and passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana, where he caused some temples to be constructed, and from there he straightway proceeded to the Tuṅgabhadra, without even visiting his capital after these prolonged northern campaigns. We shall have to suppose that all these events took place within the brief period of three years and five months. This appears very unlikely. It would, therefore, appear that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III were over before the rainy season of Śaka 721, when he appears to have encamped at Śrībhavana.

The fixation of the chronology of Gōvinda's northern conquests has a bearing on the history of his son Amōghavarsha. Supposing that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III occurred after his southern ones, Dr. Altekar at first placed his sojourn in Śrībhavana and the birth of his son Amōghavarsha in the monsoon of 808 A.D.³ Consequently, he thought that the latter was a small boy of six at his accession in 814 A.D.⁴ Later, he modified his views considerably, realising the force of the arguments of Prof. Mirashi set forth in his article on the Sīsavai and Lōhārā grants. In the account of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which he wrote for the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vol. IV, pp. 8-9), he observed as follows:—"The new Emperor (i.e. Amōghavarsha) was a boy of 13 or 14 and his father had arranged that Karka, who had succeeded his father Indra as Viceroy of Gujarat, should assume the reins of Government during his minority." R. G. Bhandarkar and Fleet, who had earlier written on the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas, do not mention this regency of Karka.⁵ If Amōghavarsha I was born in the Śaka year 721 (799 A.D.) as shown above, he must have been sixteen years old at his accession in Śaka 737 (815 A.D.).⁶ This is the age of majority according to Kauṭilya.⁷ Harsha is known to have commenced to govern his kingdom, nay, he embarked on a *digvijaya* at this age. The Sanjān plates tell us that Gōvinda III went to heaven, thinking that his unique son would be able to bear the burden of this world.⁸ This also shows that Amōghavarsha was quite capable of ruling independently when his father died in 815 A.D.

¹ It seems that the new draft of the eulogistic portion of Gōvinda's grants was not ready till Śaka 725, the date of the Jharikā grant since it is not used therein. So the Maṇṇē plates of Stambha, dated Śaka 724, in which the new draft is found used, will have to be regarded as spurious.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 330.

³ Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 69.

⁴ Amōghavarsha seems to have come to the throne in Śaka 737 or 815 A.D. See Altekar, op. cit. p. 71.

⁵ See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part i, pp. 99 and 401-02.

⁶ If he was born at Mayūrakhaṇḍī in Śaka 722 (see above, p. 288, note 2), his age at accession may have been fifteen.

⁷ Cf. षोडशवर्षः पुमान् प्राप्तव्यवहारो भवति । Kauṭilya's *Arthasāstra*, ed. by Shāma Sastri (1924), p. 154.

⁸ Cf. व्याप्ता कीर्तिस्त्रिलोकं निजभुवनभरं भर्तुमासीत्समर्थः पुत्रश्चास्माकमेकः सफलमिति कृतं जन्म धर्मैरनेकैः । Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246. See a similar description of Gōvinda III when he came to the throne: तस्याप्यभूद्भुवनभारभूतो समर्थो गोविन्दराज इति सूनुरिनप्रतापः । Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 163.

The only evidence in support of Altekār's view that Karka was acting as a regent for Amōghavarsha I is that the dates of his grant and those of his younger brother Gōvinda overlap one another. Karka's grants are dated in Śaka 734¹ and 738,² while those of his younger brother are dated in Śaka 732,³ 735⁴ and 749.⁵ It is, therefore, supposed that Gōvinda was looking after the administration of Gujarat while Karka was in the Rāshtrakūṭa capital. But the former is known to have made a grant as early as Śaka 732 (810 A.D.), when Gōvinda III was living and there was no question of Karka's regency. The real reason for the overlapping of the dates seems to be that both Karka and his younger brother had authority to make land-grants without referring to each other.⁶ Besides, Karka is not known to have made any grant at Mānyakhēṭa, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, during his supposed regency. For all these reasons it does not seem likely that Karka was acting as regent for Amōghavarsha, though there is no doubt that he rendered very valuable help in retaining him on the throne during a rebellion of his Chālukya and Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Dhāraūra**, the headquarters of the *viśaya* in which the donated village⁷ was situated, is evidently identical with Dhārūr where the present plates were discovered. The donated village **Aṇahē** is Aṇēgaon (Lat. 18° 35' and Long. 76° 10'), about 14 miles south-east of Dhārūr. All the boundary villages can be identified in its vicinity. Thus **Aivachchha**, which bounded it on the east, is Āwasgaon which lies only about 1½ miles in that direction; **Dhaṇī-grāma**, which formed its southern boundary, is modern Dhaṇēgaon, which lies only about 2 miles to the south of Aṇēgaon; **Vāujī-grāma**, its western limit, is now called Bāvāchī Kaij and lies only about a mile to the west of Aṇēgaon; **Aṇanta-grāma** which lay to the north is Ānandagaon, about 4 miles north of Aṇēgaon. Aṇēgaon, Bāvāchī Kaij, Dhaṇēgaon and Āwasgaon are all situated to the south-east of Kaij in the Kaij tahsil of the Bhīr District.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1, 19, 20, 22 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 6, 8 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 3-5, 7, 9-17 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 18 *Āryā* ; verses 21, 23 *Indravajrā* ; verse 24 *Śālinī* ; verse 25 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः* [१*] स वोव्याद्वेधसा धाम यन्ताभिकमलंकृतं(तम्) । हरश्च यस्य
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलंकृतम् ॥[१॥*] भूपोभव-
- 2 दृ(दृ)हदुरस्थलराजमानश्रीको(कौ)स्तुभायतकरैरुपगूढकण्ठः [१*] सत्यान्वितो विपुलचक्र-
वि[नि*]ज्जिता-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

² *JBBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 158.

³ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

⁶ [For a detailed discussion on this point, see, above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 272-75.—Ed.]

⁷ In identifying these villages we have received valuable help from Shri D. R. Amladi, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra State and Shri L. G. Parab, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, for which our best thanks are due to them.

* From photographs kindly supplied by Shri D. R. Amladi. [The plates published here are prepared from the impressions taken in this office.—Ed.]

* Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 रिचक्रोप्यकृष्णचरितो भुवि कृष्णराजः ॥[२॥*] पक्षच्छेदभयाश्रु(श्रि)ताखिलमहा-
भूभृक्कु(त्कु)लभ्राजिता-
- 4 दु(द्)र्ल्लघ्या(ङ्घ्या)दपरैरनेकविमलभ्राजिष्णुरत्नान्वितात् । यश्चालुक्यकुलादनूनविवु(बु)-
धव्राता-
- 5 श्रयो वारिधेर्लक्ष्मीम्मन्दरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकृष्टवान्वल्लभः ॥[३॥*] तस्याभूत्तनयः
प्रतापविसरै-
- 6 राक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डलश्चण्डा(ण्डां)शोस्सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रह्लादितक्षमातलः । धोरो धैर्यधनो
विपक्ष-
- 7 वनितावक्त्राम्बु(म्बु)जश्रीहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिश(शं) दिङ्नायिकाभि-
धृ(र्धृ)तं(तम्) ॥[४ ॥*] ज्येष्ठोल्लंघनजात-
- 8 याप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सं(सन्) योभून्निर्मलमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न
क्वचित् । कर्णाधि-
- 9 स्थ(स्थि)तदानसन्ततिभृतो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दानं वीक्ष्य सुलज्जिता इव
दिशाम्प्रान्ते स्थिता दिग्गजाः ॥[५॥*]
- 10 अन्यैर्न जातु विजितं गुरुशक्तिसारमाक्र(क्रा)न्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नन्) । येनेह
व(ब)द्ध-
- 11 मवला(लो)क्य चिराय गङ्ग(ङ्गं) दूरं स्वनिग्रहभिण्(ये)व कलिः प्रयातः
॥[६॥*] हेलास्वीकृत[गौ]डरा-
- 12 ज्यकमलामत्तं प्रवेश्याचिरादु(द्)र्मर्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव(ब)लैर्यौ(र्यौ) वत्सराज(जं)
व(ब)लैः [१*]
- 13 गौडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं च्छ(छ)त्रद्वयं केवलं तस्मान्नाहत तद्यशोपि ककुभां
प्रान्ते स्थिता(तं) तत्क्ष-
- 14 णात् ॥[७॥*] लब्ध(ब्ध)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं सुदूरमुत्सार्य शुद्धचरितैर्द्वरणी-
तलस्य [१*] कृत्वा पु-
- 15 नः कृतयुगः(ग)श्रु(श्रि)यमप्यशेषां चित्रं कथं निरुपमः कलिवल्लभोभूत् ॥
[८॥*] प्राभूद्धैर्यवतस्ततो नि-

16 रुपमादिन्दुर्यथा वारिधैः(धेः) शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतशिरःसंसक्तपादः सुतः [1*]

पद्मानन्दकरः

17 प्रतापसहितो नित्योदयः सोन्नतेः पूर्वार्द्विरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराजः स-

18 तां(ताम्) ॥[९॥*] यस्मिं(स्मिन्) सर्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपतौ श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो
जाते यादववंशवन्मधुरिपा-

19 वासीदलंघ्यः परैः [1*] दृष्टाशावधयः कृतास्य(स्सु)सदृशा दानेन येनोद्धता
मुक्ताहार-

20 विभूषिता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यर्थिनोप्यर्थिनां(नाम्)¹ ॥[१०॥*] यस्याकारममानुषं
तृ(त्रि)भुवनव्यापत्तिरक्षो-

Second Plate, First Side

21 चितं कृष्णस्येव निरीक्ष्य यच्छति पितर्यैकाधिपत्यम्भुवः [1*] आस्ता(स्तां)
तात तवैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कण्ठ-

22 का किन्नाज्ञेव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्त(क्तं) वचो योभ्यधात् ॥[११॥*]
येनात्यन्तदयालुनाथ निगडक्लेशादपा-

23 स्यायतात्स्वं देशं गमितोपि दर्पविसराद्यः प्रातिकु(कू)ल्ये स्थितः [1*] यावन्न
भ्रुकुटी ललाटफलके यस्योन्नते ल-

24 क्ष्यते विक्षेपेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्बद्धः स गंगः पुनः ॥[१२॥*]
सन्धायाशु शिलीमुखां(खान्) स्वसमयां(यान्) वा(बा)णा-

25 सनस्योपरि प्राप्तं वर्द्धितव(ब)न्धुजीवविभवं पद्माभिवृद्ध्या(द्ध्या)न्वितं(तम्) [1*]
सन्नक्षत्रमुदीक्ष्य यं शरदृतुं पर्ज-

26 न्यवद्गूर्जरो नष्टः क्वापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा ॥[१३॥*]
विन्ध्याद्रेः कटके निविष्टकटकं

27 श्रुत्वा चरैर्यन्त्रिजैः स्वं देशं समुपागतं ध्रुवमिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरितः [1*]
माराशर्व्वमहीपनिर्द्रु-

¹ The sense requires a reading like प्रर्थिनः which is actually given by the Maṇṇe and Badanaguppe (*Mysore Arch. Report* for 1927, p. 113) plates. Most other plates read as here.

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- 28 तमगादप्राप्तपूर्वैः परैः यस्ये¹च्छामनुकूलये(यन्) कुलधनैः पादो(दौ) प्रणामैरपि
॥[१४*॥] नीत्वा श्री-
- 29 भवने घनाघनघनव्याप्ताम्ब(म्ब)राम्प्रावृषं तस्मादागतवां(वान्) समं निजव(व)लैरा
तुंगभद्रात-
- 30 टं(टम्)[१*] तत्त्वस्थः स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनर्निःशेषमाकृष्टवां(वान्) विक्षेपैरपि
चित्त्रमानतरि-
- 31 पुर्यः पल्लवानां श्रु(श्रि)यं(यम्) [॥१५॥*] लेखाहारमुखोदिताद्धवचसा यत्त्रैत्य
वेंगीश्वरो नित्यं
- 32 किंकरवद्व्यधादविरतं कर्म स्वशर्मच्छया [१*] वाहचालीवृत्तिरस्य येन रचिता-
द्व्योमा²-
- 33 ग्रलग्नारुचद्रात्रौ मौक्तिकमालिकामिव धृता³ मूर्द्धस्थतारागणैः ॥[१६*॥]
सन्त्रासात्परचक्रा-
- 34 जकमगात(त्त)त्पूर्वसेवाविधिः(धि)व्या(व्या)व(व)द्धांजलिशोभितेन शरणं मूर्ध्ना
यदंह(घ्रि)द्वयं(यम्) [१*] यद्यद्-
- 35 तपराध्यभूषणगणैर्नालिकृतं तत्तथा मा भैषीरिति सत्यपालितयशस्थित्या⁴ यथा त-
- 36 दिग्ग्रा ॥[१७*॥] तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चंचलमवलोक्य जीवितमसार(रम्) [१*]
- क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यः प्र-
- 37 वर्त्तितो व्र(ब्र)ह्मदायोयं(यम्) [॥१८*॥] स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वरश्रीमद्वारा-
- 38 वर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमज्ज-
- 39 गतु(त्तु)गश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव यथासंव(व)ध्यमानकान्शष्ट्रपति-
विषयप-

¹ Read परंयस्ये-² Read रचिता व्योमा-³ Read मौक्तिकमालिकेव विधृता. For the intended sense, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 210, note 1.⁴ The *visarga* of यशः is omitted by the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

40 तिग्रामकूटायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीं(दीन्) समादिशत्यस्तु वः संविदितं-
(तम्) ॥

Second Plate, Second Side

- 41 यथा मैउरखण्डी¹समावासितेन मया मातापित्रौ(त्रौ)रात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्यय-
42 शोभिवृद्धये ॥ वत्सगोत्रव(ब)ह्वचसत्र(ब्र)ह्यचारिविजाडिभट्टपौत्राय चन्दैयक्रव-
43 इत²पुत्राय दुग्गैयभट्टाय । धारउरविषयान्तर्गतः अणहेग्रामः तस्य चाघाटाः
44 पूर्वतः अडवच्छग्रामः दक्षिणतः धणीग्रामः पश्चिमतः वाउजीग्रामः उत्तरतः
45 अणन्तग्राम[:*] पाणियठाणं च । एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः सोदं(द्रं)गः स-
46 परिकरः³ मदण्डदशापराधः सभूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः स-
47 धान्यहिरण्यादेयः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणी-
48 यः आचंद्राकर्कार्णवक्षिनिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभो-
49 ग्यः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवत्रा(ब्रा)ह्यदायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन श-
50 कनृपकालातीनसंवत्सरशतेषु [मप्तमु*] अष्टोत्तरविंशतेषु⁴ ज्येष्ठे व(ब)हुल-
51 अमावास्यायायं⁵ सूर्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि व(ब)लिचरुवैश्य(श्च)देवाग्निहो-
52 त्रान्तिथिपञ्च(ञ्च)महायज्ञकृ(क्रि)योत्सर्पणार्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकानिसर्गेण प्रतिपा-
53 दितः [।*] यतोस्योचितया व्र(ब्र)ह्यदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतः कृषतो(तः)
कर्षयतः

¹ Read मयूरखण्डी-

² Read क्रमवित्पुत्राय.

³ Read सोपरिकरः.

⁴ Read अष्टोत्तरविंशत्यधिकेषु.

⁵ Read बहुलामावास्यायां.

- 54 प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिदल्पापि परिपंथना कार्या [१*] तथागामिभद्रनृ-
 55 पतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलां(ला)न्य-
 56 नित्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलवि(बि)न्दु[व*]च्चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदाय-
 57 निर्व्विशेषोयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यं(व्यः) प्रतिपालै(लयि)तव्यश्च [१*] यश्चाज्ञानति-
 58 मिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत म पण्च(ञ्च)-

Third Plate

- 59 भिर्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च^१ संयुक्त[:*] स्यात् [१*] उक्तञ्च(ञ्च) भगवता
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [१*]
 60 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः[१*] अ(आ)च्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च
 तान्येव न-
 61 रके वसेत् ।[११९॥*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु गुप्ककोटरवामिनः [१*] कृष्णाह्या
 हि
 62 जायन्ते भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ।[१२०॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं मुवर्णं भूवर्णेणवी
 सूर्यसु-
 63 ताश्च गावः [१*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः काण्व(ञ्च)नं
 गाण्व(ञ्च) महीण्व(ञ्च) दद्यात् ॥[१२१॥*]
 64 व(व)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता गजभिः(भि)स्सश(ग)रादिभिः [१*] यस्य यस्य यदा
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
 65 तदा फलं(लम्) ।[१२२॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुनरा^२ नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
 धर्मार्थयशस्क(स्क)राणि [१*]
 66 निर्माल्यवान्प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतः(त) ॥[१२३॥*]
 मव्वानेतां(तान्) भाविनः

^१ It would be better to read —स्महापातकैश्चोपपातकैश्च.

^२ Read पुरा.

- 67 पार्थिवेन्द्रा(द्रान्) भूयो भूयो याचते(ते) रामभद्रः [1*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृ-
 68 पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भः(द्भिः) ॥[२४॥*] इति कमलदलाम्बु-
 (म्बु)वि(बि)-
 69 न्दुलोलां श्रु(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1*] अतिविमलमनोभि-
 70 रात्मनीनैर्त्वं हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ।[१२५॥*] लिखितं च
 श्रीवत्सराज-
 71 सूनुना श्रीमदरुणादित्येन ॥ श्रीदेवैयराणकदूतकं(कम्) ॥
-

No. 36—TWO GRANTS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA I

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.1.1964)

Only four copper-plate grants, including the two edited here, belonging to the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya I. have been discovered so far. Two of them have been published by R. Subbarao in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. For the sake of convenience, they may be called the Telugu Academy plates, since it is stated that they have been deposited in the Telugu Academy. The remaining two grants, called here A and B, are edited below.

Inscription A—Tenali Plates

The set of plates containing this inscription was obtained in the year 1916-17 by the then Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from K. Venkatanarayana-nappagaru, a High School Master at Tenali in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. Though this record has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1916-17 (Appendix A, No. 22 and Para 22 of the Second Part), the text has remained unpublished so far. The descriptive label prepared and attached to the impressions of this record which is preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, indicates that Hultzsch was to have edited the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*. But for some unknown reason he did not publish it, though he lived till the year 1927. The circumstances leading to the discovery of these plates are not known at present.

The set consists of **three copper-plates** which measure about 6- $\frac{5}{8}$ " in length, 2- $\frac{2}{3}$ " in breadth and $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness. At the left margin of each plate there is a circular hole of about $\frac{2}{3}$ " in diameter through which passes a circular copper ring having a diameter of about 3- $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The ends of this ring are fixed into two arms of the bracket on the back of a circular **seal** which has a diameter of about $\frac{2}{3}$ ". In the top portion of the seal is a crescent below which is the legend *śri-Tribhuvanāṁkuśa* in the same characters as those of the inscription proper. Below this legend, at the bottom, is a lotus flower. The first and the last plates have writing only on one side while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The written faces of the plates have slightly raised rims in order to preserve the writing and the state of preservation is fairly good. The plates with the ring and the seal weigh about 100 *tolas*.

There are altogether 28 lines of writing, each face having 7 lines. The **characters** are Telugu-Kannāḍa of the middle of the 8th century A.D. The text has been very carelessly engraved so that there are many mistakes of commission and omission. Even the name of the ruling king has not been correctly written. However, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the record. As regards **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonants following *r* are always doubled excepting once in Arjuna, line 28 and that both the *anuvāra* and class-nasal have been used. In several cases, the *anuvāra* is wrongly indicated above the letter following the one over which it is intended, cf. lines 5, 10, 14, 20 and 25. Dravidian *l* is written for *l* in lines 7-8 in the name Sarvaḷōkāśraya. The **language** is Sanskrit and except the two benedictory and imprecatory verses and one verse referring to the *Ājñapti* at the end, the record is composed in prose. As indicated above, there are several errors in the composition of the record which have been corrected while giving the text below.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the **Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya I** who is introduced as the son of **Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana** (III) and the grandson of **Vijaya-siddhi Maṅgiyuvarāja**. All the three kings are bestowed only with conventional praise and no historical facts are mentioned with regard to any of them. Thus Vijayāditya is compared (lines 9-10) with Kauntēya, i.e. Bhīma who destroyed Duṣśāsana and also with Kārtikēya in valour. He is endowed with the epithets *paramabrahmaṇya*, *paramamāhēśvara*, *mahūrājādhirāja* and *paramēśvara*.

Vijayāditya I is known to have ruled for 18 or 19 years. There is a difference of opinion amongst the scholars regarding the date of his accession. Fleet assigned him to the period 746-64 A.D.¹ while others refer him to 753-70 A.D.,² 755-72 A.D.,³ and 751-69 A.D.⁴ A satisfactory solution can be found only by the future discoveries. His reign witnessed the overthrow of the imperial house of the Bādāmi Chālukyas by the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the gift, made by the king, of the village **Śaṅcharaṁbum**⁵ situated in **Viḷānāṇḍu-vishaya** to the *brāhmaṇa* Dēvaśarman, son of Kumāraśarman and grandson of his namesake Dēvaśarman who belonged to *Āpastambha-sūtra* and *Hārita-gōtra*, who was well versed in *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* and *Upanishad* and who was a resident of Kārāñchēḍu. The donee is described as the performer of the five sacrifices (*pañcha-mahū-yajña*).

The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of a **lunar eclipse** during the period of *udagryana*. No other details of the date are given in the record.

The boundaries of the donated village are given as follows : to the east, the boundary of the Kāvurī (village) ; to the south, that of the Goṭṭimuka (village) ; to the west, that of the Sannavrōli (village) ; and to the north, that of the Imṭuri (village).

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was Eṇayavarma and Īśānavarma, son of Arjuna, was probably the writer.

The following geographical names occur in the inscription, **Kārāñchēḍu**, **Viḷānāṇḍu-vishaya**, **Śaṅcharaṁbum**, **Kāvurī**, **Goṭṭimuka**, **Sannavrōli** and **Imṭuri**. Of these Kārāñchēḍu which is stated to be the place of residence of the donee may be the same as Kārāñchēḍu in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. Imṭuri may be identified with modern Inturu situated about 12 miles to the south of Tenali, the findspot of the inscription. About 2 or 3 miles to the south-east of Inturu is Kavuru which may represent the Kāvurī of the inscription while about 4 miles to the south of Inturu is Chsandavōlu which may be identified with Sannavrōli mentioned in the record. Both Kavuru and Chsandavōlu are included in the Repalle taluk of the Guntur District while Inturu is in the Tenali taluk of the same District. I am unable to suggest the identification of the other places.

TEXT*

First Plate

1 Siddham⁷ [*] Svasti śrīmatā[m] sakala-bhuvana-sastūyamāna⁸-Mānavya-sa-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 99. This is followed in the *Classical Age*, p. 254.

² N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgī*, pp. 77 ff.

³ *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IX, table between pp. 30-31 ; *The Early History of the Deccan*, edited by G. Yazdani, p. 474.

⁴ *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. V, table on p. 52.

⁵ This name has been read as Śekharambu in *A. R. Ep.*, 1916-17, No. A. 22.

⁶ From ink-impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read *saṁstūyamāna*.

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TWO GRANTS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA I—Plate I

A. Tenali Plates

i

	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	
2	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	2
4	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	4
6	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	6

ii, a

8	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	8
10	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	10
12	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	12
14	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	14

ii, b

16	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	16
18	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	18
20	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	20

iii

22	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	22
24	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	24
26	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	26
28	ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ ವೀರೇಂದ್ರರಾಜಾಧಿಪತಿ	28

- 2 gōtrāṇā[m*] |¹ Hāriti(tī)-putrāṇā[m*] |¹ Kauśiki(kī)-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyāṇā[m*]²
 3 mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālītānā[m*] |¹ Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasa(sā)da-samāsādita-
 4 vara-Vara(rā)ha-lāṇchhaṇē(n-ē)ksha[ṇa*]-kshaṇavaśīkṛit-ārātī-maṇḍalānā[m*] |¹
 5 aśvamēdhā(dha)-yājina[m*] |¹ **Chalukya(kyā)nā[m*]** |¹ kulam=alamk³ arishṇōḥ chatur-
 6 udadhi-jala-vilaṁghitā(ta)-yaśasō **Vijayasiddhi-**|¹**śrī-Maṁgiyuvarāja[sya*]** pautraḥ ni-
 7 ja-bhuja-niśī(śi)ta(t-ā)si-dhāra(rā)⁴-prasamita-para-chakra-vikramasya |¹ **Sarvvaḷō-**

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 **kāśrayasya** jishṇōḥ **śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya** pri(pri)ya-tanayaḥ
 9 sva-prabhavapalabdha⁵-prājya-rājyaḥ Kauntēya iva Du[h]śa(śā)sana-kshaya-ka-
 10 raḥ Kārttikēya iva(v=ā)pratihatā⁶-svāmi-sha(śa)bdah śakti-tra[y-ā*]lamk⁶ṛitaḥ parama-
 11 brahmaṇya[h*] parama-ma(mā)hēśvarō |¹ matā-pitru⁷-pa(pā)d-ānudhyātaḥ samasta-
 12 bhuvanā⁸śam(śra)yaḥ śrī-**Vijaya(yā)dityō maharajadhirajaḥ** paramē⁹
 13 śvaraḥ¹⁰ viditam=astu vō yatthā(th=ā)sma(smā,bhiḥ Kārāṇchēdu-va(vā)stavyāya Ā-
 14 pastambha-sūtrāya |¹ Vēda-Vēdāṁg¹¹-Ētiḥāsa-Purāṇ-Ōpanishad-arta(rtha)-tatva(ttva)-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 jñāya |¹ Hāriti(ta)-gōtrāya |¹ Dēvaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrāya pitus=samāna¹²-gu-
 16 ṇasya |¹ śrī-Kumāraśarmmaṇaḥ¹³ putrāya |¹ satānushṭhiyamāna-¹⁴ paṇha(ñcha)ma-
 17 hāyājña-¹⁵kriyāya |¹ sad-ātithya(thy-ā)rādhana[ta*]tparāya |¹ bhaṭṭarakaya¹⁶
 18 **Dēvaśarmmaṇē**|¹ Viḷānāṇḍu-vishayē |¹ saviti(tu)r=**udagayanē** |¹ **Chandra-**
 19 **grahana-nimittē** |¹ asmada(d-ā)yura(r-ā)rōgya(gy-ā)bhiṣiddhayē |¹ sarvva-bādha(dhā)-
 20 pari-hārēṇa |¹ **Śaṅch¹⁷arambum-nāma-grāman=dattam¹⁸[*]** tasya pūrvvataḥ Kāvurī-sim=ā-

¹ This punctuation mark, indicated by *visarga*-like dots, is unnecessary.

² Read *rājyāṇām*.

³ The *anusvāra* is indicated above the letter *ka*.

⁴ The letter *ra*, which was first omitted, has been engraved in smaller form between *dhā* and *pra*.

⁵ Read *prabhūv-ōpalabdha*.

⁶ This *anusvara* is indicated above the next letter *kṛi* which, however, is written with both *i* and *ṛi* *mātras*.

⁷ Read *mātā-pitri*.

⁸ The two letters *va* and *nā* have been engraved a little lower in the line on account of the ring hole.

⁹ Read *mahārājādhirāja-paramē*.

¹⁰ An expression like *Viḷānāṇḍu-vishaya-nirāsinō rāshtrakūta-pramukhān kutumbinah* *or* *vān=ittham=ājñā-payati* is required here.

¹¹ The *anusvāra* is indicated over the next letter *gē*.

¹² The two letters *ssa* and *mā* have been engraved on erasures.

¹³ The name may also be read as *Śrīkumāra*.

¹⁴ Read *sad-ānushṭhiyamāna*.

¹⁵ The engraver proceeded to incise the letter *j* of *jñā* immediately after *ya* but finding that there was no space for the subscript *ñā* on account of the ring-hole, engraved the letter *jñā* a little further. This accounts for the trace of a *j* after *y*.

¹⁶ Read *bhaṭṭarakāya*.

¹⁷ See p. 298, note 5 above.

¹⁸ Read *grāmō dattaḥ*.

21 vaddhiḥ(dhiḥ) dakṣhiṇataḥ Goṭṭimuka-sīm=āvaddhiḥ(dhiḥ) paśchimataḥ Sannavṛōli-sī-

Third Plate

22 ma(m=ā)vaddhiḥ(dhiḥ) uttarataḥ I[m]ṭuri-sīma(m=ā)vaddhiḥ(dhiḥ)[|*] asy=ōpari na
kaiśchid=bandhā¹ kara[ṇī]-

23 yā [yaḥ ka*]rōti sa pañchabhir=mmahapatasaṁtyō² bhavati | atra Vyāsa-gītau śōlō(ślō)-

24 kau | Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā |³ bahubhiś=ch=ānupā[li*]tā | yasya yasya yadā-

25 bhūmiḥ(mi)s=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) | [| *] Sva-dattām⁴para-dattānvā⁵yō ha-

26 rēta vasundhā(ndha)rā(rām |) gavāṁ sa(śa)ta-sahasrasya haṁ(ha)ntu[h*] pibati kilviśa⁶ | [| *]
Ājñapti-

27 r=asya dharmmasya nirmmalō dharmma-saṁgraha[h*] | Ērayavarmma iti vikhy[ā]-

28 taḥ |⁷ unnata-chittō vichakṣaṇaḥ [|*]⁷ itiyasi⁸ Arjunasya putra⁹ Isānavarmmaṇā [|*]

Inscription B—Zulakallu Plates

A set of photographs containing this inscription was received in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India during 1954-55 from Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, the then Assistant Superintendent in the Department of Archaeology at Visakhapatnam.¹⁰ Subsequently the original plates were also received in the same office in 1956 and the inscription is edited below from a set of ink-impressions taken from the original plates and preserved in this office.

The plates are reported to have been discovered by a villager while digging for potty earth at a place near Zulakallu in the Palnad taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. They were handed over to Dr. Subrahmanyam through Shri S. P. Nainar, Curator, Archaeological Museum, Nagarjunikonda. They were found kept in a pot full of husk. The emblem on the seal was destroyed by the local goldsmith who mistook it for gold. The **set** consists of **three** rectangular **plates** with raised borders. Each plate measures about 8" in length and 2·8" in breadth. There is a hole measuring ·5" in diameter, towards the left margin of each plate through which passes a ring, about 3" in diameter and ·4" in thickness. A **seal**, 1·8" in diameter, is fixed to the ring. Since the emblem on the seal is lost, it looks like an empty bowl. The three plates together weigh 32 *tolas* while the ring with the seal weighs 17 *tolas*.

The first and the last plates are engraved on one side only while the second plate is engraved on both sides. The first plate and the two sides of the second plate have 7 lines of writing on each side whereas there are only 5 lines on the third plate. Thus there are altogether 26 lines and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The **palaeography**, **language** and **orthography** of the record are similar to inscription A edited above. The engraving here has been good and the language is comparatively free

¹ Read =bādhā.

² Read mahā-pātakaś=saṁyuktō.

³ This punctuation mark, expressed by *visarga*-like dots, is unnecessary.

⁴ The *anusvāra* is indicated over the next letter *pa*.

⁵ Read dattām vā.

⁶ Read kilbisham.

⁷ The second half of the verse is metrically defective. Probably we have to read *Ērayavarmā vikhyāt-ōnnata-chittō*.

⁸ This word may be a mistake for *likhitam*.

⁹ Read *putrēṇa*.

¹⁰ The inscription is registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, App. A. No. 1.

from such errors as noticed in the other inscription. But for the grant portion giving the donee's family, the donated village, the name of the executor and the writer, the text of inscription B, upto line 11 giving the family name and the genealogy of Vijayāditya I is practically the same as that of Inscription A.

As indicated above, this inscription also belongs to the reign of **Vijayāditya I** but no historical information is mentioned with regard to him except giving the names of his father and grandfather as in inscription A. The king addresses his subordinate officials residing at **Pallināpḍuvishaya** which evidently corresponded with modern Palnād area in the Guntur District.

The donee was one **Gōlaśarman**, son of Yajñaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman who belonged to the *Āpastambasūtra* and *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* and who was a resident of Parandhūru. He is described as proficient in *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* and in the 64 *kalās*. The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse but no other details about the date are mentioned in the record.

The gift consisted of the village **Alluvālu** whose boundaries are described as follows : to the east the boundary of **Chuvikaṇṭhipōkarusu** (village or hamlet or a locality) ; to the south, **Juvikalu** (village) ; to the west **Chintapali** (village) ; and to the north, **Muparu** (village). Of these Juvikalu is apparently the modern Zulakallu in the Palnad taluk where the plates were found. Chintapali is represented by the village of the same name (spelt as Chintapalle in the maps) situated at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-west of Zulakallu. I am not sure about the identification of the other places mentioned in the record, including Parandhūru, the residence of the donee's family.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was **Bōlama**¹ while the writer was **Māramāchārya**.

TEXT*

First Plate

- 1 Svasti śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām Hāriti-putrāṇām
- 2 Kauśiki(kī)-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājya(jyā)nām mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālītānā[m]² sva(svā)ma-
Mahāsēna-pād-ā-
- 3 nudhyātānām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa prasāda-samāsādita-vara-Varāha-lā[m*]chhan-ēkshaṇa-
kshaṇa-
- 4 vaśīkṛit-ā³rāti-maṇḍalānām(nām) aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitṛi(tri)kṛita-vapushām(shā)-
- 5 n=Chalukyānām kulam=alamkarishṇōḥ vividha-yuddha-labdha-vijaya-siddhēr=bnuvana-
- 6 manō-rāma-Ma[m]giyuvarājasya pautraḥ naya-vinaya-vikram-ōpārjita-chāru-bhūri-
kīrttē[h*] Sarva-
- 7 lōkāśrā(śra)ya-śrī-Vishṇuvarddhana-maha(hā)rājasya priya-tā(ta)nayaḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-
prabhāv-ōvā(pā)-

Second Plate, First Side

- 8 rjit-āsēsha-bhūpāla-makuṭa-kōṭi-māṇikka(kya)-śāṇa-kashaṇa-masṛiṇa-nakha-maṇi-kiraṇa-
- 9 kēsar-ōdbhāsita-pāda-padma-yugaḷa[h*] prabhu-mantr-ōtsāha-śakti-samparnna⁴ parama-

In the Telugu Academy plates of this king referred to above, the name of the *ājñapti* of the first set has been read as *Bhaurama*. But the published facsimile shows clearly that it was **Bōlama** and not *Bhaurama*. He is evidently identical with **Bōlama** of the inscription under study.

* From the impressions and photographs.

² The *anusvāra* sign is a little to the left of the letter *na*.

³ The ring-hole separates the letters *kṛi* and *tā*.

⁴ Read—*sampanna*.

- 10 pra(bra)hmanya[h*] parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta[h*] samasta-bhuvanāśraya-
 11 **sri-Vijayā¹ditya**-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka[h] **Pallināṇḍu-vi**
 12 shaya-nivāsinō rāshṭraku(kū)ṭa-pramukhān=kuṭu[m*]bina[h*] sarvvān=ittham=ājñā(jñā)
 payati vidita-
 13 m=astu vō=smābbih Paṇandhūru-va(vā)stavyāya Bhāradvāja-sagōtrāya [Ā]pastambha-sū-
 14 trāya Trai(Tai)ti(tti)riya-sabrahmachārīṇē Vēda-Vēdām²gavidē Rudraśarmaṇaḥ pautrāya
 sva-karm-ā-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 nushṭhāna-nipunā(nā)ya Yajñāśarmmaṇa[h*] putrāya Vēda-Vēdā[n*]g-Ētiḥāsa-Purāṇa-
 16 pāragāya chatu[h*]-shashṭhi(shṭi)-kal-ābhijñāya sākshāt Brahma[ṇa*] iva **Gōlaśarmmaṇē**
 sarvva-kara(raiḥ)
 17 parihāri(rī)krity=āyur-ārōgy=aiśvā(śva)ryya(ryy-ā)bhivri(vṛi)ddhayē **Alluvālu-nāma-grāmō**
 dattaḥ [l*]
 18 a[sy=ā]va³dhi pu(pū)rvvata[h] **Chuvikaṇṭhipōkarusu-sīma** dakshina(ṇa)taḥ **Juvikalu**
 paśchi-
 19 mataḥ **Chintapali** uta(tta)rataḥ **Muparu [l*]** sūryya-grahana(ṇa)-nimitē(ttam) udaka-
 pūrvam⁴kṛitva(tvā) sarva⁵-ka-
 20 ra-pariha(bā)rē⁶na(ṇa) dattam=asy=ōpari na kēnachitba(d=bā)dhā kāraṇayā⁷ karōti ya[h*]
 a pa-
 21 űcha-mahāpātaka-samyuktō bhavati Vyāsēn=āpy=uktam(ktāḥ) ślōka(kāḥ) [|] Baḥubhi-

Third Plate

- 22 r=vasudhā dattā bahubhīś=ch=ānupālītā [l*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tā(ta)sya tā-
 (ta)-
 23 dā phalam [ll*] Sva-dā(da)ttām=para-dattām vā⁸ yō harēta⁹ vasundbarām(rām |) shashṭhir=
 vvarsha-srahasraṇi¹⁰ viśṭhā-
 24 yām [jā]yatē kṛimih [ll*] Brahmasvan=tu visha[m*] ghōra[m*] na visha[m] viśham=uchayatē
 [l*] visha-
 25 m=ēkākīṇām(nam) hanti brahmasvam putra-pavitrikam¹¹[ll*] Yajñatpirasya¹² dharmasya
 virmalō dharmā-saṁgra-
 26 ha[h] * Bōlama-nāma(mā) lōkē=smi[n*] puṇya-chitō(ttō) narōkta(tta)maḥ [ll*] Māram-
 āch-aryyēṇa likhitam [l*]

¹ The ring-hole separates the letters ja and yā.

² The anusvāra is indicated above the next letter ga.

³ The ring-hole separates the letters syā and va. Read=āvadhayaḥ.

⁴ These two letters have been engraved on an erasure.

⁵ This letter has been engraved on an erasure.

⁶ This letter has been engraved on an erasure.

⁷ Read karaṇīyā.

⁸ The letter vā is engraved below the line in a diminutive manner between the letters ttām and yō.

⁹ The letter ta was originally left out by the scribe but later introduced in small letters between the letter rē and va.

¹⁰ Read shashṭim varsha-sahasraṇi.

¹¹ Read pautrakam.

¹² Read Ājñaptir=asya.

TWO GRANTS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA I Plate I
B. Zulakallu Plates

i

2
4
6

2
4
6

ii, a

8
10
12
14

8
10
12
14

ii, b

16
18
20

16
18
20

iii

22
24
26

22
24
26

Scale : Five-sevenths

No. 37—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANDAR HILL

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 14.8.1963)

The **Mandār** or Mandāra-giri, described in the Purāṇas as situated on the Vindhya to the south of the Gaṅgā,¹ is an isolated hill about 700 feet in height and lying nearly seven miles to the south of Bāṅkā, headquarters of a Sub-Division of that name in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar. It is about thirty miles to the south of Bhagalpur and about three miles from the terminus of the Bhagalpur-Mandar Hill Branch of the Eastern Railway.

(There are two temples of the Jains on the top of the Mandār hill and a ruined temple of Viṣṇu on a lower bluff on the western side of the peak. To the west of the Viṣṇu temple, there is an excavated cave containing the image of Narasiṃha carved on the rock and a cavity which contains a spring-water pool, known as the Ākāśa-gaṅgā, as also huge images of Vāmana, Madhu and Kaiṭabha. Besides the remains of many structures on the hill, there are extensive ruins of temples, etc., on the eastern slope and at the foot of the hill.) The antiquities are traditionally ascribed to the Chōla Rājās, especially to Rājā Chhatra Sen or Chhatar Singh.² At the foot of the hill, there is the Pāpahāriṇī tank which is known from two inscriptions to have been excavated in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. by the queen of the Later Gupta king Ādityasēna of Magadha.³

Sometime ago, Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector of Bhagalpur, sent me photographs of a few inscriptions and sculptures from the Mandār hill. Two of the epigraphic records in early characters are engraved in the Narasiṃha cave referred to above, the roof of which is so low that one cannot stand erect in it. The first of the two records contains eight lines of writing. Photographs and impressions of this inscription were later also received by me from the Government Epigraphist for India. The second epigraph contains only four *akṣaras*.

(The two Narasiṃha cave inscriptions mentioned above are published here together with a later record from a *maṭha* at the foot of the Mandār hill. This third epigraph is referred to by many authors including Buchanan-Hamilton, whose Journal was written in 1810-11, and Martin whose work appeared in 1838. It records the construction of the *maṭha* for the god Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) in Śaka 1521 (1599 A.D.) by Chhatrapati who was the seventh ancestor of the Zamindār of Mandār, whom Buchanan-Hamilton and Martin appear to have contacted in the first half of the last century. The god Madhusūdana-Viṣṇu is said to have been originally worshipped in a temple on the top of the hill; but "Chhatrapati Rāy, Zamindar of Mandār removed the image to a small brick temple (*dālān*), now in ruins, and placed [it] at the foot of the hill. Near this, he built a *Math* to which the image is carried on the festival [days] and which, according to an inscription, he erected in the year of the Śaka 1521 (1589 A.D.)."⁴)

¹ See *Varāha Purāna*, Chapter 143.

² For the antiquities, etc., on the Mandār hill, see *Journal of Francis Buchanan kept during the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur* in 1810-11, ed. C.A.E.W. Oldham, 1930, p. 20; Montgomery Martin, *Eastern India*, Vol. II, 1838, pp. 61-62; W. Francklin, *Inquiry Concerning the Site of Ancient Palibothra*, Part II, pp. 14-16; W. S. Sherwill in *JASB*, Vol. XX, 1851, p. 272; T. Bloch in *Rep. Arch. Surv., Bengal Circle*, 1902-03, pp. 8-9; N. L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.

³ *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁴ Martin, loc. cit.; cf. Oldham, loc. cit. Śaka 1521 really corresponds to 1599 A.D. and not to 1589 A.D.

No. 1

The first of the two inscriptions in the Narasimha cave is written in eight lines covering an area about 26 inches in breadth and 22 inches in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, a number of letters being considerably rubbed off and a few of them totally undecipherable.

The characters resemble those in the East Indian records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. including the other epigraph in the same cave, which is edited below. The letters *m*, *l*, *sh*, *s* and *h* are of the Eastern variety. A point of difference in the palaeography of the two epigraphs in the Narasimha cave is exhibited by the forms of *g* and *ś*. While the top of these two letters is usually flat, i.e. written with a horizontal stroke, in the first epigraph, it is rounded or pointed in the second inscription. This feature may tempt one to suggest that the first record is somewhat later than the second. But the difference is not of great importance since both these types of *g* and *ś* are sometimes noticed in the records of the fifth century A.D.¹ The inscription uses the symbols for 30, 10 and 2 in line 1 and the sign for the *upadhmāniga* in line 3. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The date of the inscription is quoted in line 1 as the 12th day of Bhādrapada in the year 30. The year may be referred to the regnal reckoning of a king whose dominions comprised the Bhagalpur region in the age in question, but whose name has not been mentioned in the record. But, in the fourth century A.D., the Imperial Guptas established themselves in Bihar and the foundation of the Gupta empire is generally believed to have synchronised with the epoch of the Gupta era of 319 A.D. The date of our inscription would thus appear to be referable to the Gupta era and to correspond to 349 A.D. It may be mentioned in this connection that the name of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, who appears to have been ruling in the year 349 A.D., was expected to be mentioned in the date portion of our record. But there are a few inscriptions of the first century of the Gupta era, discovered in Bihar, which do not mention the ruling king's name in connection with the date, and the present record may be regarded as one of the same class.²

The inscription begins with the well-known *maṅgala*—*Jitam Bhagavatā*, "Victory has been achieved by the Bhagavat (i.e. Vishṇu)." The Vaishṇavite adoration fits in well with the fact that the chief deity worshipped on the hill was Madhusūdana (Vishṇu) after whom the hill was itself often called Madhusūdana.³ As we shall see below, the deity, figuring in the inscription and found in the cave wherein the epigraph is incised, also represents an aspect of the god Vishṇu. The said *maṅgala* is followed by the date of the record already discussed above.

The record then introduces *Bhagavat* Virajōguhāsvāmin described as *vyakt-āvyakta-mūrti*. There is little doubt that Lord Virajōguhāsvāmin (literally, the lord of the Virajōguhā) is the same as the god Narasimha worshipped in the cave wherein the inscription is incised. It is also clear that the excavated cave was given the name Virajōguhā. The word *virajas* in the name of the cave may indicate the deity in question or a person after whom the cave was named. The complete name of the deity ending in the word *svāmin* shows that he was Vishṇu and not Śiva, the names of whose representation (usually in the form of the phallus) ended in the

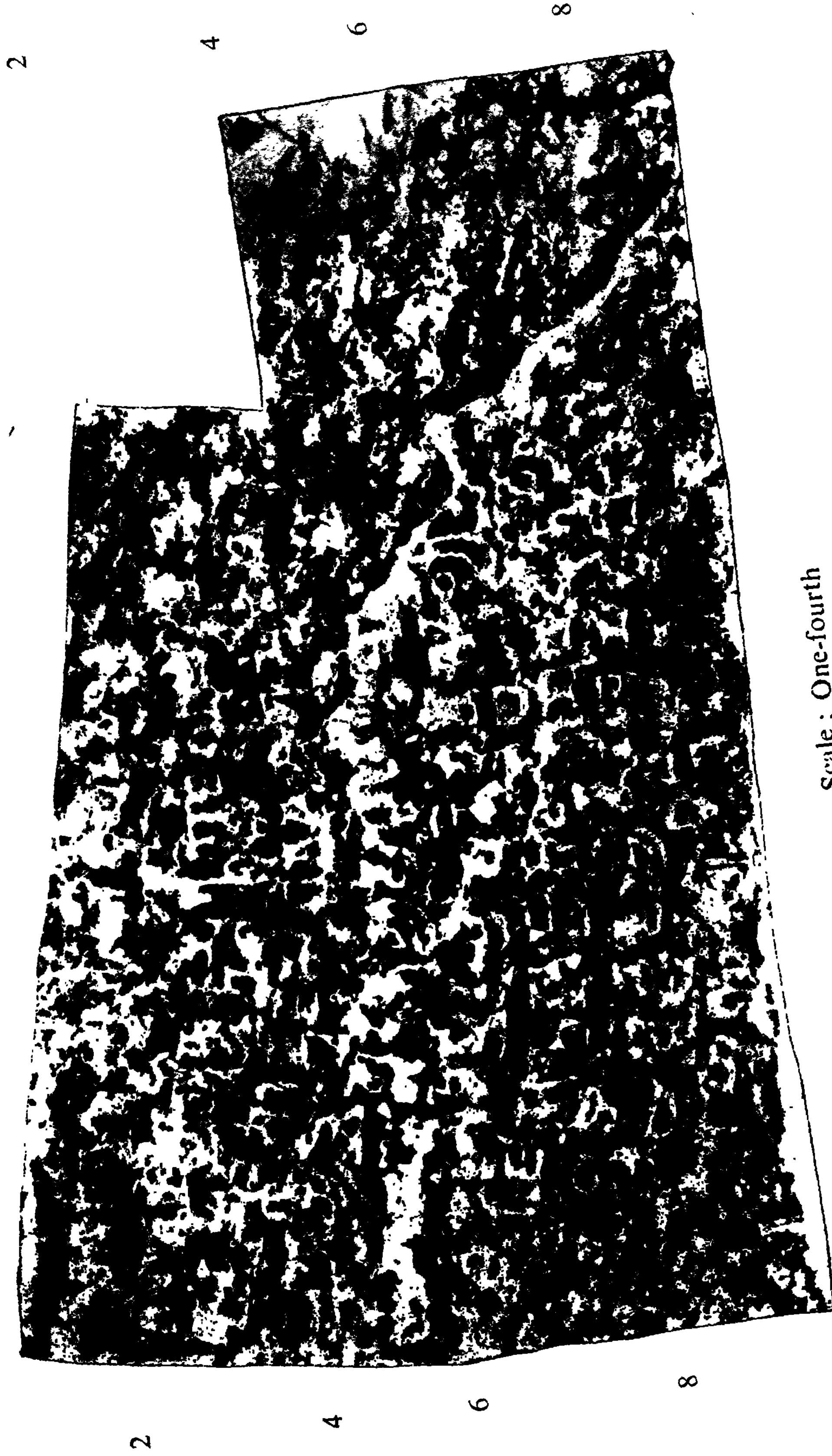
¹ Cf. the Bilsad inscription (414 A.D.) of Kumāragupta I and the Kahaum inscription (459 A.D.) of Skandagupta in Bühler's Table IV.

² See the Muṇḍeśvarī inscription of year 30 and the Bōdhgayā inscription of year 64 (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1257-58). It will be seen that the Muṇḍeśvarī inscription and the record under study are dated in the same year.

³ Rennell calls it Mandar or Mussodin (i.e. Madhusūdana.)

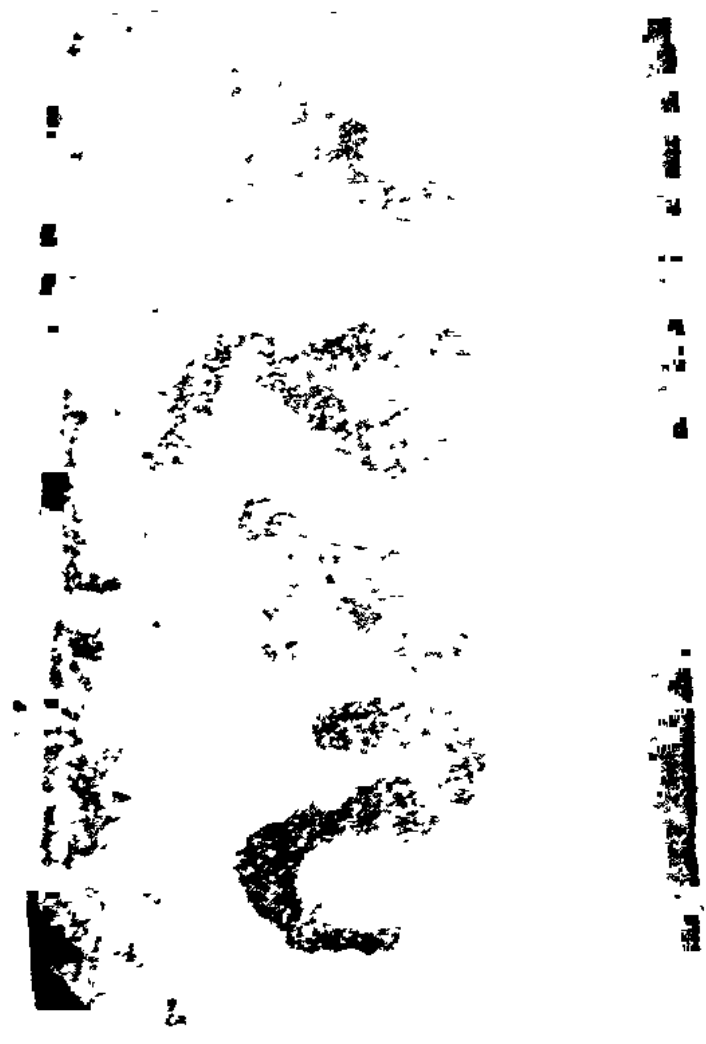
INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANDAR HILL

No. 1



Scale : One-fourth

No. 2



2

4

No. 3



2

4

(from Photographs)

word *īśvara*.¹ The expression *vyakt-avyakta-mūrti*, 'one whose form is perceptible by the senses and at the same time transcendental', has been used as an epithet of the said god.)

Reference is next made in the inscription to *Ārya* Vishṇudatta, who was a *pādamūla* or servant² of the said Virajōguhāsvāmin and a son of Vishṇuśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Then a damaged passage in lines 4-5 seems to refer to a *dēvakula* (shrine) and *sattrā* (free feeding establishment) of the Lord (i.e. Virajōguhāsvāmin) as belonging to Vishṇudatta, meaning thereby that they were his pious works.³ It is clear that this *dēvakula* is the Narasimha cave in which the inscription was engraved. The next passage reads *prāpaṇ=ōpanibaddhā* in which *prāpaṇā* is apparently the same as Bengali-Hindi *pāṇā*, 'earnings' or 'receipts', derived from Sanskrit *prāpaṇa*, and *upa-nibaddha* probably means 'attached', so that the sentence would mean that whatever was presented by the people to the said religious establishments would go to Vishṇudatta who made them. Since, however, such receipts would have normally gone to Vishṇudatta, it seems that there were other claimants for partnership, though Vishṇudatta was not inclined to accept their claim as legitimate. His epithet *Ārya* reminds us of *Mahākulapati Ārya* Agniśarman of the Bhadrak inscription.⁴

The last sentence of the inscription in lines 5-8 contains the imprecatory statement to the effect that anybody, whether he would be the king, the queen or a *purusha* (i.e. *rājapurusha* or royal official), causing *chhēda* (interruption, cessation) in the matter of the *vara* (charity, alms) of the said Brāhmaṇa devotee of the Lord [Virajōguhāsvāmin], i.e. the pilgrims' presents received by Vishṇudatta, would incur the five great sins and go to hell. It is well known that, according to Manu, the five great sins were killing a Brāhmaṇa, drinking liquor, theft, sexual relations with the wives of elders and contact with one who has committed any of the above four sins.⁵

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it suggests the date of the excavation of the Narasimha cave on the Mandār hill. Considering the palaeography of the epigraph and the date contained in it, the excavation of the cave may be assigned to the fourth century A.D.

TEXT*

- 1 7Jitam Bhagavatā [||*] Samvvat 30 Bhādrapada-di [10 2] [||*]
- 2 Bhagavatō vyakt-avyakta-mūrti-Viraj[ō]guhā[svāmīna]-
- 3 [h]=pādamūla-Bhāradvāja-sagōt[r]a-Vishṇuśarmanma-
- 4 putr-āryya-Vishṇ[udatta]sy=ēda[m*] Bhagava[tō] [dēva]-
- 5 [kulam sattrā]ñ=cha [||*] prāpa[ṇ=ō]paniva(ba)[d]dhā [||*] tad=asya
- 6 rājñī rājā puruṣaḥ Brāhmaṇa-bhagavad-bhaktasya
- 7 va[r]jē kaś=chid=ya[ś]=chhēdam kuryyāt=sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-
- 8 saktō n[n]i(ni)raya-gāmī syād=iti [||*]

No. 2

As indicated above, the smaller of the two inscriptions in the Narasimha cave on the Mandār hill contains only four *aksharas*, the preservation of which is very satisfactory. The characters

¹ References in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* make this quite clear. Cf., e.g. III, 452-54 : *Divyāḥ prasūnāḥ śmīṇīṇā Hara-Nārāyaṇau janāḥ | prātar=nrīpa-grihē drishṭvā param vismayam=āyayaṇ | Sojjē pratishṭhā-lagnē=tha Māhēśvaratayā nrīpaḥ | Raṇēśvara-pratishṭhāyām pūrvam yāvat=simudyataḥ || Raṇārambhānubhāvēna tāvad=ēv=ādbhut-ārahāḥ | svayam pīthē Rāṇēśvāmī bhittvā yantram=upāviśat ||* "In the morning, the people, seeing [the images of] Hara and Nārāyaṇa covered with divine blossoms at the king's palace, became greatly astonished. When the auspicious time (*lagnā*) for the consecration was at hand and when the king, being a *Māhēśvara* (*Śaiva*), was just preparing to consecrate first [the *liṅga* of] Raṇēśvara, [the image of] Raṇasvāmin, through the power of Raṇārambhā, seated itself miraculously on the base (*pīthā*), after having broken the sacred diagram (*yantra*). There are numerous other instances of the use of the words *svāmin* and *īśvara* as suffixes to the names of the representations of the two gods respectively.

² Cf. above, Vol. XII, p. 290, note 1.

³ Cf. *Avagunasya idam=āś'amam* (above, Vol. XXX, p. 67, text lines 3-4).

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 172.

⁵ XI. 55.

⁶ From impressions and photographs. This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B. 259.

⁷ It is difficult to say whether there was a *siddha* symbol before this.

closely resemble those of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription assignable to the middle of the fourth century A.D.¹ The letter that specially connects the palaeography of the two epigraphs in the Narasimha cave on the Mandār hill is *l* which is of the Eastern variety with its left limb turned sharply downwards. The other letters indicating the distinction between the Eastern and Western varieties of the Late Brāhmī of Northern India (i.e. the so-called Gupta alphabet), viz. *m*, *sh*, *s* and *h*, do not occur in the small inscription. In any case, the record can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the fourth century A.D. to which we have also assigned the other epigraph at the same place.

The four letters of the inscription read : *gu la sē la*. It is difficult to suggest any meaning of the writing, though it may have intended to give the name of the artisan responsible for the excavation of the Narasimha cave. *Gulaśēla*, however, does not appear to be quite satisfactory as a personal name. It is difficult to say whether the intended reading is *Gulaśīla* which is of course a very good personal name or, can we read *Gulaśīha* (for *Guhasiṃha*) ?

No. 3

This inscription is written in five lines in the Maithili-Bengali characters of the late medieval period. The *akshara r* is of the modern Assamese type. The record begins with a symbol for *siddham* and consists of a single stanza in the *Śārdūlarikṛīḍita* metre with the date in figures at the end. The four feet of the verse are engraved in lines 1-4 each foot occupying one line. The *akshara śrī* has a symbolical form as in many other East Indian records of the late medieval age.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, though the style of the composition is poor. There are also some errors of language. The **date**, viz. **Śaka 1521**, is given in words in the first foot of the stanza in line 1 in accordance with the *vāmagati* principle and in figures in line 5. The year corresponds to **1599-1600 A.D.**

The verse in question states that, in the Śaka year counted by *chandra* (i.e. 1), *paksha* (i.e. 2), *Manōjabāṇa* (i.e. 5) and *dharaṇī* (i.e. 1), Chhatrapati, son of Vāsudēva, made the *viṣay-āgāra* of Madhusūdana through the Brāhmaṇa priest named Duḥśāsana. The *viṣay-āgāra* of Madhusūdana built by Chhatrapati, as indicated above, is the *maṭha* at the foot of the Mandār hill.

It is not known whether this Chhatrapati claimed any relationship with the traditional Chhatrasēna or Chhatrasimha of the family of the Chōla Rājās and whether this Chōla family migrated to Bihar directly from Tamil Nad or was an offshoot of the Telugu-Chōḍa dynasty of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.² Considering, however, the South Indian association of the locality, it is not improbable that the word *viṣaya* in the expression *viṣay-āgāra* (literally, 'the victorious home') means 'stay' (Sanskrit *avasāna*) and not 'victory' as in Sanskrit.³

TEXT⁴

- 1 Siddham⁵ [||*] **Chandraḥ-paksha-Manōjavā(bā)ṇa-dharaṇīty=aṅk-āṅkitē vatsarē**
- 2 **Śākē** puṇya-mahītalē dvijavarē(rair)=Duḥśāsanaī[h*] pūjakai⁶[h*] |
- 3 chakrē śrī-Madhusūdanasya viṣay-āgāraṁ varaṁ nirmmalam
- 4 śrīmach-Chhatrapatiḥ sadā-śubha-matiḥ śrī-Vāsudēv-ātmaja[h ||*]
- 5 **Śākē 1521** [..*]

¹ Cf. Ojha, *Prāchīna Bhāratīya Lipimālā*, Plate XVI.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 286 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 304. Since the image of the god was carried to the *maṭha* on festival days, *viṣaya* here may also mean 'going in a procession' as in the Kannada records (ibid., Vol. V, p. 223, note 6 ; Vol. VI, p. 51, note 5).

⁴ From photographs and impressions. Noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 260.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

⁶ The upper limb of the sign for medial *ai* is wrongly put on *j* instead of *k*. The plural number is used in respect of the priest to indicate *gaurava*.

No. 38—A GRANT OF VAKULAMAHADEVI

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.1.1964)

The set of impressions of the copper-plate grant edited here was found amidst the collection of old impressions of inscriptions in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.¹ It is not known whence these impressions were secured. The whereabouts of the plate are also not known. The record is edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Obviously, the impressions are of the inscription written on both sides of a single copper plate which belongs to the group of copper-plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara family of Orissa such as the Gañjām² and Bānpur³ plates and the Sāntīrāgrāma grant.⁴ From the impressions of the plate, it is easy to know that it measures 32 cm × 25.5 cm. Unfortunately, the impression of the seal of the plate has not been preserved and it is, therefore, not possible to know what designs it contained and what legend it bore, although on the analogy of the legends occurring on the seals of the other charters of this group, it is possible to conjecture that the legend of the present record should have read *Śrīmad-Vakulamahādēvyāḥ*. The inscription consists of fortyseven lines of writing, the first side containing twentyfour lines and the second side twentythree lines. The *aksharas* are written boldly although their size is not uniform. The latter is due to the fact that the writer was not careful in engraving the inscription. The writing is in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the eastern variety of Northern alphabet and are similar to those of the Bānpur plates issued by queen Daṇḍimahādēvī who was the predecessor on the Bhauma-Kara throne of the queen who issued the charter under study. It has already been made clear⁵ that the Bhauma-Kara dynasty was ruling in Orissa in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. and the palaeography of the present record which may be assigned to about the 10th century supports this. Among the points relating to **palaeography**, the following are noteworthy. Of the initial vowels, *a* (lines 9, 11), *i* (lines 9, 15) and *u* (lines 2, 22, 28, 39) occur. The medial *u* and *ū* are not uniformly written. But the sign for medial *ū* is generally like a curved stroke which is attached to the bottom right side of the vertical line of the letters. This is clearly noticed in *mū* of line 4, in *bhū* of lines 10, 20, etc. On this basis, the medial sign of the symbol for 200 may also be taken as representing *ū*. The *avagraha* is employed in lines 34 and 38. The **orthography** of the record is similar to that of the other records of the family, including the use of *va* for *ba* throughout.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The **date** is given in line 39 as **Vaiśākha vadi 5 of the year 200 0 4 (i.e. 204)** of an unspecified era. Here the symbol for 200 is a clear *lū* and is distinctly different from the symbol for 100 which is an unmistakable *lu* found both in the Bānpur inscription and in the Gañjām

¹ This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65. No. A 35.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff.

³ *JBORS*, Vol. V, pp. 564 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 79.

plate A. The same symbol *lu* is used for denoting the number 100 in the Hindol¹ and Dhārākōṭa² plates of Śubhākaradēva III and in the Talcher plate of Śivakara III.³ Therefore, the writers as well as the engravers of the above mentioned records had no confusion in regard to the forms of the symbols for 100 and 200 whatever may be the case regarding the use of the signs for medial *u* and *ū* in other letters.⁴ After the symbol for 200 there are the sign for cypher and the sign for 4. The use of the cypher is obviously intended to indicate the absence of any symbols denoting ten or its multiples, after the sign for 200, and also shows the coming into vogue of the practice of writing the numerals in the decimal system.⁵

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it is the only charter of the reign of queen **Vakulamahādēvī** known so far. The record commences with a symbol for *Siddham* followed by a verse describing the city of **Guhēśvarapāṭaka**, the name of which is given in the sentence that follows immediately. This and the following nine verses⁶ describing the Bhauma-Kara family,⁷ upto Daṇḍimahādēvī are also found in the records of that queen. Verse 11 introduces her step-mother **Vakulamahādēvī** who issued the charter under study, while verse 12 states that she was of the family of the Bhañjas. These two verses are also found in the Taltali plate⁸ of Dharmamahādēvī who succeeded Vakulamahādēvī on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Verses 13 to 16 describe the qualities of Vakulamahādēvī and they are found in the other records mentioned above applied to the respective ruling queens.

The charter records the grant of the village called **Chhōḍātavutsā** attached to the **Urēgō-ddā-khaṇḍa**, situated in the **Aśravaṇa[ka]tikā-vishaya** in the **Uttara-Tōsalā** country. It is stated that the gift village was located near (*upēta*) **Mairēmau-khaṇḍa**. The grant was made by *Paramamūhēśvarī* Vakulamahādēvī who bears imperial titles, in favour of **Mihadhīcha**⁹ who was the son of Bhaṭṭaputra Nilakaṇṭha. The donee is stated to have come from the **Śāvastha** country and to have been a resident of the village of **Kantēḍa**. He belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and to the *pravara* of Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnava, Aurva and Jāmadagnya and was a student of the Āśvalāyana *śākhā*.

The royal order is addressed first to the present and future officials namely *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahārājaputra*, *Antaraṅga*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Anparika*, *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyukta*, *Daṇḍapāśika*, *Sthānāntarika* and others like *Rājaprasādin*, *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa* and *Vallabhajātīya*¹⁰ of the Uttara-Tōsalā country. It is also addressed to another group of officials, possibly connected with *Aśravaṇakatikā-vishaya*, which includes *Kalahita*,¹¹ *Sāmanta*,¹⁰ *Sāmavāji*,¹² *Bṛihadbhōgin*, *Pustakapāla* and *Kūṭyakōlasa*.¹⁰ Except for minor variations, these sets of officials are the same as found in the other records of this family.

¹ JBORS, Vol. XVI, pp. 69 ff. and plate facing p. 69, line 25.

² B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 21-22, plate F, line 25.

³ Ibid., pp. 32 ff. and plate H (reverse), line 42. The symbol for the number 100 is blurred in the Teruṇḍiā plate of Śubhākara II. (See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21 ff. and plate.)

⁴ In the Sāntiragrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādēvī (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 89, line 37), however, the sign *lū* has been written in place of *lu* by mistake.

⁵ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 where Dr. Sircar has not only noted this fact but also referred to the unusual usage of cypher in two other records of this family.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, pp. 87-88.

⁷ See ibid., pp. 81-83, for details of the genealogy as contained in these verses and for an elaborate discussion on it.

⁸ IHQ, Vol. XXI, p. 218, text lines 15-16.

⁹ See, p. 312, note 5 below.

¹⁰ See, above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 85-86, for an explanation of these terms.

¹¹ This term is substituted by *Dalahita* (wrongly read as *Balahita*) in the Taltali plate (text line 30). Since the meaning of this term is uncertain, it is difficult to say which of these two is correct.

¹² This term is probably derived from *Sāmavāji* as Kielhorn has opined (above, Vol. IV, p. 208, note 16).

The gift village is said to have been granted, after making it free from all restrictions, with the *parikara* and the *uddēśa*, with the subjects such as the *tantuvāya* (weavers), the *gōkūṭa* (milkmen) and the *śaundika* (vintners) and with the *khēṭa-ghaṭṭa*, *naḍitarasthāna* and *gulmaka*. It is further stated that the grant was made *a-lēkhanī-prarēṣitayā bhūmicchidra-pidhānanyāyēna*.¹ Of these the former expression seems to suggest that the grant village would not become the subject of an entry in the revenue assessment register with the Government. The latter expression may mean 'the law relating to the reclamation of uncultivable land'. According to this law, a person who brought a piece of waste land under cultivation for the first time, was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.²

The grant is said to have been made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donatrix as well as of her parents, on the occasion of a *vishuvat* on the given date, namely the 5th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the year 204. The *praśasti* was composed by poet **Jambhala**, son of Jayātman (line 46). This poet figures also in some of the records of the queen Daṇḍimahādēvī, such as the Gañjām plate A of the year 180 and the Bānpur plate of the year 187. It shows that the poet continued to serve in the royal court even during the reign of Vakulamahādēvī. An *akṣapaṭalādhikṛita* named Rāṇaka śrī-**Indra** is mentioned in lines 46-47. It is not clear in what way he is connected with the charter. He was probably the *dūtaka* of the grant. The record is stated to have been engraved by **Kumaraka**.

Of the geographical names, **Uttara-Tōsalā** (i.e. Tōsalī) comprised the modern Balasore-Cuttack region (sometimes with a part of the Midnapore District of West Bengal). The exact location of the **Aśravaṇakatika-vishaya**, **Urēgōḍḍā-khaṇḍa**, **Mairēmau-khaṇḍa** and of the gift village **Chhōḍātavutsā** is not clear. The location of the country of **Śāvastha** whence the donee is stated to have hailed and of **Kantēḍa** village where he resided is also difficult to identify.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1-4, 15-16 *Śārdūlarikṛīḍita* ; verses 5, 7-9, 14 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Mālinī* ; verses 10-13, 17-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 21 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Side

- 1 Siddham⁴ [*] Śvasti vyasta-jal-ābha(bhra)-vibhrama-haraiḥ⁵ śvēt-ātpa(ta)patr-ōtkarair=
aśvīya-śruti-chāmarai[ś=cha] hṛi(ha)si[ta*]-vyākōsha(śa)-kāś-ōdayai[h | *]
- 2 uddāmair=mada-saurabhais=cha kariṇām=ākshipta-sapta-chchhad-āmōdais=sannihit[ām sa]d=
aiva śarad-ārambha-śriyam vi(bi)bhrataḥ || [1*] Śrī-Gu[hēsvara-pā-
- 3 **ṭa]ka**-nivāsi-vijaya-skandhāsā(vā)rāt || Sarvv-āsā-paripūraṇ-ādhika-ruchir=yas=tāpam=astan=
nayam nā(yann=ā)nanda[m*] kṛitavām(vāñ)=janasya manasi prāpta-
- 4 pratishṭham chiram(ram) | sad-drisṭi-pratirōdhi yēna cha tamō nirmūlam=unmūlitam | *
śrīmān=indū(ndu)r=iv=āvanīpatir=abhūd-**Unmattasimh**-āhvayaḥ [2*]

¹ See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 86, for an explanation of these expressions.

² In fact, this custom is in vogue even today in Tamilnāḍ, but now-a-days the period of such enjoyment is restricted.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The Gañjām and Bānpur plates of Daṇḍimahādēvī have *dharaṇ*.

⁶ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

- 5 Tad-vaṁśād=abhavann=anindita-guṇā muktāmayā[h*] sad-gatāḥ¹ sad-vṛittāḥ sukha-śītalāḥ kṣhiti-bhṛitāḥ śrīmad-Gayādādayaḥ | yē nītvā² hṛida-
- 6 y-ōgra³-tāpa-sa(śa)manē dēv-āṅganābhi[h*] śva(sva)yaṁ kaṇṭh-āślēsha⁴-sukha-sthiti-praṇa-yinō hār-ābhīrāmāḥ kṛitāḥ || [3*] Tad-vaṁśē(śē)=bhavad=ūrjjitāḥ kṛita-vu(bu)-
- 7 dhah prītiḥ prati(tī)t-ōdayō dēvaḥ śatru-vadhū-mukh-ēndu-taraṇiḥ śrī-**Lōṇabhārō** nṛipaḥ || [*] yasy=ākramya guru-pratāpa-śikhinaḥ pri-
- 8 thvībhṛitāḥ prōddhatām(tān) dūram sarvva-dig-antarēshu tarasā svairam praśa(sa)śruḥ-(sruḥ) karā[h*] || [4*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ praṇata-pārthiva-chakra-chūḍā-nirvyāja-rō-
- 9 pita-padaś=charit-ārtha-nāmā | vistāri-śau(sau)rabha-guṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-āśas=tasmād⁵=abhūt=**Kūsumabbhāra** iti kṣhitīśaḥ || [5*] A-
- 10 bhrinē(ta) **Lalitabhārah** kṣhmā-bharam bhūri-tējās=tad-anu tad-anujanmā vyūḍha-bhōg-indra-līlaḥ |
- 11 ā(a)nayad=amalī(li)mānu(nam) yaddya(d-ya)saḥ(śaḥ)-pūram=uchchair=api ripu-ramaṇīnām=amjan-ōn-mīśram=aśram(śru) || [6*]
- 12 Tasmin=nripē divam=upēyushi tat-tanūjaḥ sā(śā)st=āvanēr=ajani **Sā(Śā)ntikar**-ābhīdhānaḥ | yēn=ōddhṛitē-
- 13 shv=akhila-dumma(rmma)da-kaṇṭakēshu rēmē yathā-sukham=apāsta-bhiyā janēna || [7*] Tasya praśasya⁶-chari-
- 14 t-ārjjita-bhūri-kīrttir⁷=vviśvambharā-vibhur=abhūd=anujas=tatō=pi | śrēyōbhir=ēka-padam=ity=a-
- 15 khilaiḥ śritātmā yaḥ śrī-**Subhākara** iti prathitō yath-ārtham || [8*] Tasya tripi(vi)śṭapa-jusha-
- 16 ḥ paramēśvarasya dēvī samasta-janatā-nata-pāda-padmā | simhāsanaṁ śaśīkar-āmala-kī[rtti]-
- 17 **Gaurī** Gaur=īva gaurava-padam chiram=adhyarōhat || [9*] Tatō **Daṇḍimahādēvī** sutā tasyā mahīyāsi || [*]
- 18 mahīm=ahīna-sāmarthyā⁸ chira-kālam=apālayat | [10*] Tasyāḥ sapatna-jananī tatō rājyam=apālayat |
- 19 śrī-**Vakulamahādēvī** dharmmān=nītir=iv=ākshatā⁹ || [11*] Avichchhinn-āyati-prāṁśau¹⁰ vaṁśē(śē) **Bhañja**-mahī-bhṛitā[m] | chihna-

¹ The undated grant of Daṇḍimahādēvī from Gañjām (i.e. plate B) reads *sadśatāḥ*; Gañjām plate A and the Bānpur plate of the same queen read *sadgatāḥ*; and the Sāntiragrāma grant of queen Daṇḍimahādēvī reads *sasatāḥ*. Kielhorn wanted *sadgatāḥ* to be read as *saṅgatāḥ* (or *saṁgatāḥ*).

² Both the Gañjām plates read *yē nītvā*; while the Sāntiragrāma grant reads *yān=nītvā*. The Bānpur plate, like the present record, reads *yē nītvā*.

³ The Gañjām plate, like our record, reads *ōgra*, while the Bānpur plate and the Sāntiragrāma grant read **pratāpa*.

⁴ The Sāntiragrāma grant reads *kaṇṭh-āślēpa* which does not seem to be the intended reading.

⁵ Kielhorn says that the Gañjām plate B has *śrīmān* in place of *tasmāt* (above, Vol. VI, p. 137, note 23).

⁶ The Sāntiragrāma grant reads *praśasta*.

⁷ The Bānpur plate reads *kīrttir*.

⁸ The Gañjām plate A also reads *sāmarthya* only (see the beginning of line 21 of the plate), although Kielhorn has read it as *ahīnasī (yā) matyā*. He has given the same reading in the Gañjām plate B also.

⁹ This verse 11 is found in the Taltali plate of Dharmamahādēvī (*IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217 ff., text lines 17-18), and is absent naturally in the records of Daṇḍimahādēvī.

¹⁰ In the Gañjām plate A this word is taken to read as *prāśau* and is corrected into *prāptau* by Kielhorn. This and the following verses are not found in the Gañjām plate B.

i[illegible]

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Scale : One-half

- 20 bhūtā patāk=ēva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūshaṇa[m ||] [12*] Lāvaṇy-āmṛita-nishyanda-sundaram
[da]dhatī vapuḥ | y¹=ārājach=chandra-lē-
- 21 kh=ēva vila[sa*]t-kīrtti-chandrikā || [13*] Tasyā[h*] pratāpa-nata-durmmada-śatru-bhūpa-
nētā(tr-ā)mvu(mbu)-dhauta-nava-yāvaka-maṇḍan=āpi² [| *] pa(pā)d-āmbuja-
- 22 dyutir=atarkitam³=anvaraṇji mañjira-sakta⁴-kuruvinda-dal-ōru-bhāsā [| 14*] Udyānēshu
śilīmukh-āvalī(li)-ravē(vō) hārēshu
- 23 muktā-sthitir=dōshā-sa[ṅga]-ruchis=tushāra-kiraṇē vijñēshu sad-vēshatā | Rāhau tīksṇa-
kara-grahaḥ ku-ma-
- 24 nishu trās-ōdayaḥ [kēvalam] kāntā-kuntala-santatau ku[ti]latā yasyāḥ prabhutvē bhuvi ||
[15*] Ramy-ālō-

Second Side

- 25 k-ōtsukita-nayan-ānanda-pīyūsha-varttiḥ sēv-āsakta-kshitipati-sabhā-padminī-rājahansi
(haṁsī) [| *] kālēy-ō-
- 26 shma-glapita-sukṛit-ālambana-sva[rṇṇa*]-yashtir=yā niḥśēsha-praṇayi-sumanō-Nandan-ōdyāna-
lakshmīḥ [| 16*] Paramamā-
- 27 hēśvarī mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātā paramabhaṭṭārikā mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarī śrī-
Vakulamahā-
- 28 dēvī kuśalinī || [U]ttarasya(syām) Tōsalāyām varttamāna-bhavishyan-mahāsāmanta-
mahārājaputr⁵-āntaraṅga⁶-kumārām[ā]-
- 29 ty-auparikara⁷-vishayapati-tadāyukta[ka*]-daṇḍapāsika-sthānāntarikān=anyān=api rāja-
prasādinaś=chāṭa-bhaṭa⁸-vallabha-jātī-
- 30 yān=**Āsraṇa[ka]tikā-vishayē** kalahita-sāmanta-sāmaṇājī⁹-vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgi¹⁰-pustaka-
pāla¹⁰-kūṭyakōlas¹⁰-ādy-adhi-
- 31 karaṇam¹⁰ yath-ārham=mānayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayati [| *] Veditam=astu bha-
vatām | [Urēgōḍḍā-khaṇḍa[sya]
- 32 prativa(ba)ddba-**Chhōḍāta[vutsā]-grāmaḥ** | ¹¹ **Mai[r]ēmau¹²-khaṇḍak-ō[pē*]taḥ**
saparikaraḥ s-ōddēśaḥ sa-tantu-
- 33 vāyaḥ gōkūṭa-śaundik-ādi-prakṛitikaḥ sa-khēṭa-ghaṭṭa-sahita-tra-sthān-ādi¹³-gulmaka[h*]
sarvva-pīdā-

¹ The second half of this verse and the following verses are not found in the Gañjām plate A. But they are found in the Sāntiragrāma grant.

² The Bānpur plate also reads *maṇḍan=āpi*; but the Sāntiragrāma grant reads *maṇḍanūni*.

³ The Sāntiragrāma grant reads *anantaram*.

⁴ The Bānpur plate and the Sāntiragrāma grant read *-lagna*.

⁵ The Bānpur and the two Gañjām plates read *mahārājārājaputra* and the omission of *ōrāja* after *mahārāja* here seems to have been due to inadvertence. The Sāntiragrāma grant reads *rājīśikṛārājaputra* where the first term seems to qualify *rājīputra*.

⁶ This term is not found in the Sāntiragrāma grant.

⁷ Read *-auparika-*.

⁸ This term is not found in the Sāntiragrāma grant.

⁹ This term is not found in the Gañjām plate B, the Bānpur plate and the Sāntiragrāma grant. See note 12 on p. 308 above.

¹⁰ This term is not found in the Gañjām plate A.

¹¹ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹² The reading is not certain.

¹³ Read *-nadīlara-sthān-ādi* as in the Sāntiragrāma grant.

- 34 varjjitō=‘lēkhanī-pravēśitayā bhūmi-chchhidrā(dra)-pidhāna-nyāyēna chandr-ārka
kshiti-samakālam mā-
- 35 tā-pitrōr=ātmanaś¹=cha puṇy-ābhivṛiddhayē Vatsassagōtrāya² Bhārgava-Chyavana-
³Āpnavā-Aurva-Jā-
- 36 madagnī(guṇya) pravartāya Āśvalāyana⁴-śākhā-prādhyāyinē Śāvastha-dēśa-vinirggatāya Ka-
[ntē]da-grā-
- 37 ma-vāstavyāya bhaṭṭaputra-Nīlakaṇṭhasya suta Mihadhīchāya⁵ jivāmmraṇa⁶ visūha⁷-
vēlāyām
- 38 tāmvrā(bra)-śāsanigṛihitv⁸=ākshaya-nidhi⁹-dharmmēṇ=ākaratvēna pratipāditaḥ | tad=
ēshā=smaḍ-¹⁰dharmma-
- 39 gauravāḍ=bhavaḍbhiḥ paripālaniyaḥ(yā) | [| *] Samvat 200 0 4 Vaisā(śā)kha-vadi 5
[||*] Uktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrēshu [| *]
- 40 Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājadbhi(bhi)ḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi-
[s]=tasya tasya tadā phalam [||17*] Mā
- 41 bhū[d=a]phala-śānkā vaḥ paradatt=ēti pārthivaḥ(vāḥ) [| *] sva-dattātpā(t=pha)lam=ānant-
yam para-datt-ānū(nu)pālānē || [18*] Sva-dattām=pa-
- 42 ra-dattām vā¹¹ yō harēta vasundharām [| *] sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitribhis=saha
pachyatē || [19*] Va(Ba)hun=ā‘ra kim=uktēna
- 43 saṁkshēpāḍ=idam=uchyatē ||¹² svalpam=āyus=chalā bhōgā | ¹³ dharmmō lōka-dvayē kshamaḥ
[| 2)*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi-
- 44 ndu-lōlām śriyam=anuchindya(ntyā) manushya-jivitañ=cha [| *]¹⁴ vu(bu)ddh.vā na li
purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [21*] Yāva-
- 45 t=pātāla-bhū-svarggās=sa-bhujāṅga-nar-āmarāḥ || (|)śrī-Vakulamahādēvyās=tāvach=chhāsa
(sa)nam=astv=idam || [22*] Pra-
- 46 śastiḥ śasta-vachasā kavin=ēha mahākavēḥ [| *] kṛitvā(tā) Jambhala-nāmn=aishā Jay-
ātmajēna¹⁵ | [| 23*] Mahākshapa-
- 47 ṭalādhikṛita-Rāṇaka-śrī³ Indrasya [| *] utkīrṇṇa(ṇṇam) Kumarakēṇa [| *] grāma[h*] pra-
siddha-chatu[h]-si(sī)mā-pa[r]yanta[h] śrī[h] ||*

¹ After this, the other records have the expression *śrīvī-sattvānām* which is omitted here.

² Read *Vatsi-sagōtrāya*.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Read *Āśvalāyana*.

⁵ Probably *Mahādhīchāya* is intended.

⁶ The meaning of this term is not certain.

⁷ Read *visūva*.

⁸ Read *°nīkritya*.

⁹ The usual reading is *akshaya-nidhi*.

¹⁰ The word *datti* is not engraved here.

¹¹ Read *dattām vā*.

¹² One of the *daṇḍas* is superfluous.

¹³ This *dīṇḍa* is unnecessary.

¹⁴ The passage *śakīlam* or *akshaya-nidhi*=*utāhritāñ=cha* is missing here.

¹⁵ As in the Gañjām A and the Bārpur plates, here also the fourth quarter of this verse should have been *ātmajēna Jayātmanaḥ*.

No. 39—JAMALAGAMA GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 619

(1 Plate)

M. S. NAGARAJA RAO, DHARWAR

(Received on 25.3.1963)

The present set¹ of copper plates was received by Shri Amiadi, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra, Aurangabad, who kindly passed it on to me for study and editing. The plates belong to one Shri Dinkarrao Balajirao, Police Patil of Kesar Sirasi in the Nilanga Taluk of Osmanabad District in Maharashtra. The owner is not aware of the provenance of the plates but they are with him as his family property for a long time.

The set consists of three plates which are held together by a ring passing through a hole measuring 1.75 cm in diameter, in the left margin of each plate. To the ring is soldered a circular seal bearing the representation of the boar (*varāha*), the emblem of the Chālukya king, facing proper right. The seal measures 10 cm in diameter. The whole set together with the ring and seal weighs 3100 g.

Of the three plates, the first and the third are written on one side only while the second has writing on both sides. The distribution of lines is as follows : I and IIA-9 ; IIB-11 ; III-13. The edges of the plates are raised so as to protect the writing which is well preserved.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and except an invocatory verse in the beginning and the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the text is in prose. Regarding orthography, notice may be made of the reduplication of consonants following *r* (cf. *arṇava* in lines 1, 3, *Kārttikēya* in line 3, etc.). The portion actually referring to the grant of the village (lines 35-36) seems to have been tampered with. It appears that the original writing was erased and the changed matter engraved on it.

The record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king **Vijayāditya** and is dated **Śaka 619** (given in words) the first regnal year of the king, **Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī**. The Śaka year corresponded to 696-97 A. D.

After the invocatory verses, the record narrates the genealogy of the family, which, however, is known from other records of the king already published.² It is further stated that, on the given date, when the king was camping at **Rāsēnapura**, he made a grant of **Jamaḷagāma** to three Brāhmaṇas, viz. **Kottīśarman** of Kauśika-gōtra and two others both of whom were named **Prabhākara** and belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra. Both Kottīśarman and the first of the two Prabhākaras have been described as *grihīta-sūhasra* which appears to denote a person learned in the Sāma-Vēda.³ The other Prabhākara is called *shaḷaṅgavit*, i.e. who was conversant with the six *Vēdāṅgas*. The grant was made at the request of Narēndrāditya whose identity cannot be established.

¹ A. R. Ep., 1962-63, Appendix A, No. 49.

² See for instance, the Nerur plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 126 ff.)

³ See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 293.

The grant village *Jamaḷagāma* was situated in *Challumkidēśa*. It was situated to the west of *Mōrakhaṇḍi* and in between *Pullavādali* and *Muguḷi*.

Though the record does not add anything new to our present knowledge regarding the king or the dynasty, its **importance** lies in the fact that it belongs to the **first regnal year of the king Vijayāditya** and as such is the **earliest of his records**. It also confirms the surmise of Fleet that *Vijayāditya* commenced his rule from 696 A.D.¹ *Vijayāditya*'s earliest record so far known was the *Badami* inscription² dated in his 3rd regnal year, Śaka 621, *Jyēshṭha Pūrṇimā* (699 A.D., May 20). It is interesting to note that another record³ of the same king dated in the fourth regnal year, Śaka 622, *Āshāḍha Pūrṇimā* was also issued from *Rāsēna-nagara*. It appears from this that in the early days of his reign, *Vijayāditya* had made this place his secondary capital or at least he was then touring in that part of his kingdom. His next grant in chronological order, viz. the *Rāyagaḍ* copperplates, dated in his 8th regnal year, Śaka 625, *Mahāshṭami*, was issued from *Karahāṭanagara*.⁴

Among the **geographical places** mentioned in the record, *Rāsēnapura* has been identified with *Rasin* in *Karjat Taluk* of *Ahmednagar District*.⁵ *Mōrakhaṇḍi* might be the same as *Mayūrakhaṇḍi* occurring in the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* grants⁶ which is identified with *Mōrkhaṇḍi* or *Mārkiṇḍa* in *Nasik District*.⁷ The granted village *Jamaḷagāma* as well as *Pullavādali* and *Muguḷi* should be located near about this place. *Challumki-dēśa* which comprised of these villages was apparently the territory round about *Mōrkhaṇḍi*. The exact identity of these places cannot, however, be established.

The writer of the present grant, *Rāmapuṇyavallabha*, was also the author of *Harihar*⁸ and *Dayyāmdinne*⁹ plates of *Vijayāditya*'s father and predecessor *Vinayāditya*.

TEXT¹⁰

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [||*] Jayaty=āvishkṛitam Vishṇōḥ vārāham kshōbhit-ārṇavam (vam) dakṣiṇōnnatadaṁshṭr-āgra-viśrānta-bhu-
- 2 vanam vapuḥ [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṇām Hāri-
- 3 tī-putrāṇām sapta-lōka-māṭribhis=sapta-māṭribhir=abhivarddhitanām Kārttikēya-pari-
- 4 rakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-paramparāṇām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādi-
- 5 ta-Varāha-lāñchha[n-ē]kshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-āsēsha-mahībhṛitām **Chalikyā[nām]**
- 6 kulam=alamkarishṇōr=aśvamēdh-āvabhṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛita-gātrasya
- 7 śrī-**Pulakēśi**-vallabha-mahārājasya sūnuḥ parākram-ākrānta-Vanavāsy-ādi-
- 8 para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kīrtti[h*] śrī-**Kīrttiṣarmma**-pṛithivīvallabha-
- 9 mahārājas=tasy=ātmajas=samara-saṁsakta-sakal-Ōttarāpathēśvara-śrī-Harsha-

¹ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 370.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 60.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 126 f.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. X, p. 146 f.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 372.

⁶ See for instance *Radhanpur* plates of *Gōvinda III* (*above*, Vol. VI, p. 239 f.).

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 396 and note 1.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 301 f.

⁹ *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 24 f.

¹⁰ From the original plates.

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Second Plate, First Side

- 10 varddhana-parājay-ōpātta-paramēśvara-śabda[s=ta]sya **Satyāśraya**-śrī-prithivī-
 11 vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayasya prajñātana-
 12 yasya khadga-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakanthā(nṭh-ā)bhīdhāna-pravara-turaṅgamēṇ=aikē-
 13 n=aiv=ōtsārit-āsēsha-vijigīśhōr=avanipati-tritay-āntarītām sva-gu-
 14 rōḥ śriyam=ātmasātkṛitya prabhāva-kulīśa-dalita-Pāṇḍya-Chō-
 15 ḷa-Kēraḷa-Kaḷabhra-prabhṛiti-bhūbhṛid-adabhra-vibhramasy=ānany-āvanata-
 16 Kāñchīpati-makuṭa-chūmbita-pād-āmbujasya **Vikramāditya**-Satyāśra-
 17 ya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāra-
 18 kasya priya-sūnōḥ pitur=ājñayā Bālēndusēkhara[sya]

Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 Tārakārātir=iva daityabalam=atisamuddhataṁ trairāja-Kāñchīpati-balam=avasṭabhya ka-
 20 radīkṛita-Kamē(vē)ra-Pārasīka-Si[m*]haḷ-ādi-dvīp-ādhipasya sakal-Ōttarāpatha-nātha-
 21 mathan-ōpārijjit-ōrjjita-pālidhvaj-ādi-samasta-pāramaiśvaryya-chihnasya **Vinayā**-
 22 **ditya**-Satyāśraya-śrī-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-
 23 sya priy-ātmajaś=śaiśava ēv=ādhigat-āsēsh-āstra-śāstrō dakṣiṇ-āsā-vijayi-
 24 ni pitāmahē samunmūlita-nikhila-kaṇṭaka-samhatir=uttarāpevē(patha)-vijigīśhōr=gurōr=a-
 25 grata ēv=āhava-vyāpāram=ācharann=arāti-gaja-ghaṭā-pāṭana-viśīryamāṇa-[kṛi]pāṇa-dhāras=
 samagra-
 26 vighra-āgrēsaras=san=sāhasa-rasikaḥ=parāṇmukhīkṛita-śatru-maṇḍalō Gaṁgā-Yamuna(nā)-
 pālidhvaja-paḍa-dhaka(kkā)-ma-
 27 hāśabda-chihnaka-māṇikyā-mataṁgaj-ādīn=pitṛisāt-kurvvan=paraiḥ=palāyamānair=āsādyā
 katham=api vi-
 28 dhi-vaśād=apanītō=pi pratāpād=ēva vishaya-prakōpam=arājakam=utsārayan=Vatsarāja iv=
 ānapēkshi-
 29 t-āpara-sāhāyakas=tad-avagrahān=nirggatya sva-bhuj-āvasṭambha-prasādhit-āsēsha-vi-
 śvambharaḥ

Third Plate

- 30 prabhur=akhaṇḍita-śakti-trayatvāch=chhatru-mada-bhañjanatvād=udāratvān=niravadyatvād=
 yas=samasta-bhuvanāśrayas=sana(ka)la-pāramaiśva-
 31 ryya-vyakti-hētu-pālidhvaj-ādy-uj[j*]vala-prāja-rājyō **[Vi]jayāditya**-Satyāśraya-śrī-
 prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramē-
 32 śvara-bhaṭṭārakas=sarvvān=ēva[m=ā]jñāpayati [i*] viditam=astu vō=smābhir-**ēkān-na-vim-**
śaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhatēshu Śaka-varshēshv=atītēshu
 33 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rāja-samvatsarē prathamē varttamānē Rāsēnapuram-
 adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē **Vaiśākha-Pau-**

- 34 **rṇṇamāsyām Narēndrāditya**-vijñāpanayā Kauśika-gōtra[h*] Kottisarmmā grīhita-sa(sā) hasraḥ Bhāradvāja-gōtra[h*] Prabhākara(rō) grīhita-sa(sā) ha-
- 35 sraḥ tad=ēva gōtraḥ Prabhākara[h*] śhaḍamgavich=cha ētēbhyas=tribhyaḥ **Challumkidēsē (śē) Mōrakhamḍī**-paśchima-digbhāgē **Pullavādali-Muguḷi-grā-**
- 36 **mayōr**-mmadhyē **Jamaḷagāma-grāmō** dattaḥ sa-bhōgaḥ [||*] tad=āgāmibhir=asmad-vamśyair=anyaiś=cha rājabhir=ā-
- 37 yur-aiśvaryy-ādīnām vilasitam=achirāmśu-chamchalam=avagachchhadbbhir=ā-chandr-ārka-dhar-ārṇṇava-sthiti-
- 38 samakālam yaśas=chicbīshubhis=svadatti-nirvviśēsham paripālanīyamu(m | u)ktaṁ chā(cha) Bhagavatā Vēdavyāsē-
- 39 na Vyāsēna [||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabis=Sagar-ādibhi[h|*] rya(ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmis=ta-
- 40 sya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [||*] Svandā (Svam dā)tuṁ sumahach=chhakyam duḥkham=anyasya pālanam(nam) [||*] dānam vā pā-
- 41 lanam v=ēti dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam(nam) [||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasu-
- 42 ndharām(rām) [||*] shasṭim varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih [||*] Mahāsāndhi-vigē(gra)hika-śrī-Rāmapuṇyavallabhēna likhitam(tam) [||*]

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[The figures refer to pages, *n* after a figure to foot-notes, and *add* to additions and corrections. The following other abbreviations are also used : *au.*=author; *ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *chron.*=chronicle; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *de.*=deity; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *enr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=family; *fe.*=female; *feud.*=feudatory; *gen.*=general; *gr.*=grant, grants; *hist.*=historical; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office, officer; *peo.*=people; *pl.*=plate; plates; *pr.*=prince, princess; *prov.*=province; *q.*=queen; *reg.*=region; *rel.*=religion, religious; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *Tel.*=Telugu; *t.d.*=territorial division; *tit.*=title; *tk.*=taluk; *tn.*=town; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*=work; *wt.*=weight.]

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